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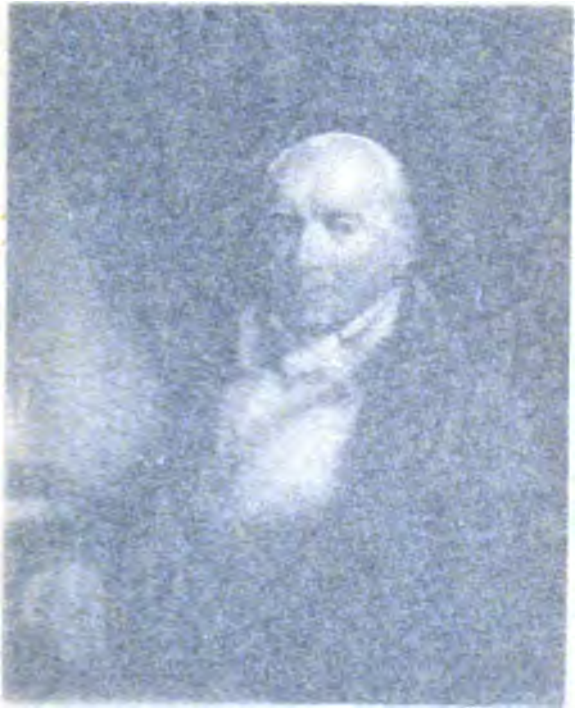
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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF MY OWN TIME

PART THE FIRST, FROM 1772 TO 1780
PART THE SECOND, FROM 1781 TO 1784

BY

SIR N. WILLIAM WRAXALL, BART.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

RICHARD ASKHAM

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

SIR NATHANIEL WILLIAM WRAXALL, BART. . *Frontispiece*

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE present issue is a verbatim reprint of the first edition of Sir N. William Wraxall's *Historical Memoirs*, which appeared in two volumes in 1815, "Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand," by J. M'Creery, Black-Horse-Court, London. The following quotation from Sallust appeared on the title-page:—

"Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere. Sed a quo incepto studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas carptim, ut quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, Animus liber erat. SALLUST."

The Preface to this first edition was as follows:—

PREFACE

IT is my intention, in continuation of the present Work, to publish the Third Part of these Memoirs, which circumscribes the space of full five Years, from the 25th of March, 1784, down to April, 1789. The last-mentioned Year may be considered, under every aspect, as one of the most important that took place in the course of the Eighteenth Century. First, as in it we

witnessed His Majesty's happy Recovery from that great Attack, which involved this Country in temporary Confusion, overturned for a time the Administration, and threatened for ever to bereave us of the Blessings of his Government. Secondly, as having originated, a few Months later, the Calamity of the French Revolution: an Event which may be said to stand pre-eminent for Atrocity in the History of Modern Ages, and which, in its results, has covered Europe with Desolation. The Year 1789 forms, therefore, a period from which dates a totally new Order of public Affairs; and beyond it I have no design of continuing the Historical Memoirs of my own Time.

N. WILL^M WRAXALL.

LONDON,
2d April, 1815.

The first edition of 1000 copies at 26s. seems to have been sold in thirty-three days, and passages in it concerning Count Woronzow caused the author to be tried for libel, fined £500, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment (three months only of which he had to endure). A second edition was soon published, with the "libellous" statements left out, and it was soon taken up by the public. A third edition, considerably altered and added to, was issued in 1818, divided into three parts, but still ending with March, 1784, and, therefore, not containing the Third Part of which the author spoke in his Preface to the original edition. This third issue had prefixed to it Sir N. W. Wraxall's "Answers" "to the calumnious misrepresentations of" his critics, in which it is generally admitted that he abundantly refuted the accusations that had been levelled against his impartiality, accuracy, and veracity. In the Preface to this third edition he says, "Having been sent to the King's Bench Prison, in May, 1816, for a most unintentional Act of Inadvertence committed in

the first Edition of these Memoirs, I immediately stopped the Sale, which has been suspended near two Years. During that Period of Time, I have endeavoured, by very attentively revising and correcting the present Edition, to avoid a similar Error." Not content with thus "toning down" certain passages and adding others, in 1818, Sir N. W. Wraxall "left at his death," says Mr. H. B. Wheatley (his latest and best editor), "an interleaved copy of his *Historical Memoirs* which he had most carefully corrected throughout," and from which copy Mr. Wheatley's edition was printed. Since the reader can, if he wish, turn to these various expanded and corrected versions, in their library form, it has been deemed advisable to reprint here verbatim the *Memoirs* as they were originally published, reserving for a supplementary volume of the present series, if it should be called for, the added material. "Instructed by experience in the legal dangers and penalties that attend the premature disclosure of historical truth," Sir N. W. Wraxall took care that the volumes of *Memoirs* intended to deal with the years succeeding 1784 should not be permitted "to see the light till I shall have been removed from the scene." They were published in 1836 under the title of *Posthumous Memoirs of his Own Time*, and cover the five years, 1784–89, spoken of in the Preface to the original edition given above. It is hoped that it may be possible to add these *Posthumous Memoirs*, at no very distant date, to the present series, since they abound in that happy gift of vivid character-drawing, both of front-rank and secondary men, and in those stores of historical anecdotes, for which the earlier *Memoirs*, here reprinted, are so justly famous.

success, a third edition being called for in the following year. The greater part of 1775–76 he passed in France, where Louis XV. had recently died, a king whose character he afterwards defended. In the summer of the later year he visited Lord Nugent and met the old Lord Temple, father of the King's friend who brought about the defeat of Fox's India Bill in the Upper House. Later, we find him dining with Wilkes and others at Dilly, the bookseller's, and frequenting the blue-stocking drawing-rooms of Mrs. Montague and Mrs. Vesey, where he seems to have met Johnson, Burke, Garrick, Reynolds and many other persons of note. Interesting though he found them, he compared them unfavourably with the more famous salons of Mme. de Deffand and Mlle. de Lespinasse in Paris. In 1777 appeared his second work, the entertaining and "invaluable" *Memoirs of the Kings of France of the Race of Valois*, which was reprinted after eight years. The book originally contained an account of his French travels, but these were subsequently (1784) published as a separate volume. Resuming his continental journeys, he seems to have spent much of the next two years abroad. At the Hague, he was presented to the Prince of Orange: he visited in the diplomatic circles of Warsaw, Dresden and Vienna, and in 1779 he stayed in Florence, Naples and Brussels. At Warsaw he gathered certain gossip about the Empress Catharine and her court, the injudicious use of which afterwards involved him in the Woronzow prosecution. He saw the dissipated wreck of the young Pretender at Florence, and in Naples he was the friend of Sir William and Lady Hamilton. The literary product of these travels was not published till twenty years later.

When Wraxall returned in the autumn of 1779, full of "travell'd learning," his countrymen were in a state of lamentable depression. He tells us that he found the national energy depressed, public opinion divided,

and the British spirit unnerved by the nature of the conflict in which they were engaged with the American colonies. The navy, enfeebled by party faction, had lost control of the sea: the King and his ministers were near the nadir of their unpopularity, while the real leaders of the nation were in Opposition. The climax seemed to be reached in the following June, when the Protestant rioters set London ablaze in thirty-six places at once, and Lord George Gordon harangued the mob in Palace Yard. Wraxall and Horace Walpole were both witnesses of the events of that Black Wednesday, and their descriptions may be read together. In September, through the influence of Lord George Germain (Sackville), Wraxall entered Parliament at the age of twenty-nine. As member for Hindon, and afterwards for Ludgershall and for Wallingford, he sat in the House for fourteen years, without holding office, or taking any considerable part in debate. His seat gave him, however, opportunities for observation which were invaluable to him, as the pages of these *Memoirs* testify.

Lord Germain was Secretary of State for the American Colonies in the Ministry of Lord North, and Wraxall continued to follow the latter until, in 1783, the India Bill of Fox gave him an opportunity of deserting the Coalition, which was distasteful to him, and attaching himself to the minority which supported Pitt. Though Indian questions separated him at times from his new leader, he remained a follower of Pitt during the rest of his Parliamentary career. It was Pitt who asked George Selwyn to give him the nomination for the pocket-borough of Ludgershall, in the election of 1784. Selwyn went about town, wrote the Duke of Wellington, exclaiming, "Does anybody know who is this *Rascall*? . . . I wish Mr. Pitt could find some man with a more creditable name. It is very hard on me to be forced to bring in a man who calls himself *Rascall*." Wraxall seems to have taken Selwyn's

pleasantry in good part; as he also did that of the authors of *The Rolliad*, who poked fun at the geographical disquisitions which earned for him the title of "Travelling Tutor to the House of Commons."

His entry into Parliament brought with it a tardy recognition by the Crown of his services to the King's sister, in the form of a gift of one thousand guineas, and the promise (unfulfilled) of office. He was made one of the scrutineers of nominations for a secret committee of the House which inquired into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, during which Hyder Ali devastated the territories of England's ally, the Nabob of Arcot. The position cannot have been without importance, as the Prime Minister was also a scrutineer. This was the war which indirectly led to the famous trial of Warren Hastings, in which Wraxall repeatedly voted against his Parliamentary chief. During a portion at least of his membership of the House, Wraxall acted as an agent (*vakeel*) for the Nabob; and, from his resentment of the attack made by Pitt, in the first of his Reform speeches, on the rotten boroughs "within the control of the Carnatic, and under the immediate influence of the Nabob of Arcot," it seems possible that his may have been one of these seats. He was often described as "the member for Arcot." In 1783, he anticipated the Government, and practically brought hostilities in the East to a close, by sending out to Madras an "Extraordinary Gazette" containing the news of the Peace of Versailles, which arrived six weeks earlier than the official duplicate. During this summer he was in Antwerp, where he met Thurlow, Rose and, perhaps, Pitt.

Four years later an anonymous pamphlet from his pen attracted much attention. *A Short Review of the Political State of Great Britain* had a great sale, and was translated into French. It was not protected by copyright, and, besides the 17,000 copies sold by the

publisher, "vast quantities" are said to have been distributed in Edinburgh and Dublin. The secret of its authorship must have been well kept, for its frank criticism of the Prince of Wales, which that personage much resented, did not prejudice Wraxall's subsequent relations with him.

Wraxall married, at the age of thirty-eight, Miss (Jane) Lascelles, by whom he had two sons; and, five years after his marriage, his seat at Wallingford being required for another nominee, he accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds and withdrew from Parliament. He was now able to give more of his time to literary work. He continued his French history down to 1614 (published 1795), translated a thick French pamphlet of '92 (1797), dedicating it to Pitt and Fox, whom he urged in that dismal year to unite for their country's sake, and in 1799 he published those *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna in the Years* 1777, 1778, *and* 1779, of which we have already spoken. These last were reprinted in the following year.

Meanwhile, he had become a frequent visitor at Carlton House. He was eventually (1799) requested by the Prince to wear the uniform "exclusively reserved for his family and friends," designated his future historian, and finally (1813) created baronet of Wraxall, Somerset. The *Historical Memoirs* appeared in 1815. Published in April, the first edition was sold out in five weeks, and the demand for the second was hardly less keen. But the latter bore the marks of the suit for libel brought against its author by the former Russian Ambassador at St James's, in consequence of an indiscretion by which Count Woronzow was alleged to have imputed the death of the Princess of Würtemberg to his imperial mistress. The Court of the King's Bench ordered the passage to be expunged, while Wraxall was mulcted in a fine of £500, and spent

three months in prison. A third enlarged edition appeared in 1818, the last of Wraxall's works which was published during his lifetime. His *Posthumous Memoirs*, which bring the narrative down from 1784 to 1789, were not published till 1836, while his *Reminiscences* remained in manuscript till 1884. He died at Dover in 1831, on his way to Naples, an old man of some eighty years.

The fierce and lengthy attacks made upon the *Memoirs* witness to their importance. Their frank delineation and criticism of many of the principal actors on the stage of English politics in the momentous years of 1780–84, together with their great store of anecdotes, laid them open to the assaults of the *Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh* and the *British Critic*. The *Edinburgh* described them as "a worthless book"; but for that very reason the *Quarterly*, with cynical foresight, prophesied for them a longer existence than they deserved, quoting "Junius" to the effect that "trifles float and are preserved, while what is solid and valuable sinks to the bottom and is lost for ever." Macaulay carried prejudice so far as to speak of the *Mendacium Wraxallianum*. But, in spite of his critics, Wraxall's general veracity has been sufficiently vindicated by himself and others. Unquestionably, there are occasional misstatements in his pages, and the judgments upon men and events are not always marked by depth of insight, or measured according to the highest standard of equity, but the *Memoirs* are a worthy example of the special class of literature to which they belong, and, in addition to the fund of gossiping anecdote they contain, they are of the nature of a historical document. They are entertaining; they give us a perfect picture of the time. His detailed description of the two great campaigns in the House of Commons, the one conducted by the Opposition against North, the other, in which the majority strove

in vain to force the hands of Pitt and of the King, are historically invaluable. His pictures, too, of the King and Prince of Wales, of Lord North, of Fox, of Burke and Pitt and Sheridan, of Welbore Ellis, of Powys and of Courtenay, are vividly drawn from the life, while that of North is specially admirable. Had it not been for Wraxall's portrait of the "noble lord in the blue ribband," always amiable, witty and charming in the most harassing circumstances, his memory might have sunk for ever under the obloquy of the American war. As it is, he gains a place in our affection not far below that of his greater contemporary whose "irresistible" smile is so well suggested in these pages (p. 338). Burke, on the other hand, Wraxall never understood; he could not sufficiently praise the great Irishman's oratory, but he nearly always mistook his motives and underestimated his character. In this, as in all else, Wraxall was essentially a man of his age. These *Memoirs* are steeped in the atmosphere of the close of the eighteenth century. The men and women that move across their pages are singularly human, but their manners, their thoughts, their ideals are scarcely ours. Wraxall wrote his *Memoirs* when England was still bearing the brunt of the conflict with Napoleon, when to most Englishmen democracy was synonymous with mob-rule and revolution, when at least a section of society copied the manners of the Regent's court, and public opinion had not yet set its face against political corruption. In literary taste, the ideals of the Augustan age were still dominant: when he reports a great Parliamentary debate, it is the Latin rhetoric, the classical allusion, that comes first to Wraxall's pen. His general knowledge was wide rather than deep; and when, in his amiable pedantry, he speaks condescendingly, as he sometimes does, of the country members, on whom these flowers of learning were wasted, we cannot but

smile at the London man of fashion, remembering that his own academic education was completed in a Bristol school. But the smile he raises, whether against another or against himself, is always a kindly one; while in respect of his own writing, which is easy and readable, though not without faults, he might not inappropriately have quoted the words of Bishop Burnet—with whom he ventured to compare himself—where he says, "I have on design avoided all laboured periods or artificial strains, and have writ in as clear and plain a style as was possible, choosing rather a copious enlargement than a dark conciseness."

RICHARD ASKHAM.

LONDON,
January 20, 1904.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF MY OWN TIME

PART THE FIRST

HAVING long meditated to compose some account of the national events which I have witnessed during a part of my life, I have postponed the publication of the work, till nearly all those persons of whom I must have occasion to speak, were removed from the scene. In fact, with the exception of a very small number of individuals, respecting whom I have been silent; scarcely any of the leading characters now survive, who supported or opposed Lord North, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, or the *Coalition* Administration. The lapse of more than thirty years, has removed every objection of that nature; and the respect that I owe to myself, has impelled me to dismiss from my mind, before I undertook these Memoirs, every species of bias or partiality. Not that in point of fact, it is possible to speak of recent or contemporary events, as we would write of transactions that took place under Henry the Eighth; nor to contemplate Fox and Pitt with the degree of abstraction and composure, that we regard Marius and Sylla. Such philosophic superiority to passion, whatever pretensions to it may be set up, is not given to man.

Tacitus, who wrote of events recently performed, and who intended, as he himself assures us, if he should attain to old age, to compose the history of his own times; says, "Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano incho-"atam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam, "nunquam abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis, "nec amore quisquam, et sine odio dicendus est." If I might be allowed to parody the words of that historian, applying them to myself, I should say,— "That I consider George the Third, notwithstanding "the many errors of his government, which were most "conspicuous in the beginning of his reign, as one of "the best princes who ever governed this country, I "readily confess: neither will I deny that I cannot "recall the idea of Lord North, unconnected with "those engaging or elevated qualities of mind and of "deportment, which conciliated the affection even of his "opponents. Lastly, that Lord Sackville honoured me "with his friendship, and shewed me marks of confidence, "I avow with pride and satisfaction. But, none of "these circumstances would induce me to conceal or to "misrepresent any fact, for the purpose of drawing a "veil over their errors or political transgressions." I may further add, that never having held any employment, under any minister, at any period of my life, I neither can be accused of divulging official secrets; nor am I linked, in however humble a degree, with any of those ephemeral administrations, which took place with such rapidity between 1782 and 1784. I relate the events that I either witnessed, or of which I received the accounts from respectable testimony. How imperfect a light these sources of information enable me to throw on the period of time that I attempt to elucidate, I am fully aware: but, unfortunately, those individuals who, from their rank and situation, know most of the secrets of affairs, will generally divulge least; and even imperfect light is preferable to darkness.

I cannot indeed boast of having enjoyed the same advantage as Dr. *Burnet*, Bishop of Salisbury, who, in the "History of his own Time," says, "I have had the "honour to be admitted to much free conversation with "five of our sovereigns, King Charles the Second, King "James the Second, King William the Third, Queen "Mary, and Queen Anne." But, between 1780 and 1794, during all which period I sat in parliament, I possessed many means and opportunities of knowing various facts from high authority; and in some instances, of ascertaining their secret causes or springs. Lord *Clarendon* and *Burnet* are almost the only persons of eminence among us, who have commemorated with ability, and at considerable length, the events of their own time. We cannot sufficiently regret that *Prior* did not live to accomplish the same task. That he meditated and intended it, is evident from the words of his Epitaph in Westminster Abbey:—

"*Sui Temporis Historiam meditanti,*
Paulatim obrepens Febris
Operis simul et Vitæ, Filum abrupit.
Sep. 18. An. Dom. 1721."

The work which was actually published under that name, in 1740, contained only some of the materials collected for it. If we consider the official or diplomatic situations that *Prior* occupied from 1690 down to 1714; and the intimate friendship in which he lived with Charles, Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer Harley, and Lord Bolingbroke; we must admit that few men could have been more competent to elucidate the Reigns of William the Third, and of Anne.

How much have we to lament that the late Mr. Fox, during his long exclusion from public employment, between 1790 and 1805, while in retirement at St. Anne's Hill, did not occupy himself in composing the

History of his own time! Aspiring, as he did, not only to the fame of a statesman and an orator, but to the praise of an historian; how infinitely more valuable a legacy might he have bequeathed to his countrymen, how much more durable a monument might he have erected to himself, by such an exertion of his talents, than he has done by exhausting his efforts on the reign of James the Second! Not that I would be understood to express any sentiment allied to disrespect, relative to the work which Lord Holland, with pious veneration for his Uncle's memory, has given to the world. Every page of that short and unfinished production, is worthy of its author, and raises him in my estimation. The "Introductory Chapter" can hardly be exceeded for profound reflexion, elucidated by a severe and philosophic cast of thought, as well as by the most accurate and laborious disquisition of facts. Impartial, ardent for freedom, and indignant against tyrants, the writer is nevertheless exempt from the spirit of republicanism. The small portion of James's reign which follows, including Argyle's and Monmouth's invasions, may in a great measure be characterized by similar epithets; and excites regret, from presenting only a fragment. But if, instead of collating Rapin, Hume, and Burnet; or employing his time on the inspection of documents in the *Depôt des Archives* at Paris; he had dedicated it to a delineation, however simple, of the great political scenes in which he had acted so distinguished a part; with what avidity should we not have perused the work? We might then have beheld as in a mirror, the secret History of the Rockingham, and the *Coalition* administrations, drawn by a master hand, which had propelled the ostensible ministers of the two periods. It was thus that Clarendon beguiled the hours of unmerited disgrace and exile, when he wrote his "History of the great "Rebellion." The Cardinal de Retz, a man to whom Mr. Fox bore some analogy in certain features of his

political life, of his character, and fortune; made the best atonement to his country, and to posterity, for the irregularities and agitations which marked the zenith of his career, by tracing with his own hand, in his decline, the outline of those transactions which he had guided or produced. We forget his deviations from prudence, his faction, and his ambition, in the elegance of his genius, and the ingenuous disclosure of his errors.

Perhaps no portion of time in the course of the two last centuries, offers, proportionably to its duration, so few of those interesting anecdotes at which we eagerly grasp, where the Sovereign comes personally forward to our inspection, as the reign of George the Third. The reason is obvious, and arose out of the King's character. Charles the Second, and Louis the Fourteenth, surrounded by mistresses, and all the dissipation of a Court, presented to Burnet, to Grammont, or to Voltaire, perpetual matter of entertaining recital. Even George the First and Second offered some resources of a similar nature, to Lord Melcomb, for his "Diary;" and to Horace Walpole, for his "Reminiscences." But, His present Majesty's whole life, from the age of twenty-two, down to the lamented period at which he ceased to reign, was passed either in the severe and exemplary discharge of his *public* duties of every description; or in the bosom of his family, amidst *domestic* sources of amusement. In his agricultural occupations, or when engaged in the diversions of the field, he was only seen by the few, who from their official situations or dignity, had access to his person. No splendid assemblies of both sexes, or festive entertainments, to which beauty, rank, and pleasure in a comprehensive sense, must have contributed; by levelling him in some measure with his guests, presented him to view, divested of the forms of royalty. Unlike his predecessor, who even at an advanced age, still preserved a relish for those enjoy-

ments; George the Third, while a young man, neither frequented masquerades, nor ever engaged at play, nor passed his evenings in society calculated to unbend his mind from the fatigues of business and vexations of state. All the splendour of a court was laid aside, or only exhibited for a few hours, on a birth-day. Rarely, during the first twenty years after his accession, did he join in any scene of public amusement, if we except the diversion of the theatre. Still more rarely did he sit down at table with any of his courtiers or nobility. His repasts, private, short, and temperate, never led to the slightest excess. Hence, his enemies endeavoured to represent him, most unjustly, as affecting the state of an Asiatic prince, scarcely ever visible except on the terrace at Windsor, or in the circle, at a levee. "Junius," who saw him through the most unfavourable medium, and who converted his very virtues, into subjects of accusation, or of reproach; depictures St. James's as a court, "where prayers are morality, and kneeling is "religion." It was not till a period later than the point of time at which these Memoirs stop, that the King began to mix in a select company, and occasionally to indulge in the pleasures of society. Previous to the year 1784, it is only in the foreign or domestic transactions of his reign, often only within the walls of one, or of the other House of Parliament, that the materials can generally be found for writing the internal history of the time. These remarks, I am sensible, apply principally, though not exclusively, to the part of the present work, where the scene lies wholly in England: whereas the first volume traverses the Continent, through different countries, from Portugal, round to Naples and Tuscany.

Soon after I had compleated my twenty-first year, in 1772, I passed over to Portugal; in the capital of which kingdom, or in its vicinity, I staid a considerable time. Joseph, son and successor of John the Fifth,

then occupied the throne; but the kingdom was governed by the celebrated Count d'Œyras, who had been recently created Marquis de Pombal. Few first ministers, during the course of the last century, displayed greater talents for administration, or exercised more unlimited authority. The King, though only third in order of descent, was fourth in succession from the Duke of Braganza, denominated John the Fourth, who in 1640 recovered Portugal from the Spanish dominion; and at the time of which I speak, he had passed his fifty-seventh year. He was of a good stature, but inclined to corpulency: his features regular, his eye quick and lively, if a habit of holding his mouth somewhat open, had not diminished the expression of intelligence, which his countenance would otherwise have conveyed. In his cheeks he had a high scorbutic humour, attributed commonly to excesses of wine; though it might partly arise from violent exercise constantly taken under a burning sun. His face, indeed, was nearly as dusky as that of a Moor; and at Fez or Mequinez, habited in the Turkish dress, with a Turban on his head, he might easily have passed for Muley Ismael, the sovereign of Morocco. Never had any Lusitanian peasant, coarser and darker hands. One could not look at him, without involuntarily recollecting how near are the shores, and how similar are the climates, of Portugal, and of Africa.

Two passions or pursuits, hunting and music, principally occupied his time, absorbed his thoughts, and divided his affections: nor was it easy to decide which of them possessed the strongest ascendant over him. In the former diversion he passed the far greater part of the day: to the latter amusement his evenings were principally or wholly dedicated, either in public, when at the Opera; or in private, with his family. No royal house in Europe was then so musical as that of Portugal. Joseph himself performed with considerable execution

on the violin; and the three Princesses, his daughters, all were proficients in a greater, or in a less degree, on different instruments. If he was prevented by the weather from going out to the chace, the King had recourse for occupation to his Manege. On Sundays he seldom or never missed attending the Italian Opera in Lisbon; but he likewise maintained another Opera at Belem, his residence near the capital. I have been present at this latter performance, to which, only foreign ministers, officers, persons belonging to the Court, and foreigners of condition, were admitted; all of them, gratuitously. The house itself was of very contracted dimensions; the pit not being calculated to contain more than about one hundred and thirty individuals. Boxes, indeed, in the proper acceptation of the term, there were none; the King, Queen, and Royal Family, being seated in a gallery fronting the stage, elevated considerably above the body of the house. One small box was constructed on each side; that on the right hand being appropriated to the Patriarch, or head of the Portuguese church, whom I have seen present at the performance. The other usually remained vacant, being reserved for any stranger of high rank who might visit Portugal.

The circumstance which distinguished this entertainment from any other of the same kind which I ever witnessed; and which may appear so extraordinary as hardly to obtain credit; consisted in the total exclusion of women, not only from the pit, but from the stage; either as spectators, or as actresses. No female could obtain admission. The reason commonly assigned by the Court, for proscribing the whole sex from any participation in an amusement, of which, in all other European countries, they constitute the principal ornament and the soul; was, that there were no proper places for ladies. But it might have been answered, that nothing could be easier than to construct side-

boxes for their reception. Even this reason could not explain their exclusion from the stage, on which none except Italian *Castrati* were ever admitted to sing, or to perform any part. *Battistini*, who filled with great distinction the first female characters, was selected and engaged, not only for his superior vocal excellence, but for his feminine appearance, and admirable resemblance to a woman, when he was dressed in female attire. So complete indeed was the deception, that I think it never would have occurred to any uninformed person, to doubt for an instant, of his being what he personated. Even the *Ballets* were all performed by men or boys, habited in the Costume of nymphs, shepherdesses, and goddesses. This exclusion of all females, except the Queen and Princesses, rendered the spectacle, though otherwise magnificent in machinery and decorations, as well as scientific in point of musical execution; comparatively insipid, dull, and destitute of interest or animation. Incredible as it may seem, the passion of jealousy constituted the cause of so singular a prohibition. The Queen of Portugal, though at this time she was considerably advanced towards her sixtieth year, yet watched every motion of her husband, with all the vigilant anxiety of a young woman. And in order the better to secure his personal fidelity, she wisely took care to remove from before his eyes, as much as possible, every temptation to inconstancy. The ladies in waiting, and maids of honour, who attended Their Majesties in public, must certainly have been selected for their want of all attractions; and they were, besides, too far advanced in years, to be longer capable of inspiring any sentiment except respect. The Portugueze females who accompanied Catherine of Braganza in 1662, when she came over to England, in order to espouse Charles the Second, whose total deficiency in personal charms is so eloquently described in the "Memoires de Grammont;" could not possibly

exceed in that particular, the attendants on Marianna Victoria, wife of Joseph the First.

Nor was her vigilance by any means confined to the Opera. She displayed the same apprehensions, and took similar precautions, against any rival or intruder in the King's affections, whenever he went out to the chace. Whether the diversion was hunting, or shooting, or falconing, she was constantly at his side. No woman in Europe, indeed, rode bolder, or with more skill. Her figure almost defied the powers of description, on these occasions. She sat astride, as was the universal custom in Portugal, and wore English leather breeches; frequently black; over which she threw a petticoat, which did not always conceal her legs. A jacket of cloth, or stuff, and a cocked hat, sometimes laced, at other times without ornament, compleated the masculine singularity of her appearance. When, after having let loose the falcon, she followed him with her eye in his flight, she always threw the reins on her horse's neck; allowing him to carry her wherever he pleased, fearless of accidents. She was admitted to be an excellent shot, seldom missing the bird at which she fired, even when flying: but this diversion had nearly produced a most tragical result; as, a few years before I visited Portugal, she very narrowly missed killing the King with a ball, which actually grazed his temple. Few princes in modern times have had more hair-breadth escapes from danger or assassination, than Joseph the First experienced; on which subject I shall have occasion to say much, in the course of these observations.

In the year 1772, the Court of Lisbon offered scarcely any sources of amusement to a foreigner. Neither levees, nor drawing-rooms were ever held, except on birth-days, and on a few particular festivals. The King, Queen, his brother Don Pedro, his three daughters, and the young Prince of Beyra, lived all under the same

roof, and inhabited a long wooden range of apartments at Belem, lower down the bank of the Tagus than Lisbon. The terrors and recollection of the earthquake of 1755, were so deeply impressed on their minds, that they preferred residing in a wooden building, however mean or inconvenient, rather than encounter the perils annexed to a stone edifice. Joseph had never slept under a house, properly so denominated, during near seventeen years. Wherever he moved, either wooden Barracks, or tents, were provided for his accommodation. I have seen tents pitched for his reception, in the fields adjoining the palace of Maffra, while that immense and costly edifice was totally abandoned, neglected, and unfurnished. These precautions, however singular and almost pusillanimous they may at first sight seem, were nevertheless necessary. Experience had fully demonstrated, that the most solid, massy, and well-constructed buildings of stone, only exposed the inhabitant to greater, and more inevitable destruction, in the event of an earthquake; because the resistance made by such materials to the undulation or shock, produced their overthrow. On the contrary, any structure composed of wood, supported like the Barracks inhabited by the Royal Family, on pillars of the same materials; yielding to the concussion of the earth, rocked and waved with the convulsion, thus escaping its worst effects.

No splendor or exhibition of state was maintained by the King of Portugal, who, though he scarcely ever failed to attend, with the Royal Family, every week, at the Bull Feasts, and at the Italian Opera in Lisbon, yet was always understood to be present incognito. The only deviation from this practice or Etiquette, took place when the Court went annually, as was the invariable custom in time of Carnival, about the middle of January, to the Palace of Salva Terra, situated several leagues higher up the Tagus than the Metropolis. The

King remained there till the month of March, and all the foreign ministers usually attended him. Hunting parties, to which strangers of condition were admitted, constituted the occupation of the day; followed in the evening by an Opera, like that of Belem, open gratuitously to all such persons as had been presented to the Sovereign. I was assured that Joseph expended no less a sum than about forty thousand Pounds Sterling annually, on the diversion of the Opera. Yet he was likewise fond of play, and passed much time at the card table. Previous to the memorable earthquake of 1755, he was considered as temperate, drinking usually water at his meals: but such was the effect produced on his mind, and so severe the dejection of spirits which he experienced, after that awful visitation of Providence, that it was apprehended, his health would be seriously affected by it. His physicians prescribed the use of wine, as necessary to restore his constitution; a prescription which proved so agreeable to the patient, that it was commonly believed, His Majesty indulged himself too freely in its use. At an earlier period of his life, he was supposed to have been guilty of excesses of another kind, and to have given the Queen, frequent occasion for jealousy: nor had the partiality of Joseph towards the sex, by any means become extinct, with the decline of years. But, his attachments or amours, were always secret, decorous, and conducted with a becoming regard to public opinion, as well as with a due attention to his domestic and conjugal felicity. No mistress, like Madame de Pompadour, or Madame du Barry in France, under Louis the Fifteenth; or Madame Chevalier at Petersburgh, under Paul the First, dishonoured and disgraced the court of Portugal.

Joseph, considered in his kingly character and capacity, though not to be ranked among the first princes in vigor and ability, who then reigned in Europe, was not deficient in talents or qualities befitting the

throne. If he felt his own inability to govern, he demonstrated no common discernment and force of mind, in the selection of a minister, to whom he delegated that office. The Marquis de Pombal exercised in fact, all the functions of the monarchy. He possessed nearly as unlimited an ascendant over his master, as the Cardinal of Lerma did over Philip the Third, or the Condé d'Olivarez over Philip the Fourth, Kings of Spain; and was accustomed to transact public business, at hours and seasons usually dedicated to pleasure, or lost in sleep. The King very frequently signed papers of the greatest consequence after midnight, before he retired to rest; at which time the Marquis commonly waited on him for the purpose. The superstition which characterized the house of Braganza, and in the practice of which Joseph himself had been educated; which distinguished his father John the Fifth, and which survived in the present reigning Queen, till she became alienated in mind; by no means existed in him. The seizure and expulsion of the Jesuits, sufficiently manifested his superiority to the bigotted veneration felt for that order of men, among the great majority of his subjects. If he possessed, himself, no taste for the fine arts, nor evinced any passion for learning and polite letters, he at least extended protection to their professors. During the period of two and twenty years that he had then reigned since the decease of John the Fifth, a great and salutary change had taken place among the Portugueze, in all the attainments of a civilized people. Establishments for the education of the young nobility and gentry, had been founded, which would have done honor to Great Britain; and which, though originating with the minister, yet could only have been fully accomplished by the consent of the Sovereign.

These laudable acts of Government, were nevertheless contrasted with corresponding defects of administration;

some of which might be attributable to the Marquis de Pombal, while others seemed personally to reproach the King. The people universally and loudly complained of oppression. In the royal household, mismanagement prevailed to such a degree, that almost all the domestic servants and menial attendants of the Court, having been unpaid for several years, were in the lowest stage of distress. The reverse had been the case under his predecessor John the Fifth. Joseph's revenues were commonly supposed to amount to two Millions Sterling, while the national expenditure did not usually exceed a moiety of that sum. Yet the footmen who followed the royal carriages in public, were left almost without the means of even procuring sustenance. I never saw the King and Queen in any carriage, except a sort of Caleche, or chaise, drawn by two mules of no uncommon beauty. In this equipage, which was nothing less than royal, they always attended the Bull Feasts. When Her Majesty accompanied the Princesses her daughters, to say Mass, or to perform her devotions, at some church in the vicinity of Lisbon; she was drawn in a coach, with only a pair of horses of a very inferior description, and such a set of harness as we should scarcely consider to be good enough for a hackney-coach. About forty horse-guards accompanied them, and they generally distributed some money to the populace, or rather the beggars, who assembled in groupes at the door of the church.

I went, one day, to look at the royal carriages, kept at Alcantara, about a mile out of Lisbon. There were at least thirty; some of which had cost, as the people assured me, two hundred thousand Crusadoes, or twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. They were very magnificent, and had all been built either in Rome or at Paris. London had not then begun to supply the Continent with that article of luxury. Among the royal carriages, I was struck with the coach in which John the Fourth

made his public entry into the capital, after recovering Portugal from the Spaniards. It nearly realized the descriptions given us of those vehicles, soon after their first appearance or invention in the sixteenth century. The carriage in question, which had been constructed in 1641, was, consequently, above a hundred and thirty years old, at the time when I saw it; and might more properly be denominated a chamber on wheels, than a coach in the modern acceptation of the term, as it was capable of containing ten or twelve persons with the utmost convenience. The sides were open; the windows resembling the lattices of our farm-houses, divided into small panes, with casements for the admission of air. It was preserved with pious veneration, as a monument of the emancipation of the kingdom by the first Prince of the House of Braganza. Henry the Fourth was seated in just such another coach, when he was stabbed by Ravaillac, in the year 1610, in the Rue de la Ferronerie, at Paris.

Joseph the First had twice escaped from a similar fate to that of Henry: the first time in 1758; and the last, only two years before I visited Lisbon. The former attempt, which occupies a memorable place among the tragical events of the eighteenth century, may rank with Damien's attempt on Louis the Fifteenth's life, in 1755; and with the attack made in 1771, on Stanislaus, King of Poland. I allude to the conspiracy of the Duke d'Aveiro, and the Marquis de Tavora in 1758; all the leading particulars of which I have often heard recounted by contemporary witnesses. The Duke d'Aveiro, whose family name was Mascarenhas, descended from Don George, a natural son of John the Second, King of Portugal, one of the most illustrious Princes who has reigned in modern ages; the contemporary of our Henry the Seventh; and to whose exertions we owe, in an eminent degree, the discovery of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope.

D'Aveiro's talents appear to have been very moderate, and his courage very equivocal; but his temper, ferocious, as well as vindictive, rendered him capable of embracing the most flagitious measures for the gratification of his revenge. The King of Portugal's escape, which was altogether fortuitous, resulted from the coolness or presence of mind, manifested by the coachman who drove the royal carriage. For, this man, finding that several shots or balls, had passed through it behind; and not doubting that Joseph was wounded; instead of proceeding forward, immediately turned round his mules, and took the road that led to the house of the King's surgeon. By this sudden and unexpected Manœuvre; Joseph avoided falling into the hands of four other armed parties of Conspirators, who were posted at different places, where it was known he must pass in his way to the palace.

A woman, the old Marchioness of Tavora, formed the soul of this sanguinary enterprize, which conducted the principal persons engaged in it, to a cruel and ignominious death. Revenge, heightened by personal enmity towards the King and the first Minister, who had refused to raise the Marquis of Tavora to the dignity of a Duke; rather than any well ascertained intention, or expectation of subverting the Government, and dethroning the Braganza family; seem to have stimulated the Conspirators to so atrocious an undertaking.

Precisely similar motives impelled the Duke of Orleans to produce those commotions which eventually overturned the French throne, and led to the horrors of the Revolution. It was not ambition, or the hope of reigning, but personal hatred and revenge. The late Duke of Dorset, who, from the situation that he occupied during several years, as Embassador to the Court of Versailles, had opportunities of obtaining the most authentic information, has many times assured me

of this fact. He knew it from the Queen herself. She constituted the principal object of the Duke of Orleans's detestation, whose malignity was not so much levelled against Louis the Sixteenth, as against the Queen. That princess had given him many causes of aversion; one of which consisted in endeavouring successfully to prevent the marriage of his daughter, Mademoiselle D'Orleans, with the Duke d'Angoulesme. Marie Antoinette wished to unite her own daughter in marriage with the young Prince, as she thereby secured to her the succession to the throne of France, in case that Louis the Sixteenth should not leave behind him any son. The Duke of Dorset told me, that as early as 1786, or 1787, the Queen had said to him, on her seeing the Duke of Orleans at Versailles: "Monsieur le Duc, "regardez cette homme la. Il me deteste, et il a juré "ma perte. Je la vois dans ses yeux, toutes les fois "qu'il me fixe. Il ne sera jamais content, jusqu'a ce "qu'il me voit etendue morte a ses pieds." He lived, in fact, to witness her tragical end, but he survived her only a very short time. I return from this digression, to the Portugueze conspirators. They executed their attempt, like men destitute of courage: for, if the first band, who intercepted the King, as he was returning from Belem, had fired into the carriage as he advanced, instead of waiting, as they did, till he had passed, before they discharged their pieces, he must have fallen. The ball with which he was wounded, passed between his side and his arm, tearing the flesh of both, but without inflicting any severe wound.

The consternation excited by the attempt, was augmented by the obscurity in which it was enveloped; the Court remaining some weeks in total ignorance of the authors of the conspiracy; as the Conspirators did, on the other hand, in equal uncertainty, respecting the nature and consequences of the King's wounds. It is a fact, that the Duke d'Aveiro and the Marquis of Tavora

repaired almost daily to the King's apartment, to make their enquiries in person after his health; expressing the utmost abhorrence of the treason. They were even admitted to his presence; but, in a chamber intentionally kept so dark, as to render it impossible for them to ascertain the probability of his recovery. Meanwhile, the vigilance of the Marquis de Pombal, aided, as is said, by some imprudent expressions of the Duke d'Aveiro, enabled the Minister to trace, and to ascertain the guilt of the Conspirators. They were then arrested and brought to trial. The Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis of Tavora, and his two sons, were broken on the wheel; while the old Marchioness, who, in consideration of her sex, was sentenced to be beheaded, ascended the scaffold with a firm step, betrayed neither fear nor contrition, and laid down her head on the block, as she would have done on a pillow.

Haughty and imperious in her character, she was restrained by no considerations of pity or of humanity, when her vengeance, her ambition, or her interest, impelled her. The meetings of the Conspirators were frequently held in a summer house, situate in the garden of the Marquis of Tavora's palace at Lisbon, with which it was connected by a long wooden gallery. It happened that a young Portugueze lady, of noble extraction, but of reduced circumstances, who lived in the Marchioness's family; as her companion; surprized at observing lights, one evening, in this summer house, and altogether without suspicion of the cause; was attracted by curiosity to approach the place. As she advanced along the gallery that led to it, she heard voices in earnest conversation; and on coming nearer, soon distinguished that of the Marchioness, who seemed to be animated by some cause, to a pitch of uncommon violence. She listened for a few seconds; and then, apprehensive of being discovered in such a situation, she was about to return from whence she came, when

the door suddenly opening, the Marchioness herself appeared. Their surprize was mutual; and the latter demanded, with much agitation, what cause had brought her to that place? She answered, that her astonishment at observing lights in the summer house, had led her to ascertain the reason. "You have then, no doubt," said the Marchioness, "overheard our conversation?" The young lady protested that she was perfectly ignorant of any part of it; and that as soon as she distinguished the Marchioness's voice, her respect led her to return to the palace, which she was about to do at the moment when the door opened. But the Marchioness, who had too much at stake to be so easily satisfied or deceived, assuming a tranquil air, and affecting to repose a confidence in her, "The Marquis and I," rejoined she, "have had a serious and a violent quarrel, during the "course of which, he had the rudeness to contradict me "in the most insulting manner; and he even carried his "audacity to such a point, as to give me the lie. I "burst out of the room, unable to restrain my indigna-"tion, and no longer mistress of my emotions. Did "you not hear him give me the lie at the time I opened "the door?" "I did, Madam," imprudently replied the unfortunate lady. Aware from that instant, that the nature of their meeting, and of the subjects agitated at it, was now in some measure discovered, she instantly determined to prevent the possibility of its being further divulged. Next morning, the body of the unhappy listener was found in one of the streets of Lisbon, wrapt in a sheet, scarcely cold, and the blood still oozing from various wounds inflicted on her with a dagger. It was not doubted at the time, that she had been put to death by secret directions, issued from the palace of Tavora: but the power of that great family, and the frequency of similar spectacles in the Portugueze capital, silenced all judicial enquiry into the causes of her tragical end. The Marchioness expiated her crime

on the scaffold. Her daughter-in-law, the young Marchioness of Tavora, alone, who was daughter to the Duke d'Aveiro, exempted from the general destruction of her family, either on account of her presumed innocence, or, as was pretended by others, from motives of private partiality on the part of the King, was immured in a convent. She was, I believe, still living in 1772, under confinement.

The second attempt made on Joseph's life, arose from the irritated feelings of a poor Portugueze peasant. This man, driven to despair by the conduct of the King's servants, who had forcibly seized on his carts and cattle; rushed furiously on His Majesty, as he was going out to hunt, and aimed a blow, with a long pole, at his head, which narrowly missed him. It happened at the palace of Villa Viciosa, the ancient patrimonial residence of the Dukes of Braganza, where the King used sometimes to repair, for a short time. The peasant was not executed, but still remained, as common rumor asserted, in a dungeon at Belem, when I was in Portugal. Two such attacks, though of very opposite kinds, yet had rendered Joseph timid, and induced him to take many precautions for his preservation against similar efforts of vengeance, or of treason. Even at the Italian Opera in Lisbon, which he scarcely ever failed to attend, yet when he went, as was his custom, between the Acts, from the royal Box in front of the stage, to a side Box, from which he viewed the Ballets; he always passed through a private passage, well secured, constructed on purpose, with a view to protect his person from any act of violence.

Marianna Victoria, Queen of Portugal, and wife of Joseph, was a daughter of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, by Elizabeth Farnese, his second wife, heiress of that celebrated family, and herself a woman of no ordinary talents. The Princess in question had been, as is well known, betrothed, when a child, to Louis the

Fifteenth; was sent to France, and resided in that country during several years: but, on the death of the Regent Duke of Orleans, in December, 1723, when the government fell into the hands of the Duke de Bourbon; one of the earliest acts of his administration, was to dissolve the unfinished marriage, and to send the Princess back to Madrid. In the year 1729, when she was not more than eleven, she was carried by her father, Philip, to Badajoz, and married to Joseph, then hereditary Prince of Portugal, who himself had not attained his fourteenth year. The nuptials were immediately solemnized; the bride and bridegroom being put into the same bed together, in presence of the great officers of the court; but it was near six years afterwards, in December 1734, before she brought into the world a daughter, the present Queen. Marianna Victoria was said to have been very agreeable in her person, when young; but in 1772, no traces of that beauty remained. Her figure was short and thick, her face red; her nose large, and her manner destitute of softness or elegance. There was, indeed, nothing feminine in her appearance or demeanour. Nevertheless, her eyes, which were dark, lively, and piercing, retained their original lustre. She wore a profusion of Rouge; her neck and shoulders, whether at Church, at the Opera, or at a Bull Feast, being always bare; and she seemed to be not only in possession of health, but capable of the roughest exercise, or most severe fatigue. Her arms were brown and sun-burnt, from her perpetually following the chace. Those persons who knew Her Majesty well, always assured me that she neither wanted spirit, nor ability, though she never attempted to possess power, nor had ever attained any political influence. All her anxiety seemed to be confined to the person of her royal partner, and did not extend to the guidance of state affairs. If any opinion might be formed of her

religion, from her behaviour at Mass, she was assuredly no bigot. I was accustomed to frequent, from motives of curiosity, the church of the Necessidadas, and that of St. Francisco da Paola, where she constantly attended, with the Princesses, her daughters; and I may truly assert that I never saw any woman who manifested so little attention while at her devotions.

Of a widely different character from her Mother in that respect, was the Princess of Brazil, Maria, eldest of the three daughters of Joseph, and presumptive Heiress to the Crown of Portugal. In her, a gloomy and severe spirit of superstition formed the predominant feature. Her mind was said to be deeply impressed with the tragical Catastrophe of the Duke d'Aveiro, and his associates, whose fate she was believed to lament, as having been unmerited, or unjust. To her reflections upon those terrible executions, heightened by the remonstrances or reproaches of her Confessor, has been indeed generally attributed the subsequent alienation of her understanding. In her person she was taller than either of her sisters, as well as thinner; of a pale and wan complexion, that seemed to indicate melancholy; her features, prominent, strong, and altogether destitute of any attractions. In all the duties and departments of private life, she was exemplary. Married to her Uncle, only brother to the King, they exhibited a model of nuptial felicity. The union, however repugnant to our modes of thinking, and in some measure contrary to nature, yet had been fruitful; they had then two sons and a daughter living. The desire of preventing any possibility of a disputed succession, between the collateral male heir to the throne, and the female in direct descent, dictated this species of incestuous marriage; which, whatever sanction it may derive from antiquity, among the Ptolemies, or the Seleucidæ, can plead no parallel among the other royal houses of Europe. It is not the

least singular circumstance of the transaction, that so far from any compulsion having been used to accomplish it, the Princess, from her early youth, entertained a strong partiality and attachment towards Don Pedro, her future Husband. She was near thirty-eight years old, when I visited Portugal.

All the talents of the female part of the Braganza Family, were said to be concentrated in Donna Maria Anna, second of Joseph's daughters. Shorter and thicker in her person than the Princess of Brazil, she was more agreeable in her countenance; possessing a ruddy complexion, as well as a more animated expression of features. Her mind was expanded, and her understanding cultivated by polite knowledge. Many of her hours were dedicated to reading, and she was regarded as superior to bigotry. In addition to these solid endowments, she joined great taste and skill in Music, with a fine voice. Though the most accomplished of the three sisters, she was nevertheless doomed to remain unmarried in her father's court, having attained, in 1772, her thirty-sixth year. Nature had been in some respects more bountiful to the third Princess, Donna Maria Benedicta, who was likewise considerably younger, being only six and twenty years old at this time. Though low in stature, clumsy, and much inclined to Embonpoint, her face was very handsome; her eyes dark and eloquent, her complexion fair, the contour of her countenance rather round than oval, and her features small, as well as delicate. But she was not considered to possess the superiority of mind that distinguished Maria Anna. About seven years before the time of which I speak, a treaty of marriage had been set on foot between this Princess and the Emperor Joseph the Second, who was then recently become a widower, by the death of his first wife. It proceeded so far, that preparations were made for transporting her from Lisbon to Flanders, in her way to Vienna;

and a ship, constructed expressly for the purpose, in the Brazils, magnificently decorated, lay ready in the Tagus. But, the intrigues and exertions of the old Queen Dowager of Spain, mother of Charles the Third, and grandmother of the Princess herself, who was incensed at the endeavours of the Marquis de Pombal, to assume the exclusive merit of this alliance, rendered the plan abortive. It is probable, and I have been so assured at Vienna, that the pretext used to indispose the Austrian court from accomplishing the projected nuptials, was the representation made of the improbability of her producing children, on account of her tendency to become large and fat. Incredible and unnatural as it may seem, she was actually married, several years afterwards, in 1777, when turned of thirty years of age, to her own nephew, her sister's son, the young Prince of Beyra, eventual heir to the Throne of Portugal. The ceremony was performed in Joseph's apartments, as he lay expiring. They lived together many years, but never had any issue. There seems to have been no rational excuse, or adequate motive assigned, for this second union in the same family, which impresses with a degree of horror, or, at least, of disgust; and was the more remarkable, as the Portugueze women of condition seldom bear children, if not married before twenty-eight or thirty. Catherine of Portugal, daughter of John the Fourth, who was the wife of our Charles the Second, and who espoused him at an earlier age, I believe about twenty-four, never brought him any issue, male or female; but Burnet says, that the King himself told him, (Dr. Burnet) that "she had been with child." She even once miscarried, when considerably advanced in her pregnancy, if we may believe the same historical authority: but, as Charles had no fewer, it is asserted, I think by Dr. Lucas, in his History of England, than fifty-three natural children, by different mistresses, in the course

of his life; we must suppose that his failure of legitimate issue, originated on the side of his Queen. Some excuse may be suggested for the marriage of the eldest daughter of Joseph, with his brother, Don Pedro, where there existed no direct male issue to inherit the crown; but it was reserved for the family of Braganza to exhibit to mankind, in the eighteenth century, the extraordinary spectacle of a youth of fifteen, espousing his own aunt, at thirty. From such a connexion, it can neither excite surprise nor regret, that no descendants should have sprung.

The Prince of Beyra, himself, eldest son of the Princess of Brazil and of Don Pedro, was then the *Marcellus* of Portugal; towards whom all eyes were turned, and from whose future auspicious Government, political miracles were fondly anticipated. It may excite the more surprize that such expectations should have been entertained, when I add that in 1772, he had only completed the eleventh year of his age. I have seen him many times, as he never failed to attend the Royal family in public, at the Bull Feasts, at Church, and every where except at the Italian Opera; a diversion for which he manifested a decided aversion. He was tall and manly for his age, though his face was pale and delicate; and he appeared to have a weak or defective sight. His features and his expression of countenance, it must be admitted, indicated intelligence. The stories related of his capacity and dawning expansion of mind, had obtained a very universal credit. Some well attested instances of the goodness of his disposition, and the liberality of his temper, I have heard, which seemed to be entitled to belief: but, no sort of inference, as to his future character, could be safely drawn from these tales. Joseph the First, during the reign of his father, had excited similar expectations, which he by no means fulfilled after he ascended the throne. His grandson, who was likewise named Joseph,

died at about twenty-seven years of age, in 1788, of the small-pox, which the bigotted prejudices and ignorance of his mother, had prevented her from giving him by inoculation; leaving, as I before observed, no issue by his aunt, to whom he had been married during several years.

With Don Pedro, father and great uncle to the Prince of Beyra, I shall conclude my remarks on the Royal House of Portugal. He was several years younger than the King; not inclined, like Joseph, to corpulency; of a sallow complexion; equally destitute in his person, as in his manners, of elegance, or grace; and no way distinguished by natural endowments of any kind. He excelled in no exercises of the body; and possessed in his features no expression of intellect. His faculties were, indeed, very contracted, and altogether unfit for the conduct of public affairs. Possessing neither political power nor influence, he could only be considered as a fixture of the Court; and never was any Prince a more perfect cypher. He enjoyed no command, military or civil; not even a separate establishment or household. When the King hunted, Don Pedro accompanied him; as he equally did to the Opera, or to Mass; never absenting himself, except on account of indisposition. He had constructed a palace at Cayluze, about six English miles from Lisbon; but Don Pedro never resided there, though he frequently attended his brother to the chace; commonly alighting, for a few minutes, in order to hear Mass at Cayluze. Those who knew him intimately, assured me that he was of a devout, friendly, and benevolent disposition. On Joseph's decease, in February, 1777, when his consort became Queen in her own right, he was made King matrimonial, by the name of Don Pedro the Third; as Henry, Lord Darnley, became in Scotland, on his marriage with Mary Stuart. He survived his elder brother above nine years, dying in May, 1786.

THE BULL FEASTS

The public entertainment or exhibition which then distinguished Lisbon from all other capitals of Europe, was the celebration of Bull Feasts. They were held every Sunday, during the Summer and Autumn. I have been present at many of them. However barbarous the diversion might justly be esteemed, it is the only one that I ever witnessed, which could be said to realize in some measure, the Amphitheatrical games of antient Rome, exhibited in the Circus. They were already extinct in Spain, where Charles the Third had abolished them, on his ascending the throne in 1759. Joseph, and the Queen his wife, on the contrary, nourished the strongest partiality, or rather decided passion, for these games of Moresco origin; which they never failed to attend, unless prevented by illness. I have seen the King there, though one of his eyes was swelled and bandaged; caused by the effect of a spark that had flown into it from the flint of his fowling piece, when firing it at the chaça. Those persons who have formed their ideas of Bull Feasts, from the entertaining descriptions of the Countess d'Aubnoi, which she has enlivened by amorous, as well as by tragical adventures; and which were written at Madrid, under the reign of Charles the Second, last Prince of the Austrian line, in 1679 and 1680; would have esteemed the diversion tame, as it was exhibited at Lisbon, before Joseph the First. Yet was it not altogether divested of something that reminded me of the Tournaments and exercises of Chivalry, with which our imaginations are so warmly impressed in youth. The Portugueze Bull Feasts were celebrated in a large wooden Amphitheatre, capable of commodiously containing many thousand persons; surrounded with benches below, to a considerable height, which were surmounted by tiers of boxes. The *Arena* was very ample and spacious. When the Champion, who was about to engage the Bulls, gaily dressed, mounted on a spirited horse, a

spear in his hand, appeared upon the ground, and saluted the Corporation of Lisbon, as was the custom, the effect of the Spectacle is not easy to describe in adequate terms. From sixteen to twenty Bulls were regularly sacrificed every Sunday; and though circular pieces of leather were fastened on their horns, in order to prevent their ripping up or mortally wounding the combatants, yet I have witnessed many very severe, and several nearly fatal accidents. Prodigious dexterity, vigor, and address, were displayed by some of the horsemen; particularly by a Castilian, who generally made his appearance, and whom I have often seen drive his spear, at the first thrust, direct into the Bull's heart, when the animal was running furiously at him. The Amphitheatre then rang with applauses.

It frequently happened, that the Bulls wanted spirit or inclination for the contest. In those cases, the Spectacle became rather a butchery, than a combat, or an amusement: but some of them would not have disgraced a Roman Amphitheatre, if, (as I have been assured was customary a century earlier); their horns, instead of being blunted or covered, had been filed and sharpened to a point. Several of the men who fought on foot, exhibited extraordinary agility and coolness, in eluding the rage of the incensed animal; but it must at the same time be remembered, that they were commonly six or seven combined, all armed with long spears. I have seen women engage the bull, ride up, and wound him. Two in particular, who were *Dancerinas*, or Posture-girls; one a Venetian, the other a Spaniard, habited as men, and sitting astride, possessed great firmness, and excited general admiration. Sometimes the Bulls were furnished by the Court. I have beheld twenty killed in the course of three hours; eight of which were given by the King, as many more by Don Pedro his brother, two by the Duke de Cadaval, and two, (however singular it may

seem,) by the Patriarch of Lisbon. After having witnessed several of these Exhibitions, I confess that I became disgusted with them. The most interesting part consisted in the assemblage of spectators, particularly Ladies, who filled the Boxes. Even the seats in the Pit, were generally crowded with females. The Queen, and her three daughters, never failed to attend in the Royal Box; though they were considered to be there Incognito. However barbarous the diversion must be regarded, it always reminded me of Milton's description of the entertainments,

> "Where throngs of Knights and Barons bold,
> In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold;
> With store of Ladies, whose bright eyes
> Rain influence, and judge the Prize."

As soon as the Bull Feast ended, which was commonly about six o'clock, the King, Queen, and Royal family immediately repaired to the Italian Opera, which was at a very inconsiderable distance, in the same quarter of Lisbon. Such was the invariable Usage or Etiquette, every Sunday. Yet, there, as at the Bull Feast, though seated in the front of the Theatre, they were supposed to preserve their Incognito. Joseph's dress, on these occasions, was always a full-trimmed suit of silk, or of cloth; either quite plain, or embroidered with white silk; the sumptuary laws of Portugal prohibiting embroidery of gold or silver. He wore a flowing tye-wig, as we see George the Second represented in his portraits; and the Portugueze Order of Christ, on his breast. The Queen and Princesses were covered with diamonds; in particular, the Princess of Brazil: but the Queen alone wore Rouge, from the use of which her daughters abstained. During the course of the performance, His Majesty never failed to go round to his private Box, close to the Stage, in order to view the

Ballets, after each of which he returned to the Royal family. On these little excursions, which he always seemed to enjoy, and during which he generally made the best use of his time, with his Opera glass, in contemplating the female part of the audience who filled the side Boxes, several noblemen accompanied him. The Count de Prado alone possessed the privilege of being seated, when with the Sovereign; a mark of distinguished regard and predilection. To him, Joseph appeared to communicate all his confidential discourse, while the other individuals in attendance, remained standing behind him. Even the Duke de Cadaval, though the sole person of that high rank in the kingdom of Portugal; there being no other since the extinction of the Dukedom of Aveiro; yet was never permitted to sit down, in company with the King. After the Count de Prado, the two Counts of Cantineida, and of Arcos, both sons of the Marquis de Marialva, whose name always brought Gil Blas before my imagination; enjoyed, in 1772, the highest place in Joseph's personal favor. The former, I mean the Count de Cantineida, was the only Nobleman in the kingdom, allowed by a special grace of the Crown, to drive in a coach and six, with which equipage the King himself had presented him.

The memorable Earthquake of the 1st of November, 1755, had impressed on almost every part of Lisbon, the most awful traces of its existence and ravages, at the time when I visited that capital. Many edifices still remained exactly in the condition that they were left; presenting such scenes of devastation and destruction, as would have been vainly sought for elsewhere. Among them, the antient palace of the Dukes of Braganza, which was built on a commanding eminence, in the center of the Metropolis; and the Cathedral of Lisbon, stood conspicuous. Both these majestic structures hourly threatened to crush the tenant, or the devotee, who ventured to enter them. Yet the former

pile was inhabited by various families or individuals, who sought shelter under the tottering roof; and superstition or devotion had consecrated chapels in the latter, amidst the ruins of altars and domes, where Masses were daily celebrated. I was peculiarly led to visit the Cathedral, by the hope of finding the tomb of Camöens, the celebrated Portugueze poet, whose body, as I had been assured, was there interred. But I could discover no proofs of any such interment, though I made every inquiry; and I have reason to believe, after all the researches in my power, that as he unquestionably expired in a public hospital, of a disease which, from its contagious nature, resembled the plague, he was thrown into a common grave, with a number of other dead bodies. It is certain that no monument was ever erected to his memory.

A striking, and a melancholy conformity exists, between the destiny of the two most illustrious men of genius, whom Spain and Portugal have produced in modern ages. I mean, Cervantes, and Camöens: a conformity which reflects no honor on those countries, or on the sovereigns and Ministers, who thus abandoned them to the rigors of adversity. Both served on the expeditions undertaken against the Mahometans, in the capacity of private soldiers; and both were wounded. Camöens lost an eye, before the town of Ceuta in Morocco; and Cervantes lost his left hand, at the celebrated naval battle of Lepanto, gained by Don John of Austria in 1571, over the Turks. Each of them underwent captivity, shipwreck, and all the calamities of adverse fortune. Returning to their native country, both were admired, and deserted. John the Third, and Sebastian, Kings of Portugal, seem to have done as little for Camöens, as Philip the Second and Third, the Sovereigns of Spain, did for Cervantes. Each of them attained to an advanced age, amidst the pressure of diseases, penury, and privations. Camöens

breathed his last at Lisbon, in 1579, at about sixty-two years of age, in an Hospital; reproaching his countrymen, as is asserted, for their cruel neglect. Cervantes, worn out by the progress of a dropsy, rendered more severe by want, preserved his constitutional gaiety of disposition to the last moments of his existence; expired, it may be almost said, with the pen in his hand; and seemed to triumph over dissolution, by the elasticity and energy of his mind. He died at Madrid, in 1616; a year which likewise deprived the world of Shakespear! The author of the "Lusiad," and the writer of "Don Quixote," were both thrown into the ground, without even the decencies of an ordinary funeral; nor can the spot where either of their remains are deposited, be even ascertained at the present time. It is impossible to consider these facts, without emotions of mingled concern and indignation. Yet, Spenser, Otway, and Chatterton, among us, appear to have experienced no milder a fate.

If I could not discover the place of Camöens's interment, I at least found out the grave and tombstone of the author of "Tom Jones." Fielding, who terminated his life, as is well known, at Lisbon, in 1754, of a complication of disorders, at little more than forty seven years of age, lies buried in the Cimetery appropriated to the English Factory. I visited his grave, which was already nearly concealed by weeds and nettles. Though he did not suffer the extremity of distress under which Camöens and Cervantes terminated their lives; yet his extravagance, a quality so commonly characteristic of men distinguished by talents, embittered the evening of his days. Fielding, Richardson, and Le Sage, seem to have attained the highest eminence in that seductive species of composition, unknown to antiquity, which we denominate *Novels*. Crebillon, Marivaux, and Smollett, only occupy the second place. Voltaire and Rousseau are rather satirical or philo-

sophical moralists, than Novellists. "Don Quixote" is a work *sui generis*, and not amenable to ordinary rules. "Gil Blas" seems to stand alone, and will probably be read with avidity in every age, and every country. Though the scene lies in Spain, and the characters are Spaniards, the manners are universal; and true to nature equally in Madrid, in Paris, or in London. Richardson and Fielding are more national, and cannot be read with the same delight on the banks of the Seyne, or the Tyber, as on those of the Thames; though the former writer transports us to Bologna, in his *Sir Charles Grandison*. Fielding never attempts to carry us out of England, and his actors are all Aborigines. Foreigners neither can taste his works, nor will he ever attain to the fame of Richardson, beyond the limits of his own country. *Clementina* and *Clarissa* will penetrate, where *Sophia Western* and *Parson Adams* never can be known. *Joseph Andrews* and *Amelia* are, in point of composition, to Fielding, what *Pamela* is to Richardson.

The late Alderman Cadell, who was one of the most intelligent, honourable, and superior men of his profession; told me that his predecessor, *Millar*, the Bookseller, bought Fielding's *Amelia* of the author; giving him for the Copy right, eight hundred Pounds; a great sum at that time. After making the purchase, Millar shewed the Manuscript to Sir Andrew Mitchell, who subsequently filled the post of British Minister at Berlin; requesting to have his opinion of the work. Sir Andrew observed, to him, that it bore the indelible marks of Fielding's genius, and was a fine performance; but, nevertheless, far beneath "Tom Jones;" finally advising him to get rid of it as soon as he could. *Millar* did not neglect the counsel, though he was too able a man to divulge the opinion delivered by his friend. On the contrary, at the first sale which he made to *the Trade*, he said, "Gentlemen, I have several works to

"put up, for which I shall be glad if you will bid: but, "as to *Amelia*, every Copy is already bespoke." This Manœuvre had its effect. All the Booksellers were anxious to get their names put down for copies of it, and the edition, though very large, was immediately sold.

All the most interesting particulars of the Earthquake of 1755, have been recounted to me by many of those persons who shared in, and survived the horrors of that calamitous day, on which near forty thousand persons were believed to have perished. They agreed, that if it had taken place in the middle of the night, when the fires were in general extinguished, and when the darkness would have prevented the greater part of the inhabitants from quitting their houses before day-break; not a fourth part of the lives would have been lost, nor destruction have followed. Prodigious numbers were swept off from the Quays, by the sudden rise of the Tagus; and the conflagration which succeeded the Earthquake, spread even greater devastation than did that convulsion of nature. The first shock, which came on about forty minutes after nine in the morning, seemed to be horizontal in its direction or movement: but the second shock was perpendicular or vertical; throwing up the pavement of the streets to the heighth of forty and fifty feet into the air. Near an hour intervened between the two concussions. The King, Queen, and Royal Family, by good fortune, were not at the palace in Lisbon, but at Belem, which stands near two miles lower down, on the same side of the river. As the apartments which they inhabited, were all built on the ground, His Majesty leaped out of the window of his chamber, into the garden, on first perceiving the shock; while the three Princesses, his daughters, who were either not yet risen, or not dressed, followed him, wrapped in the bed-clothes.

Lisbon has, in all ages, been subject to the awful

visitation and ravages of Earthquakes. History commemorates several, during the lapse of the last six Centuries, which have successively laid that Capital in ruins, and buried or ingulphed a large part of the population. The most destructive in modern times, previous to 1755, happened in February, 1522, soon after the decease of Emanuel, in the first year of the reign of his son, John the Third. The concussions of the earth then lasted during eight days; but do not appear to have produced a conflagration as ruinous or extensive, as that which took place under Joseph; though more than fifteen hundred houses, besides churches, palaces, and public edifices of every kind, were destroyed. Thirty thousand persons perished in Lisbon alone; while Santarem, Almerin, and many other places, were swallowed up, together with their inhabitants. John the Third, his Queen, and the royal family, were compelled to encamp in the fields, under tents, just as Joseph did in November, 1755. Great as these convulsions of Nature were, they may nevertheless be esteemed slight, both in their extent and in their effects, if compared with those which desolated Calabria, in more recent periods, as late as the year 1783.

It is evident that the Earthquake of 1755, ran in a kind of vein, principally ravaging a circle or space of about four to five miles; which was reduced to a state of desolation, by the fire that followed it. The "Alfama," or ancient Moorish city, situate higher up the river, as well as the Suburb of Belem, lower down the Tagus; though both may be said to form a part of Lisbon, nearly as Wapping and Westminster constitute portions of London; yet received, comparatively, little injury. The principal edifices, and even the houses in both, remained, if not unshaken, yet undemolished. In 1772, rather more than half the space originally laid waste by the Earthquake and fire, had been rebuilt. Some of the new streets might even vie in regularity and

magnificence, with those of any Capital in Europe; forming an astonishing contrast with the filth, antiquity, and barbarism, characteristic of the Eastern extremity, or "Alfama."

The family of Braganza has not produced, even down to the present time, any Sovereign endowed with talents such as distinguished the two Kings, John the Second, and Emanuel, who reigned over the Portugueze in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries. John the Fourth himself, founder of the Braganza line, though he effected the recovery of their national independence, seemed to be in no degree qualified by nature, for the performance of so perilous a task. Gustavus Vasa, who expelled the tyrant Christian the Second, from Sweden; Henry the Fourth, who crushed "the League" in France; William the First, and William the Third, Princes of Orange, who successively liberated the Dutch; the former, from the yoke of Spain, and the latter, from the arms of Louis the XIVth;—all these were superior men, endowed with energies such as Providence confers on heroes. But, the Duke of Braganza was an ordinary individual, whose abilities were of the most moderate description: even his personal courage was never proved in the Field. It was the heroic spirit of his Consort, which supplying these defects, impelled him to seize the Crown, that the weakness and incapacity of the Spanish Government might be said to tender him. She was, herself, by birth a Spaniard, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia; her name, Louisa de Guzman. After the decease of the King, her husband, in 1656, she continued to act as Regent. John the Fourth left two sons, the eldest of whom, Alphonso the Sixth, was only thirteen years of age. Labouring from his infancy under incurable maladies, or debilities of body and of mind, he appears to have been altogether unfit to exercise the duties or functions of Sovereign Power. While his mother held the reins of State, Alphonso's incapacity, and acts of

violence or of imbecility, were prevented from exciting any national commotions of a serious nature: but after the retreat and decease of that illustrious Princess in 1666, his deposition speedily followed. It was merited by his excesses, and utter inaptitude for Government. His own wife, a Princess of the House of Nemours, to whom he had been recently married, but with whom he had never been able to consummate his nuptials; combining with Don Pedro, his younger brother, a Prince of prudence, energy, and ability; arrested and deposed Alphonso. In performing this Revolutionary act, they were only the agents and instruments of the Nation, who unanimously demanded, sanctioned, and maintained it.

Don Pedro, thus called to the supreme authority by the voice of the Portugueze, at twenty years of age, in 1668, did not, however, assume the title of King. Like the present Prince Regent, he contented himself with that denomination; but he married Mary of Nemours, his brother's wife, as Henry the Eighth of England had espoused Catherine of Arragon. Till the death of Alphonso, which took place seventeen years later, in 1683, Pedro only exercised the Regency. Alphonso was first sent to the Azores, or Western Islands; where he resided for some years, at Terceira, in an honorable restraint. It was afterwards judged expedient to conduct him back to Portugal, and to confine him in one of the royal palaces, at Cintra; a village not remote from Lisbon, situate towards the mouth of the Tagus, in a country abounding with natural beauties of every kind, which render it one of the most delicious and enchanting spots in Europe. At a more recent period, Cintra has attained a melancholy celebrity, from the Convention there concluded with the French, in 1808. In the palace at that place, I visited the apartment in which Alphonso was imprisoned, and where he ended his days. Though become somewhat ruinous in 1772,

it was tolerably spacious, being about twenty feet square, and proportionably lofty. He passed eleven years as a captive in that chamber. Towards the latter part of his life, his understanding, naturally very weak, became wholly alienated. He grew furious to such a degree, that it was found necessary to confine him by an iron rail, which surrounded his bed, and allowed him only a space of about fourteen to sixteen feet, for exercise. The bricks, of which the floor was composed, were worn away in this track, by the constant action of his feet. His death, however, as far as we can assert, or are warranted to conjecture, was not accelerated by any act of violence. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that Alphonso terminated his unfortunate life, on the 12th of December, 1683; and that his former wife, Mary of Nemours, who was married to his younger brother, Don Pedro, died on the 17th of the same month and year, leaving no issue by that Prince.

Pedro the Second, who continued to reign down to the commencement of the last Century, in 1706; was unquestionably the most able of the Sovereigns that have governed Portugal, from 1640 to the present time. John the Fifth, his son and successor, seems to have been a man of very moderate endowments; fond of show, but destitute of taste; of a narrow mind, and enslaved by bigotry. He expended forty-five Millions of Crusadoes, or near four Millions Sterling, in the erection of a Palace at Maffra, about five leagues north of Cintra, and not far removed from the shore of the Atlantic. It formed a monument of royal prodigality, blended with superstition. Who can believe, that in the last Century, any Prince would construct a residence in imitation or emulation of the Escurial of Philip the Second of Spain? John did not, indeed, like Philip, build the Palace of Maffra, in the form of a gridiron; but he united in one edifice, precisely as that King had done, a Palace, a Church, and a Convent.

The church occupied the centre of the building; contiguous to it being placed the Cloisters; together with the cells, or apartments of the Monks. Three hundred Franciscan Friars, a Monastic order distinguished for the disgusting filth of their dress and appearance, were there stationed. They had even an hospital in the central part of the edifice, for the diseased and infirm members of the Fraternity. One of the first acts of Joseph's reign was to dislodge these religious nuisances; and when I visited Maffra, they had been replaced by secular priests, fewer in number. The palace, dismantled, forsaken, and forming altogether an appendage to the Convent, extended in two wings, on either side, and behind the church: but it had no gardens, nor pleasure grounds of any kind. Such was Maffra, the Versailles of Portugal; placed, like that palace, in a situation little favoured by nature! John the Fifth expended more beneficially the treasures of the state, in constructing the Aqueduct of Alcantra, scarcely a mile out of Lisbon, which supplies the capital, in a great measure, with water. In solidity and grandeur, it is a work worthy of ancient Rome: crossing a deep valley or Ravine, from one mountain to another, on arches; the central one of which is three hundred feet in height, and ninety in breadth. The Earthquake of 1755, spared this monument of national utility, which received little injury from that shock; and the construction of which reconciled me in some measure, to the Sovereign by whom it was raised.

The reign of Joseph may be more properly denominated the Administration of the Condé de Oeyras, created afterwards Marquis de Pombal, than it can be characterized by any other description. The name of this Minister was Sebastian Joseph Carvalho. His birth, noble, but not illustrious, would never have opened him a way to power, if it had not been aided by extraordinary talents. Maria Anna of Austria,

daughter of the Emperor Leopold the First, and Queen of John the Fifth, recommended him to her son Joseph; who, on his accession to the throne in 1750, named Carvalho, Secretary for foreign affairs. His own abilities achieved the rest. On him Joseph seemed to have devolved the exclusive and absolute Government of the State, nor was he unworthy of that selection. At the time that I saw him, he had attained his seventy-third year; but age appeared neither to have diminished the vigor, freshness, nor activity of his faculties. In his person he was very tall and slender; his face long, pale, meagre, and full of intelligence. He was so unpopular, and so many attempts had been made to assassinate him, that he never went out without guards. Even in the streets of Lisbon, his carriage was always accompanied or surrounded by a detachment of Cavalry, with their swords drawn, for his protection. He was, indeed, not less odious to the Nobility and Clergy, than to the people; perhaps, even more so; one of the great objects of his policy, during more than twenty years, having been to reduce the Aristocratic and Ecclesiastical Privileges of every kind, to a strict dependance on the crown and government. In 1772, the state prisons were full of unfortunate victims. The tower of Belem, the fort of the Bougie, situate at the mouth of the Tagus, and the castle of St. Julien, placed at the northern entrance of that river, were all crowded with prisoners, of which, a great proportion had been Jesuits, arrested in 1758, or in 1763, by the Minister. The subterranean Casemates of the Castle of St. Julien contained above a hundred individuals, who could be seen by persons walking on the ramparts of the fortress, through the iron gratings which admitted some light to those gloomy abodes. I have, myself, beheld many of them, at the depth of fifty or sixty feet below me, pacing to and fro; most of whom, being Jesuits, were habited in the dress of the Order. They excited great

commiseration. The famous Gabriel Malagrida, an Italian Jesuit, who was accused of having, as Confessor to the Marchioness of Tavora, known and encouraged her to the attempt upon Joseph's life; after being long imprisoned in that fortress, was burnt at the stake in 1761. He appears to have been rather a visionary, and an imbecile Fanatic, than a man of dangerous parts. His public execution, when near seventy-five years of age, must be considered as a cruel and odious act, which reflects disgrace on Joseph, and on his Minister. Malagrida's name is become proverbial among us, to express duplicity; and has been applied to one of our greatest modern Statesmen, by his political opponents. Many other persons, of all ranks, either known, or believed to have been, implicated in the Duke d'Aveiro's conspiracy, remained still shut up in the various State Prisons of Portugal. Most, or all of these unhappy sufferers who survived, have, I believe, been since liberated, in 1777, on the Accession of the present Queen.

In extenuation, if not in justification of the first Minister, and of Joseph, it must however be admitted, that the national character of the Portugueze, at once bigotted, sanguinary, and vindictive, demanded a severe Government. They were neither to be reformed, enlightened, nor coerced, by gentle and palliative remedies. At the decease of John the Fifth, the streets of Lisbon, even in the most frequented quarters, exhibited perpetual scenes of violence, and of murder, during the night. Dead bodies, stabbed, and covered with wounds, were left exposed in the squares and public places. But, before 1772, the Police, introduced and rigorously enforced by the Marquis de Pombal, had almost extinguished these enormities; and had rendered the Capital nearly as secure as London. During my residence there, of many weeks, such was the vigilance of the Patrole, that only one assassination was committed; and I have returned home, alone, on foot, at

the latest hours, without danger or apprehension. Nor were the cares of the First Minister limited to the mere protection of the Metropolis. Its re-edification, salubrity, and improvement in every sense, occupied his capacious mind. Lisbon might truly be said to rise from its ashes, as antient Rome did under Augustus, renewed and beautified. The education of the young Nobility formed, likewise, a distinguished object of his regard. A College, founded solely for their benefit, at an immense expence, was already nearly completed. I visited it, as I did the manufactures of silk, of lace, of ivory, and many others, carrying on under his auspices. All these bespoke a great and elevated understanding, intent on ameliorating the order of things, and animated by very salutary or enlarged views. But, the greater number of the Marquis de Pombal's institutions, edifices, and fabricks, being incomplete, demanded time or funds for their entire accomplishment. The detestation in which he was held, impeded their progress; nor was it doubted, that as soon as the present Queen, then Princess of Brazil, should succeed to the throne, her superstition, or her prejudices, would overturn all that Joseph and his Minister had done, to introduce improvements or reforms into Portugal. The event justified this prediction.

Joseph's reign, which had been marked by earthquakes, conspiracies, and war, was regarded by the Portugueze nation, not without some apparent reason, as a most calamitous period. Yet if we compare the misfortunes of that time, with those which have succeeded, when the Sovereign, the Royal Family, and the principal Nobility, have been compelled to abandon their native country, in order to seek an Asylum in South America; while the Capital and the provinces have been occupied, over-run, and plundered, by a revolutionary enemy of the most rapacious description;—how comparatively tolerable were the evils endured under

Joseph, when placed near those to which Portugal has been subjected under his daughter! They may be said to have equalled, if they did not exceed, between 1807 and 1810, the degradation and subversion which followed the death of Sebastian, in the sixteenth century, when Philip the Second rendered himself master of the kingdom. Having mentioned Sebastian, I shall say a few words on the history of that unfortunate prince. It is well known that he perished or disappeared, in the famous battle of Arzila, on the coast of Barbary, fought on the 4th of August, 1578. I have seen, in the royal palace at Cintra, a little open court or balcony, adjoining one of the rooms of state, in which was constructed a stone chair or seat, coated with a sort of coarse porcelain; a bench of the same materials extending on each side. In that chair, while his Ministers sat round him, Sebastian, as constant tradition asserts, held the memorable Council, in which the enterprize against Morocco was resolved on, contrary to the advice and opinions of his more prudent Counsellors. That he was no more seen after the day of the battle of Arzila, by the Portugueze, is certain; but it is not absolutely ascertained beyond all doubt, that he perished there. His body was never found, or at least, was never identified; and I have conversed with very judicious men at Lisbon, who inclined to believe, that the individual who appeared at Venice in 1598, asserting himself to be Sebastian, was really that prince.

Joseph had one sister, named Barbara, who was married, at seventeen years of age, to Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, youngest of the sons of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, by his first queen, and who afterwards succeeded him in the Spanish throne. This princess, who seems to have been entirely under the dominion of superstition and of music; before she quitted Lisbon, in order to become the wife of Ferdinand, in 1729, having repaired to the church of the

"Madre de Dios," or Mother of God, situate on the banks of the Tagus, in the suburbs; there made a solemn offering to the Virgin, of the rich dress, laces, and valuable jewels, which she had worn at the ceremony of her espousals. I was induced to visit the church, for the purpose of viewing this magnificent sacrifice, or renunciation of female ornament. The image was habited from head to foot, in the finest lace; the stomacher, necklace, and ear-rings, being altogether composed of Brilliants. Lady Wortley Montagu remarks, in one of her Letters, written from some part of Germany, I believe, from Cologne; that in her time, as early as 1717, or 1718, the knavery of the priests had already removed, in most, or in many of the Catholic Churches, the precious stones which devotees had presented to the Saints; substituting paste, or other imitations in their place. This assertion may have been well founded, relative to Germany; but was not true in Portugal, at a much later period. I viewed these diamonds, by permission of the priests, very closely, through the Medium of a glass case, in which the Virgin herself was inclosed; and I have not the slightest doubt that they were the identical jewels, presented by the Princess on the above-mentioned occasion. At the feet of his Mother, secured within the same case, lay a waxen figure of the infant Jesus, wrapt in similar attire, and reposing in a cradle of solid silver. How long these costly articles of dress may have remained unremoved in the church of the "Madre de Dios," since I saw them, I cannot pretend to say: but we may presume that the Prince Regent, when he embarked for Rio Janeiro, did not leave them behind, for the Duchess of Abrantés, or the revolutionary rapacity of the French Generals; who would no more have spared them, than the Elder Dionysius did the golden beard of Esculapius, or the mantle of Jupiter.

The Princess Barbara, who became Queen of Spain in

1746, constituted the supreme felicity of Ferdinand the Sixth her husband; with whom she lived twenty-nine years, in a state of such conjugal union as is rarely to be found in human life, and still more rarely on the throne. They nevertheless remained without issue. Like his Queen, Ferdinand nourished a decided passion, or rather rage for music; and it is well known that the celebrated Farinelli enjoyed under his reign, as he had previously done under that of Philip the Fifth, an almost unbounded ascendant over both the King and Queen. Such was Farinelli's prodigious influence, that he may be said to have shared the political power of the state with Ensenada, the first Minister of Ferdinand; a Prince who, though he reigned in our own times, is hardly known or remembered beyond the limits of Spain. His talents were very confined, but his intentions were upright. Notwithstanding the obligations of the "Family Compact," he refused, on the commencement of the war between Great Britain and France in 1756, to join the latter power; or to sacrifice, as his successor Charles the Third did in 1761, the interests of his people, to the ties of consanguinity existing between him and Louis the Fifteenth. Till his decease, which took place in 1759, Ferdinand maintained a strict neutrality. His death was unquestionably produced by grief for the loss of his Queen, who had been carried off in the preceding year. From that time Ferdinand became a prey to the most inveterate melancholy, which not only enfeebled, but, in some measure alienated his mind. Abandoning himself to despair, he declined all society; refused to change his linen, or to take any remedies, during some weeks before he expired; and ultimately died the victim of conjugal affection. In consequence of this event, his half-brother, Charles, son of Philip the Fifth by his second wife, and who then reigned at Naples, ascended the throne of Spain.

I passed a great part of the years 1775 and 1776, in France, not long after the decease of Louis the Fifteenth; a Sovereign whose character and actions always appeared to me to be depreciated and undervalued by the French, nearly in the same proportion that they have elevated those of Louis the Fourteenth above their just standard. Like his predecessor, he succeeded to the crown while in childhood; but he had not the same advantages as Louis the Fourteenth enjoyed, whose mother, Anne of Austria, watched with maternal solicitude over his preservation. Louis the Fifteenth, who survived both his parents, was left, during the Regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, principally to the care of Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, who obtained over his pupil, an early, and almost an unbounded ascendant. The Regency lasted above eight years; and there is no period of time since the Abdication of James the Second in 1689, during which France and England have been so closely united by political ties. George the First and the Regent Duke, both dreaded a Pretender: one, in the son of James; the other, in Philip the Fifth, King of Spain. Impelled by this apprehension, the two Princes equally made the policy and interests of their respective countries, subordinate to their personal objects of acquisition or ambition. Philip, Duke of Orleans, was undoubtedly, one of the most immoral and profligate men whom we have beheld in modern ages. The Orgies of the "Palais Royal," probably exceeded in depravity, as well as in enormity, every thing of the same kind ever acted, even in France. But, the Regent likewise displayed some of the greatest endowments and talents, fitted both for the cabinet and for the field. His descendant, who performed so detestable a part in the late French Revolution, only resembled him in his vices. He inherited neither the distinguished personal courage, nor the ardor for knowledge, nor the military skill, nor the

aptitude for public business, nor the elevated mind of the Regent; who, if he had not been restrained by some considerations of goodness, or some emotions of affection, might easily have acted by Louis the Fifteenth, as we suppose that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, did by Edward the Fifth; or, as we know that the late Duke of Orleans acted by Louis the Sixteenth, and his Queen. To the Regent, whose life was terminated in the arms of the Duchess de Valori, abbreviated by his excesses, succeeded the short and feeble Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, comprising scarcely three years; but, which produced one event peculiarly interesting to the young King, and to France; I mean, his marriage.

There is no instance in the last or present Century, of any female attaining so great an elevation, as that of Mademoiselle de Leczinska to the throne of France: for, we cannot justly reckon the second marriage of the Czar Peter, with Catherine, the Livonian peasant, as an exception. Muscovy could scarcely then be considered as forming a portion of the European System, nor were its sovereigns altogether subjected to our usages. That the daughter of an expatriated Polish Nobleman or Palatine, whom Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had nominally forced upon the Poles as their King, during a few years; but, who was in fact only a needy exiled adventurer, driven by necessity, to take shelter in an obscure provincial town of Alsace, and destitute of territories, or almost of support;—that a Princess, if such she might indeed be properly denominated, who could hardly be thought a suitable match for one of the petty sovereigns on the banks of the Elbe, or the Rhine, should have been selected for the Consort of a King of France; may assuredly be considered as one of the most singular caprices of fortune. Its singularity becomes augmented, when we reflect that the young Monarch was already not only betrothed to the daughter of Philip the Fifth, his uncle, King of Spain;

but, that the Princess destined to share his throne and bed, had long resided in France, the nuptials being only delayed till the two parties should attain a proper age. Yet, in defiance of this impediment, did the Duke of Bourbon venture to send back Philip's daughter to Madrid; and I met her at Lisbon, near half a Century afterwards, become Queen of Portugal; transported from the banks of the Seine, to those of the Tagus: while a native of Poland, brought up in obscurity, and hardly accounted among the female candidates for an European Crown, supplied her place. The motive assigned for so extraordinary a proceeding, on the part of the Duke of Bourbon, was his apprehension that the young King, whose constitution seemed scarcely to promise his attaining to manhood, should die without issue.

I have been assured by persons conversant in the secret History of the early part of Louis the Fifteenth's reign, that when the Duke of Bourbon determined on dissolving the unconsummated marriage between the young King and Philip's daughter, he found himself under the greatest embarrassment, whom to substitute in her room. He had a sister, Mademoiselle de Sens, born in 1705, whose age and personal accomplishments rendered her a fit bride for Louis. She then resided at the Abbey of Fontevraud in Anjou, under the protection of the Abbess; and it was natural for the Duke to desire to raise her to the throne. But, he was himself enslaved to the celebrated Marchioness de Prie, his mistress, who wished to have the merit of naming the future Queen; in whose household, and about whose person, she aspired to occupy a distinguished situation. On the other hand, they both equally dreaded giving a wife to their Sovereign, whose charms, talents, or ambition, might impel her to assume an empire over his mind. Louis, then only entering on his sixteenth year, brought up in great seclusion, scarcely initiated

in public business; and though not destitute of talents, yet indolent, of very reserved habits, modest, and diffident of himself; would, not improbably, like his uncle, Philip the Fifth, be governed by a queen of energy or spirit. Before the choice fell therefore on the Duke of Bourbon's sister, it behoved the Marchioness to ascertain, whether, if selected for so great an elevation, she would probably manifest ductility of character, gratitude, and attachment for the person who principally raised her to that eminence. In order to obtain satisfaction on a point so important, Madame de Prie determined to procure an interview with Mademoiselle de Sens, to whom she was unknown by person, though not by reputation. Assuming therefore a fictitious name, she repaired to Fontevraud, and having been presented to her, found means to turn the conversation on the Marchioness de Prie. Unconscious that the stranger to whom she addressed her discourse, was the Marchioness herself, the Princess gave full scope to her antipathy towards a woman, whom she considered as exercising a pernicious influence over her brother's mind. This disclosure of her sentiments at once stopped the further prosecution of Madame de Prie's plan, for placing her on the French throne, and compelled her to turn her views to another quarter.

The Duke of Bourbon, not discouraged by the obstacle which difference of religion imposed, next embraced the extraordinary measure of demanding for his master, the hand of an English Princess; and he named as the object of his selection, the eldest Granddaughter of George the First, Anne, who afterwards married William the Fourth, Prince of Orange. This event took place in 1725. However strong might be the objection arising from her profession of the Protestant faith, which she must necessarily have renounced, in order to ascend the throne of France, yet the offer was alluring; and Henrietta, sister of

Charles the Second, had married Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis the Fourteenth, after Charles's Restoration. But, George the First, though gratified by the proposition of seeing one of his female descendants wear the French crown, yet was too wise to accept it; well knowing that such an alliance, however splendid in itself, or whatever political advantages it might seem to present, would irritate and disgust all the adherents of the succession in the House of Hanover. Thus foiled in two attempts to dispose of Louis the Fifteenth's hand, and firmly resolved on effecting his marriage, Madame de Prie cast her eyes on Maria Leczinska, the daughter of Stanislaus. She was then living with her father at Weissembourg, in Alsace; a town situate not far from the Rhine, on the frontier of Germany, though in the dominions of France; where the titular King of Poland resided in as much obscurity as Charles the Second lived in the preceding Century at Cologne, during the Protectorate of Cromwell. So little expectation did he entertain of matching his daughter with a crowned head, that he had already lent a favourable ear to the proposals of a private Nobleman, a subject of France, the Count d'Estrees, who offered her marriage. Stanislaus accepted the offer, but desired to delay its accomplishment, till he could procure the honours of a Duchess, at the Court of Versailles, for Mademoiselle de Leczinska. With that view he made applications to obtain a Brevet of Duke for the Count d'Estrees, his destined son-in-law, though without success; fortune reserving for her the first diadem in Europe. Her principal recommendation consisted in her want of personal attractions, the humility of her condition, and the obligation to gratitude which she must naturally feel for the authors of so wonderful a change in her fortune. In fact, Nature had neither bestowed on her, beauty, elegance of manners, nor intellectual endowments of any kind.

Even youth she could scarcely be said to possess, as she was twenty-three years of age; while her destined husband was only sixteen. We know not which to admire most, the singularity of such a choice, or the passive apathy displayed by Louis, while his Minister and Madame de Prie thus disposed of his person. Maria Leczinska brought him nothing, as a portion, on the day of her nuptials, except modesty, virtue, and goodness of heart. Yet the young King, during eleven or twelve years after his marriage, exhibited a pattern of conjugal fidelity, which stands strongly contrasted with Louis the Fourteenth's dissolute amours, at the same period of life; though Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip the Fourth, could boast of much superior charms to the Polish Princess. The Duchess de la Valiere, Madame de Montespan, and Madame de Fontanges, disputed for the possession of Louis the Fourteenth's youth. It was not till the afternoon and evening of his successor's life, that he sunk into the arms of the Marchioness de Pompadour, and of the Countess du Barry.

The Duke de Bourbon's and Madame de Prie's period of power proved, nevertheless, of short duration. He was banished in 1726, to Chantilly; and at that point of time commences Cardinal Fleury's Administration. It lasted nearly as long as Richlieu's, namely, about seventeen years; and though Fleury was far inferior in strength of character, resources, and energy, to his predecessor, yet may France justly feel for him equal gratitude. Pacific, economical, unostentatious, and mild, he seemed made to heal the wounds inflicted on their country, by Louis the Fourteenth, and the Regent. If Richlieu, as we are assured from contemporary authority, ventured to raise his eyes to Anne of Austria, and to make her propositions of a libertine nature; it is equally a fact, however incredible it may appear, that Fleury, then above seventy years of age, carried

his presumption still farther with respect to Maria Leczinska. I shall not relate the particulars. That Princess, conscious nevertheless of the ascendant which the Cardinal had obtained over her husband, possessed too much prudence to communicate to him, in the first instance, the subject of her complaint. She wisely preferred making a Confidant of her father. To Stanislaus she revealed the temerity of the aged Minister, and besought him, at the same time, to give her his advice for her conduct, particularly on the point of her acquainting Louis with the circumstance. Stanislaus exhorted her, in reply, to bury the secret for ever in her own bosom; observing at the same time, that sovereign Princesses are placed on such an eminence, as almost to render it impossible for any disrespectful propositions to be made them, unless they encourage, to a certain degree, such advances. The Queen was discreet enough to adopt this judicious and paternal counsel. If I had not received the anecdote here related, from a person, whose intimacy with the individuals composing the Court of France at that time, joined to his rank and high character, left no doubt of its authenticity, I should not venture to recount the fact.

To Louis the Fifteenth France stands indebted for the acquisition of Lorrain, a territory of such inestimable value, as to mock calculation; perhaps surpassing in real importance, any augmentation of the French dominions made by arms, within the three last Centuries. Henry the Second had conquered Metz, Toul, and Verdun, besides re-annexing Calais, so long held by the English Princes. The Counties of Bourg and Bresse, covering the Borders on the side of Savoy, were gained by Henry the Fourth. His son, Louis the Thirteenth, or more properly to speak, the Cardinal de Richlieu, added Rousillon and Cerdagne, situate at one extremity of the kingdom, towards Catalonia; while in

another quarter, he reduced Artois and Alsace to the French obedience. Lastly, Louis the Fourteenth, in the course of his long, ambitious, and sanguinary career, exceeding in duration seventy years, not only enlarged or strengthened his frontier along the Rhine; but augmented his territories by the addition of Franche Compté, and of a vast portion of Flanders. Yet may we justly doubt, whether any of these acquisitions conferred such strength and security, as the possession of Lorrain. When we reflect on the beauty and extent of that fine province, stretching into the midst of France, and separating Champagne from Burgundy; contiguous on the East, to Germany, while on the West, its limits approached Paris itself;—we must own that the French are ungrateful to the memory of a Prince, who permanently retained such a tract of country. It affixed the seal to every preceding effort made by their Kings, for the security, greatness, and protection of France; leaving no object of real and wise ambition, unaccomplished. Nor can we too severely censure the inert, or parsimonious and narrow policy of Walpole, in permitting Cardinal Fleury to illustrate his Administration by such an act. France did not, indeed, instantly take possession in her own name, of the Duchies of Lorrain and Bar. Fortune, after raising Maria Leczinska to the throne of France, conferred on her father, in recompence for his ideal Polish Crown, those fertile provinces, the enjoyment and revenues of which were secured to him for his life. Such a substitution was, in fact, exchanging the armour of Diomed, for that of Glaucus; a barren sceptre, for one of gold.

Stanislaus, when this event took place in 1736, was already near sixty, and he remained during thirty years, Duke of Lorrain. His administration, mild, beneficent, and liberal, rendered him beloved by his new subjects. He embellished Nancy, the Capital; but

he held his Court and residence principally at Luneville, where he expired in consequence of a singular accident, having been burnt to death. Charles, King of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, perished nearly in the same manner, about four centuries earlier, at Pampeluna. The late Lady Mary Churchill, Sir Robert Walpole's daughter, who then resided with her husband at Luneville, has more than once recounted to me all the particulars of Stanislaus's end. Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary, who lived in habits of intimacy with him, dined at his Villa of Bon Secours, a short distance from Luneville, on the day preceding the Catastrophe which terminated his life. She assured me, that though extremely bent with age and infirmities, being then near eighty nine years old, he retained both his faculties and his good humour. Naturally gallant, he had a nominal Mistress, the Marchioness de Boufflers, who occupied a part of the Palace of Luneville, and to whom he was much attached; though he manifested neither jealousy nor dissatisfaction at her preference of a younger rival. His own Chancellor had contrived to insinuate himself into Madame de Boufflers' favour; a fact of which the King was not ignorant. Taking leave of her, one evening, when retiring to his apartment, after embracing her, "*Mon Chancelier*," added he, "*vous dira le reste*"; a jocose allusion to the words with which, as is well known, the French Sovereigns, when holding a *Bed of Justice*, always finish their harangues. Stanislaus, during the last years of his life, withdrew to rest every night, at nine o'clock, and his departure constituted the signal for commencing Faro. All the persons of both sexes, composing his Court and Household, then sat down to that infatuating game, which was continued without intermission to a late hour. But, a circumstance seemingly incredible is, that the rage for it became such, as to attract by degrees to the table, all the Domestics of the Palace, down to the very Turnspits or Scullions;

who crowding round, staked their *Ecus* on the cards, over the heads of the company. Such a fact sufficiently proves the relaxation of manners which prevailed in the Court of Lorrain, under Stanislaus.

His death, as Lady Mary Churchill related it to me, took place in February, 1766, in the following manner. The old King, who, like the Poles and Germans, was much addicted to smoaking Tobacco, usually finished several pipes, every day. Being alone, in an undress, while endeavouring to knock out the ashes from his pipe, he set fire to his gown; and his *Valet de Chambre*, who alone exercised the privilege of entering his apartment, had unfortunately just gone into the town of Luneville. His cries were not immediately heard; but when they reached the officer stationed on guard in the outward room, he flew to the King's assistance; and having contrived to throw him down on the floor, the flames were speedily extinguished. He might even have survived and recovered the accident, if it had not been accompanied with a singular circumstance. Stanislaus, who had become devout during the last years of his life, as a penance for his transgressions, constantly wore under his shirt, next to his flesh, a "*Reliquaire*," or girdle made of silver, having points on the inside, from space to space. These points becoming heated, and being pressed into his body, while in the act of extinguishing the fire, caused a number of wounds or sores; the discharge from which, at his advanced period of life, proved too severe for his enfeebled constitution. Conscious that his end approached, and only a short time before it took place, he expressed a warm desire to see Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary. They having immediately waited on him, the King received them with great complacency, and with perfect self possession; took leave of them most cheerfully; remarked the singularity of his fortune throughout life; and added, alluding to the strange manner of his death, "*Il ne*

manquoit qu'une pareille mort, pour un avanturier comme moi." He soon afterwards expired, retaining his senses and understanding almost to the last moments of his existence.

If Louis the Fifteenth, by the peace of 1736, acquired Lorrain for France, he covered himself and his country with military glory, during the war that commenced in 1741, on the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth. Fleury was no more; he and Walpole having finished their political careers nearly about the same time. History can present, in no period of the world, an instance of a first Minister commencing his administration, like Fleury, at seventy-three years of age, and retaining his power till he was ninety. Such a fact must, indeed, be considered as an exception to the general laws of nature, moral, as well as physical. Cardinal Ximenes in Spain, who approached the nearest to him, died at eighty-one. In 1744, the year after Fleury's decease, Louis was seized, at Metz, with a fever, which nearly proved fatal. Had he expired at that time, as was expected to happen every moment, during several successive days, his memory would have been embalmed in the hearts of his subjects, and of mankind. Never were more ardent, or more universal vows offered up to Heaven by the Roman People, for the recovery of Germanicus, than were made by the French Nation, for his restoration! They were unfortunately heard, and we are forced to exclaim with Juvenal,

> "Provida Pompeio dederat Campania Febres
> Optandas: sed multæ Urbes, et publica Vota
> Vicerunt."——

Though Louis, like Pompey, survived these testimonies of popular favour, yet, during the whole course of that war, down to its termination in 1748, he continued to deserve, and to retain, the affections of the Nation. Four brilliant and triumphant Campaigns, in one of

which he was personally present, rendered him master of all the Austrian Netherlands. The military Trophies of Marlborough, erected forty years earlier on the same plains, were lost at Fontenoy, at Raucoux, and at Lafeldt. Greater by his moderation, than even by his conquests, he gave peace to Europe at Aix-la-Chapelle, when Holland lay open to his attack; and when Mr. Pelham, who was then at the head of the Councils of England, possessed neither pecuniary nor military resources for maintaining the contest. Louis the Fourteenth may undoubtedly have inspired more terror at certain periods of his reign; but never excited more respect, than did his successor at the conclusion of the great war, which took place on the accession of Maria Theresa.

It forms a curious subject of reflection, that the armies of France, during this splendid portion of Louis the Fifteenth's reign, when he thus over-ran the Low Countries, were commanded by Foreigners. To Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg, had succeeded Catinat, Vendome, Boufflers, and Villars: but these last Generals left no successors. In 1734, Villars, at near four-score, remained the sole survivor of those illustrious Commanders, who, from Rocroi down to Denain, from 1643 to 1712, had carried victory over so many countries of Europe. An Englishman, the Duke of Berwick, son of James the Second, was placed at the head of the French forces on the Rhine, in 1734: while a German and a Dane subjected Flanders to Louis the Fifteenth, between 1743 and 1748. Marshal Saxe, the former of these Generals, attained a reputation hardly exceeded by any individual in modern Times. Lowendahl, the other, was immortalized by the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, then regarded as the most impregnable fortress on the Continent. Both survived the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle only a few years. I have been in the apartment of the palace of Chambord, near Blois, where Marshal

Saxe expired in November, 1750; extenuated by pleasures which had enervated his Herculean frame, and produced his premature end at fifty-four years of age. The natural son of Augustus the Second, King of Poland, he inherited from his father, an extraordinary degree of bodily strength; but, like Milo in Antiquity,

"Viribus ille
Confisus periit, admirandisque Lacertis."

At Chambord, where he lived in a magnificent style, he constantly entertained a company of Comedians, as if he had been a Sovereign Prince. Mademoiselle de Chantilly, an Actress in high reputation at Paris, having, from her personal beauty, no less than from her theatrical merit, attracted the Marshal's attention, he caused proposals to be made her, for repairing to Chambord, to perform on his Theatre. But she, who was already married to Favard, an Actor on the French Stage, knowing the Marshal's designs on her person, rejected all his offers. In this Dilemma, determined to gain possession of her, he applied to Monsieur de Berruyer, then *Lieutenant de Police*, requesting him to compel her to visit Chambord. Berruyer, desirous of obliging Marshal Saxe, made use of every argument, and enforced them by very ample pecuniary offers. Finding, however, all his exertions fruitless, he sent her a *Lettre de Cachet*, ordering her immediately to prison, or to Chambord. We must own that this atrocious abuse of power, which reminds us of Appius Claudius and Virginia, excites indignation against a Government capable of having recourse to such expedients, in order to gratify the depraved and licentious appetites of an exhausted Voluptuary. Thus pressed between imprisonment and the sacrifice of her person, she preferred the latter expedient; as many other women might have done under her circumstances,

without perhaps incurring either any deep degree of culpability, or exciting any strong emotions of moral reprobation. Pity, indeed, rather than condemnation, arises in the mind, on such a recital. Arriving at Chambord, she was forced to gratify the Marshal's desires. It is difficult to relate the sequel of the story, without involuntarily wounding decorum: yet may the Moral that it contains, almost apologize for such a deviation, or in some degree even demand it. Mademoiselle de Chantilly having been reluctantly conducted to the Marshal's bed, expressed herself with some contempt of his prowess as a lover. Piqued at the insinuation, he had recourse to those expedients for recruiting, or resuscitating his decayed powers, which *Pope*, one of the most correct of modern Poets, who exclaims,

> "Curst be the Verse, how soft so'er it flow,
> That serves to make one Honest Man my Foe;
> Give Virtue Scandal, Innocence a Fear,
> Or from the soft-eyed Virgin steal a tear;"

yet has not hesitated to enumerate in his "January and May;" but, in which enumeration I cannot venture to follow him. Satyrion and Eringo stand at the head of the list. The auxiliary proved too powerful for the principal, and produced his death within a short time; a dissolution of which Mademoiselle de Chantilly formed the cause. He expired nearly in the same manner as the Regent Duke of Orleans had done, about twenty-five years earlier; a Prince to whom, both in his virtues, his endowments of mind, and his defects or vices, Marshal Saxe exhibited some Analogy.

Louis the Fifteenth not only occupied the most distinguished place among the European Sovereigns and Powers, during the period of near eight years, which intervened between the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and

the commencement of the war of 1756; but, for a considerable time subsequent to that rupture, every success was on the side of France. Beyond the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Germany, as well as on the French coasts and shores, her arms maintained their ascendancy. Mezerai, or Voltaire, might have expatiated with exultation and pleasure, on the events of Minorca, of Ticonderago, of Braddock's defeat in Carolina, of Closter-seven, of St. Cas, and of Rochfort; as, on the other hand, assuredly neither Hume nor Smollett could have derived from the narration of those unfortunate or disgraceful transactions, any subject of triumph. That Louis, no less than his people, sunk under the energies of the first Mr. Pitt, between 1759 and 1762, must be admitted: but, all the atchievements of that great Minister, in both Hemispheres, on the land and on the water, from the Philippines to Cuba, and from Cape Breton to Senegal, were sacrificed at the peace of Fontainbleau. We seemed to have humbled the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, only to re-construct their fallen power: restoring all that we ought in wisdom, to have retained; and retaining or acquiring all that in policy we should have surrendered to France and Spain. Witness Canada and Florida, which we preserved! Witness the Havanna, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and so many other islands or Settlements which we ceded; not to include in the list, Manilla, a capture unknown to the British Ministry who signed the treaty, and of which the ransom has never been paid, down to the present moment. Well might "Junius" exclaim, that the Embassador who subscribed such unbecoming conditions, must have sold his country! Well might scandal, if not truth, assert, that the Princess Dowager of Wales received for herself, as a present, from the court of Versailles, a Hundred Thousand Pounds; and that the First Minister, Lord Bute, retained for his share, ninety-six Thousand!

Even the popularity of George the Third, sustained by the most irreproachable and exemplary display of private virtues, could not stand the shock of such a peace; which covered him with as much obloquy, as that of Utrecht had inflicted on Queen Anne.

France, from 1763 to 1770, repaired her losses; and while her Councils were guided by the vigorous, as well as enterprizing mind of Choiseul, Louis the Fifteenth, however vanquished he might have been in the preceding contest, re-appeared with at least as much dignity on the Theatre of Europe, as Louis the Fourteenth had done after the War of the Succession. Choiseul, secure on the side of Flanders and of Germany, by the alliance subsisting with the House of Austria since 1756, extended succours to the Polish Insurgents, against Catherine the Second; laid the foundations of the Swedish Revolution, which was effected by Gustavus the Third in 1772; and reduced to the obedience of his master, the Island of Corsica, nearly about the time when that country gave birth to a man, whose relentless and insatiable ambition or vengeance, have equally laid waste the territory of France, and polluted by his crimes, or converted into a desert, the most flourishing kingdoms of the Continent. The universal abhorrence excited by his atrocities, renders it unnecessary to name a Monster, whose very existence, and still more, whose favoured place of retreat, on the delicious shore of Tuscany, surrounded by the splendour of a Prince, seem to reproach the justice, no less than the policy, of the European Powers.

Louis the Fifteenth, like his predecessor, survived his only son; justifying the Roman Poet's remark on the evils that accompany and characterize longevity, when he says,—

> "Hæc data pœna diu viventibus, ut renovata
> Semper clade domus, multis in luctibus, inque
> Perpetuo mœrore, et nigra veste senescant."

The Dauphin Louis died at Fontainbleau, towards the end of 1765, at the age of about thirty-six. Whether we consider his death abstractedly, with reference to his character and mental qualities; or whether we try it by the calamitous reign of his son, which may be said without a Metaphor to have brought France to the Block; we must be compelled to regard the Dauphin's premature end, as one of the most unfortunate events which could have taken place for the French Monarchy, and for the House of Bourbon. It was produced, as I have been assured by persons who had frequent access to him, and who enjoyed a distinguished place in his confidence, from the effect of medicines which he took in order to repel or to disperse an eruption that appeared near his mouth. He was supposed to have caught the disorder from his wife the Dauphiness, a Princess of Saxony, daughter of Augustus the Third, King of Poland, who had a violent scorbutic humour in her blood. Malignity proceeded so far, as even to accuse the King his Father of having caused the Dauphin's death, by administering slow poison; a circumstance principally founded on the state of extenuation and languor to which he was reduced during the long malady that brought him to the grave; but, for which imputation, not the slightest foundation existed in truth. Louis the Fifteenth, though naturally indolent, as well as dissolute; and profligate towards the close of his life, manifested no cruelty, or systematic atrocity of character. He neither resembled Louis the Eleventh, nor Bonaparte. His son possessed firmness of mind, and a solid understanding, cultivated by polite letters. For the society of men distinguished by talents of any kind, he displayed as strong a partiality, as the King betrayed an aversion throughout his whole reign. Devout, and in some degree tinctured with bigotry, he nevertheless sought occasions of conversing with individuals known to have embraced ideas adverse to the

Catholic faith, as well as to revealed religion. With *Hume*, then Secretary to the Embassy at Paris, and at the summit of his reputation, or as the "Heroic "Epistle" says, "drunk with Gallic wine, and Gallic "praise," the Dauphin, not a great while before his decease, had a long conversation, principally on points connected with philosophical disquisition. When *Hume* was presented to him, "I know," said he, "that you "hold very free opinions on matters connected with "Revelation; but my principles are fixed, and there-"fore speak out to me; for otherwise I should only be "conversing with a man in a mask." He was the third Dauphin in hereditary descent, who had attained to manhood without ascending the French throne, within the short space of fifty-four years. His death was followed, at no long interval of time, by that of the Dauphiness his widow, and the Queen his mother; leaving Louis the Fifteenth at near sixty, surrounded by his daughters, and his grand-children.

Unquestionably, the four last years of his reign were passed in a manner worthy of Sardanapalus; oblivious of his public duties, insensible to national glory, and lost to every sentiment of private virtue, or even of Decorum. From the instant that, dismissing Choiseul from his Councils, and rejecting the favorable opportunity offered him by the dispute which arose between England and Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands, for recovering the honor, as well as the territories lost by France during the preceding war; he abandoned himself to pleasures no longer suited to his age;—from that moment he became an object of contempt and Opprobrium to his own subjects. Unfortunately for his fame, he has been tried and estimated by this inglorious portion of his life. Yet, even while the Dukes of Aiguillon and of Richlieu directed public affairs, while the Great Seal of France was entrusted to Maupeou, while the Finances were abandoned to the

Abbé Terray, and while a woman of the most libertine description, Madame du Barry, presided over his looser hours, he at least exerted some proofs of vigour in his treatment of the Parliaments of his kingdom, whom he controuled and banished: unlike his yielding Successor, who suffered himself to be overwhelmed under the progressive effects of popular innovation. When we compare the concluding years of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, from 1712 to 1715, with the termination of his great grandson's life, from 1770 to 1774; we shall see that the Court was alike, in both instances, completely under female controul. It would indeed be as unjust to place Madame du Barry in competition with Madame de Maintenon; as to elevate Thais or Campaspé, to a level with Aspasia, or with Livia. Yet did the Palace and Court of the former Prince, exhibit as degrading a scene of mingled hypocrisy, bigotry, and superstition; as Versailles displayed a spectacle of debauch and licentious pleasure, under the latter Sovereign. If it were permitted to cite as authority for this assertion, the "*Pucelle*" of Voltaire; a Poem no less captivating from its wit, than dangerous from its spirit and tendency; but, the historical portraits scattered throughout which production, are sketched with admirable ability by a master hand; we might there behold the ignominious figure which "the "Phœnix of the Bourbons" presented in the evening of his life, surrounded by devotees, priests, and monks,

"Hercule en Froc, et Priape en Soutane."

Louis the Fifteenth, during his last years, excites nevertheless more disgust, because it is unqualified by any sentiment of pity, or of respect. His death, which took place under these circumstances, was hailed by the French, as the Era of their liberation from a yoke equally disgraceful and severe: while the new Reign awakened in a nation characterized by its superficial or

sanguine frame of mind, the most extravagant visions of future felicity. We may however safely assume, that Louis the Fifteenth, who had refused to join Charles the Third of Spain in 1770, when every circumstance invited him to a rupture with England; and who was known to have taken an unalterable determination of terminating his life in peace;—we may be assured that such a Prince, at sixty-eight or seventy, would not have sent La Fayette and Rochambeau across the Atlantic, there to imbibe the principles of rebellion and Republicanism, with which they returned to inoculate France, and to subvert the throne. Louis the Sixteenth, only four years after his Accession, in 1778, embraced, though against his own judgement, this pernicious and improvident measure, from which, in an eminent degree, flowed the destruction of his House. So true is it, that—

> "Evertere domos totas, optantibus ipsis,
> Di faciles."

We cannot reflect without some surprize, that Louis the Fifteenth manifested more attention during his last illness, to the well-being and support of Madame du Barry after his decease, than his predecessor displayed for Madame de Maintenon, to whom he had been united above thirty years, by the ties of marriage. The latter possessed nothing, as her own property, on the first of September, 1715, when Louis the Fourteenth breathed his last, except the estate of Maintenon which she had purchased, and a Pension of two thousand Louis d'Ors a year: while the former, beside the immense gratifications which she had received from her Royal Lover during the period of her favour, was presented by him with the beautiful Chateau and Estate of Lusienne, situate near Marley. Yet Louis the Fourteenth, before he expired, contented himself with

only recommending his future widow to the protection of the Duke of Orleans. His Successor, on the contrary, at an early period of his disorder, after expressing the utmost anxiety respecting his Mistress, delivered into the Duke d'Aiguillon's hands, confidentially for her use, in the event of his decease, a Port-Folio containing in Notes, the sum of three Millions of Livres, or about one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. The Duke, with the true spirit of a Courtier, carried this deposit to the new King.

At sixty-four, Louis the Fifteenth died of the small-pox, at Versailles; as his grandfather, the Dauphin, only son of Louis the Fourteenth, was carried off at the Palace of Meudon, by the same malady, in 1711. While any reasonable expectations of his recovery were entertained, Madame du Barry continued her attendance about his person; every idea of the nature of his disease being studiously concealed from him: nor was he permitted to look at himself in a glass, lest he should discover the change effected in his countenance by the Pustules which covered his face. The Duke de Richlieu even kept guard at the door of his bed-chamber, to prevent the intrusion of any priest or Ecclesiastic who might procure admission, warn him of his danger, and awaken his apprehensions of eternity. But, no sooner was his alarming situation understood, and the apparent improbability of his surviving the attack of so malignant a distemper, became disseminated abroad; than Madame Louisa of France, the King's youngest daughter, who had taken the Veil as a Carmelite Nun, quitting the Convent of which she was Prioress at St. Denis, repaired to Versailles. With irresistible importunity she demanded admittance to her Father, whom she admonished of his perilous state, and impending dissolution: he was already sinking under the ravages of the disease, which left no hope of his surmounting its violence. Madame du Barry had

been sent, some days before, to Lusienne. The King expired in a narrow white bed, placed between two windows of his apartment, which were constantly kept open on account of the heat of the weather, though the season of the year was by no means advanced, it being only the 10th day of May, 1774. These particulars have all been related to me, not long after they took place, by a Gentleman, one of his Pages, who attended him throughout the whole course of his disorder.

It is obvious that the successor of Louis the Fifteenth, must have ascended the Throne under the most favourable Auspices. To the majesty of the first European crown, he added the brilliancy of youth; not having yet completed his twentieth year. But, though young, he possessed neither the graces, the activity, nor the elasticity of mind usually characteristic of that period of life. Heavy, inert, and destitute of all aptitude for any exercises of the body except Hunting, he seemed, like James the First of England, unfit for appearing in the Field. His manners were shy; a natural result of his neglected education, which made Madame du Barry commonly call him, during his Grandfather's life, "*Le gros Garçon, mal elevé.*" Yet never did any Prince manifest more rectitude of intention, greater probity, or a warmer desire to advance the felicity of his people. Nor was his understanding by any means inadequate to fulfilling those beneficent designs. He even endeavoured, at an early period of his reign, to repair the want of preceding instruction, by private application. For Geography he displayed an uncommon passion; and it is well known, that none of his Ministers equalled him in that branch of knowledge. Before 1778, when the French Cabinet embraced the determination of aiding the Americans, by sending out D'Estaign with a Fleet to their support; the King had rendered himself so perfect a master of the Topography of the Trans-atlantic Continent, that

from the River St. Laurence, to the Southern extremity of Florida, not a head-land, a bay, or almost an inlet, were unknown to him. Warmly attached to the Queen his wife, his nuptial fidelity could admit of no dispute; and in all the relations of private life, he might be esteemed not only blameless, but meritorious. George the Third could hardly lay claim to higher moral esteem and approbation.

Impressed with deep sentiments of filial piety, and of respect for the memory, as well as for the precepts or advice of his Father the Dauphin, he selected his Ministers, in compliance with that Prince's written instructions which he had carefully preserved, and religiously obeyed. Those instructions impelled him to place the Count de Maurepas at the head of the new Administration, though then at a very advanced period of life. He was, indeed, as old as the Cardinal de Fleury, when he assumed the management of affairs, having attained his seventy-third year in 1774; and having passed the preceding twenty-five years in exile, at Bourges, the obscure Capital of the central and secluded Province of Berri. It may however be justly questioned, whether in this choice, Louis the Sixteenth was fortunate. Maurepas, though a man of superior talents, who preserved in age all the freshness of his intellect, yet plunged his Country into the alliance with America, which proved eventually, at no great distance of time, the leading source of all the Revolutionary Calamities that have desolated France. In his selection of Vergennes for the foreign Department, the King apparently manifested more discernment. I was at Stockholm in June, 1774, when the Courier who brought the intelligence of Louis the Fifteenth's death, delivered to Monsieur de Vergennes, then the French Embassador at the Court of Sweden, letters recalling him to Paris, in order to form a Member of the Cabinet. Happily for themselves, neither Maurepas

nor Vergennes survived to witness the Commencement of the Revolution.

If a combination of almost all those qualities or endowments, which in a private station, conciliate esteem and excite respect, could have secured to Louis the Sixteenth a tranquil reign, he might justly have pretended to that felicity. But, unfortunately, he wanted the bolder and more affirmative features of the mind, which confirm dominion, repress or extinguish innovation, retain the various classes of subjects in their respective orbits, inspire becoming apprehension, and preserve the throne from insult or attack. These defects had not indeed become apparent to the Nation at large, as early as 1776; but they were not the less obvious to such as had access to his Person and Court. Perhaps, had he succeeded in more tranquil Times, or if he had been the successor of Louis the Fourteenth; under whom, though the Monarchy was convulsed, and almost overturned by foreign enemies, yet the Monarchical principle and power remained firmly rooted in public opinion; he might have maintained himself in his elevation. But, even before the commencement of the American war, Voltaire and his disciples had undermined both the foundations of the throne and of the altar, by inculcating philosophical principles, calculated in their results, to propel the inferior ranks upon the upper Orders of society. A spirit of disquisition, of discontent, of complaint, and of reform, which pervaded, not only the mass of the French population, but which had infected even the Army, the Navy, and, however strange it may seem, the Church itself; menaced the most alarming consequences. Henry the Fourth and Sully would have anticipated and suppressed it. Louis the Thirteenth and Richlieu would have combated and vanquished it. Louis the Fourteenth and Louvois would have either dispersed, or have overawed and intimidated it. Even Fleury or Choiseul

would not have supinely or carelessly allowed it to mature its destructive powers, till it burst into a conflagration. If ever France stood in need of a strong, and even a severe Ruler, it was at the death of Louis the Fifteenth; when the person of the Prince, and the Throne itself, were alike, though from different causes, fallen into contempt. A man of energy, who had possessed military talents, and who, instead of breaking the Household Troops, disarming the Sovereign Authority, and then convoking the States General; would have mounted on horseback, arrested the first instigators to sedition, and placed himself at the head of his army, in the last resort, against his rebellious subjects;—such a king might have defied the Revolution. But Louis the Sixteenth laboured under a double inaptitude, moral and physical. He was the only monarch since Philip of Valois, if not the single instance since Hugh Capet, the founder of the third Dynasty, who never had, on any occasion, appeared in person among his soldiers. Louis the Fifteenth, and his son the Dauphin, though neither of them were distinguished by martial ardor, yet assisted in the field, made a campaign in the Netherlands; and were stationed by Marshal Saxe in such a manner, at the battle of Fontenoy, as at least to be spectators of, if not participators in, the victory gained on that memorable day. Their ill-fated descendant could never be propelled into such exertions, and he even betrayed a dislike towards shewing himself at the peaceful ceremony of a review.

His personal courage itself, whatever flattery may assert, or candour may suggest, was problematical. That he displayed considerable presence of mind, and contempt of death, when surrounded by a furious populace, in October, 1789, at Versailles, and in July, 1792, at the Tuilleries, cannot be disputed; but, on the scaffold, in January, 1793, for the performance of

which last act he must nevertheless have been prepared, by all the aids of reflection, and all the supports of religion, he did not comport himself with the serenity and self possession that characterized Charles the First, and Mary, Queen of Scots, when laying down their heads on the Block. It must however be admitted on the other hand, that the Guillotine, which was only an atrocious revolutionary engine, invented not so much to abbreviate the sufferings of the condemned individual, as to facilitate the dispatch of a number of victims with certainty, in a shorter space of time; bereaved death of all its grace and dignity. I have likewise seen and read very strong attestations to the firmness displayed by the King of France in his last moments. On the 26th of January 1793, the day on which the official account of his execution arrived in London; being alone with the Duke of Dorset, at St. James's Palace, he received a note, which he immediately shewed me, and which I copied on the spot. It contained these words.

"Paris, 21st January, 12 o'clock.

"The unfortunate Louis is no more. He suffered death this morning, at ten o'clock, with the most heroic courage."

"To the Duke of Dorset."

The note had no signature, but the Duke told me that he knew both the hand-writing and the writer. Yet I have been assured that Louis attempted to resist or impede the executioners; who, impatient to finish the performance, used a degree of violence, threw him down forcibly on the plank, in which act his face was torn, and finally thrust him under the Guillotine. Marie Antoinette and Madame Elizabeth, each, exhibited in turn, one, the Heroism of an elevated mind; the other, the calm resignation of a Martyr, under the same circumstances. Even the Duke of Orleans,

covered as he was with crimes and turpitudes, yet derived from despair a species of affirmative courage, hurried to the place of execution, and rushed upon his fate.

In the Summer of 1776, when I quitted France, Marie Antoinette may be said to have reached the summit of her beauty, and of her popularity. Her favour with the Nation declined from the period of her brother, the Emperor Joseph the Second's visit to Paris, in 1777; after which interview, her enemies, with equal falsity and malignity, accused her of sacrificing both the treasures and the interests of the French Monarchy, to her Austrian connexions. Her personal charms consisted more in her elevated manner, lofty demeanour, and graces of deportment, all which announced a Queen, than in her features, which wanted softness and regularity. She had besides weak or inflamed eyes: but, her complexion, which was fine, aided by youth and all the ornaments of dress, imposed on the beholder. In the national estimation, her greatest defect at this period of life, consisted in her sterility; she having been married full six years, without any apparent prospect of issue. But, Anne of Austria had remained near two and twenty years under the same reproach, before she brought into the world Louis the Fourteenth. The Count de Provence was likewise destitute of any children, though as early as 1771 he had espoused a daughter of the King of Sardinia; while the Count d'Artois, youngest of the three brothers, married to another Princess of Savoy, was already a father. His son, born in 1775, had been created Duke d'Angouleme. Both the King and the Count de Provence, were then generally regarded, in different ways, as equally inapt for the purposes of marriage. It had, nevertheless, been ascertained that Louis the Sixteenth laboured under no impediment for perpetuating his race, except a slight defect in his Organization, easily susceptible of

relief by a surgical operation; but, to undergo which, he for a long time manifested great repugnance. The importance of the case, and the pressing instances which were made to him, having at length, however, surmounted his scruples, he submitted to it; and the Queen lay in of a daughter, in December, 1778, whose unmerited sufferings and virtues have justly endeared her to all Europe. But, Marie Antoinette did not produce a Dauphin till several years later.

Of the three Royal brothers, the Count d'Artois had been cast by Nature in the most graceful mould. All the dignity of Louis the Fourteenth had descended to him. His elder brother, the Count de Provence, who resembled the King in his person, was less known to the Nation, in 1776, than either of the others. Moderate in his character, and of retired habits; possessing a strong mind, but destitute of brilliant or of dangerous talents, he approved himself the most submissive of subjects. Both the younger Princes resided constantly at Versailles, in the Royal Palace; accompanied the King, whenever he repaired to Compiégne or to Fontainbleau; commonly attended him at Mass, as well as to the chace; and never absented themselves, even on an excursion to Paris, without his permission. Philip, Duke de Chartres, too well known to us by his vindictive and criminal political intrigues, which at a more recent period have conduced, in so great a degree, to the subversion of the House of Bourbon; was already fallen, in 1776, under the public condemnation or contempt. He had then been married several years, to the sole daughter and heiress of the Duke de Penthiévre, last male of the illegitimate descendants of Louis the Fourteenth; and the popular voice accused him of having plunged the Prince de Lamballe, his brother-in-law, the Duke de Penthiévre's only son, into the debaucheries which terminated his life in the flower of his age. That young Prince espoused, at a very early

period, one of the Princesses of Carignan, collaterally descended from the House of Savoy; whose tragical end in 1792, forms a revolting feature of the great act of blood, denominated "The French Revolution." As the Prince de Lamballe left no issue; the Duke de Chartres was asserted to have accelerated, or rather to have produced his death, from the sordid, as well as detestable motive of inheriting, in right of his Consort, the vast estates of Penthiévre. However destitute of proof, and perhaps even of just foundation, may have been this imputation; yet the character and notorious profligacy of the Duke, obtained for it universal belief. Affecting to emulate the Regent Duke of Orleans, his great Grandfather's example, whose portrait was always suspended close to his Bed; he only imitated that Prince in the licentious depravity of his manners, and the abandoned nature of his amours. The Regent, whether in Italy, where he was wounded in 1706, in the trenches before Turin; in Spain, where he commanded the French armies with distinguished lustre; or at home, while conducting the helm of affairs, during the Minority of Louis the Fifteenth; whatever vices he displayed, redeemed them in some measure by his valour, loyalty, and capacity. His degenerate descendant incurred the abhorrence of all Europe, overturned the throne of France, perished by the axe, and may be esteemed the most atrocious, as well as flagitious individual who has arisen in modern ages, for the calamity of mankind, with the single exception of Bonaparte.

Returning to England, in the summer of 1776, I went down soon afterwards, on a visit to Lord Nugent, at Gosfield in Essex; a seat which has since, in the revolutionary events of the present times, afforded a temporary Asylum to the representative of the Capetian line, when expelled from a country over which his ancestors had reigned, in uninterrupted male succession, for above eight hundred years! When I visited Gos-

field, among the guests who attracted most attention, might justly be reckoned the late Lord Temple, then far advanced in life, and very infirm. In his person he was tall and large, though not inclined to corpulency. A disorder, the seat of which lay in his ribs, bending him almost double, compelled him, in walking, to make use of a sort of crutch: but his mind seemed exempt from any decay. His conversation was animated, brilliant, and full of entertainment. Notwithstanding the nick-name of "Squire Gawkey," which he had obtained in the satirical, or party productions of those times, and which, we may presume, was not given him without good reason; he had nevertheless the air and appearance of a man of high condition, when he appeared with the Insignia and Decorations of the *Garter*, seated at table. It is well known that George the Second, who, though he generally yielded to Ministerial violence or importunity, yet manifested often great reluctance and even ill humor, in his manner of compliance on these occasions, strongly disliked Lord Temple. Being however compelled, in consequence of political arrangements very repugnant to his feelings, to invest that Nobleman with the Order of the *Garter*, the King took so little pains to conceal his aversion both to the individual, and to the act; that instead of placing the Riband decorously over the shoulder of the new Knight, His Majesty, averting his head, and muttering indistinctly, some expressions of dissatisfaction, threw it across him, and turned his back at the same instant, in the rudest manner. George the Third, on such occasions, possessed or exerted more restraint over his passions, than his grandfather. Yet even he did not always execute the commands of his Minister, where they were disagreeable or revolting to him, without displaying some reluctance. The late Duke of Dorset told me, that being present at the ceremony of investing the present Marquis Camden with the *Garter*, where

the Duke assisted as a Knight Companion of the Order; His Majesty, who felt no little unwillingness to confer it on him, betrayed a considerable degree of ill humor in his countenance and manner. However, as he knew that it must be performed, Mr. Pitt having pertinaciously insisted on it; the King took the Riband in his hand, and turning to the Duke, before the New Knight approached, asked of him, if he knew Lord Camden's Christian name. The Duke, after enquiring, informed him that it was John Jefferies. "What! What!" replied the King; "John Jefferies! the first Knight "of the *Garter*, I believe, that ever was called John "Jefferies." The aversion of George the Second towards Lord Temple, originated partly in personal, but, more from political motives or feelings. His present Majesty's disinclination to confer the *Garter* on Lord Camden, probably arose merely from considering his descent as not sufficiently illustrious. But, the great talents and qualities of the first Earl, had diffused a lustre over the name of *Pratt*. To these endowments of the father, the son originally owed the dignity of the Peerage, which devolved on him. To Mr. Pitt's friendship, he was subsequently indebted for the distinction of the *Garter*.

Lord Nugent was created an Irish *Earl*, during the time that I was at Gosfield, having antecedently been raised to the title of *Viscount* Clare. He formed a striking contrast to Lord Temple, in his manners and address. Of an athletic frame, and a vigorous constitution, though very far advanced in years, he was exempt from infirmity; possessing a Stentorian voice, with great animal spirits, and vast powers of conversation. He was indeed a man of very considerable natural abilities, though not of a very cultivated mind. His talents seemed more adapted to active, than to speculative life; to the Drawing Room, or the House of Commons, than to the closet. Having sat in many

Parliaments, he spoke fluently, as well as with energy and force; was accounted a good Debater, and possessed a species of eloquence, altogether unembarrassed by any false modesty or timidity. In the progress of a long life, he had raised himself from a private gentleman, of an antient family in Ireland, and a considerable patrimonial fortune, to an Irish Earldom; which dignity, together with his name, he procured to devolve on the late Marquis of Buckingham, then Mr. Grenville, who had married his only daughter. They were both likewise at Gosfield, during the time of which I speak; and Lord Nugent having gone up to town, for the purpose of kissing the King's hand, upon his new Creation, returned from thence on the following day, as we were seated at table, after dinner. The object of his visit to St. James's, was well known by every one present; but he immediately announced it, as soon as he had taken his place, by filling out a glass of wine, and toasting his daughter's health as *Lady Mary* Grenville.

Lord Nugent, when young, had occupied a distinguished place in the favor of Frederic, Prince of Wales; and was more than once destined to have filled an office in some of those imaginary Administrations, commemorated by Dodington, which were perpetually fabricated at Leicester House, during the long interval between the accession of George the Second, and His Royal Highness's decease, in 1751. The Prince died considerably in his debt; nor was the sum so due, ever liquidated, unless we consider the offices and dignities conferred on Lord Nugent by George the Third, at different periods of his reign, as having been in the nature of a retribution for loans made to his father. In return for these marks of royal favour, he presented verses to the Queen, accompanying a piece of Irish Stuff, which Her Majesty graciously accepted. Both the poetry, and the manufacture, were satirically

said to be *Irish Stuff*. They began, if I recollect right,

> "Could poor Ierné gifts afford,
> Worthy the mistress of her lord,
> Of sculptur'd gold, a costly frame,
> Just emblem of her worth should flame."

But Lord Nugent's Muse will never rank him with *Prior*, nor even with Lyttelton and Chesterfield. He was a better Courtier, than a Poet; and he had always been distinguished by the other Sex. *Glover*, when speaking of him, says, "Nugent, a jovial and voluptuous Irishman, who had left Popery, for the Protestant religion, money, and widows." His first wife, Lady Amelia Plunket, daughter of the Earl of Fingal, brought him only one son, Colonel Nugent, who died, many years before his father. Mrs. Knight, sister and heiress of the celebrated Craggs, Secretary of State under George the First, buried in Westminster Abbey; (and who is immortalized by Pope's Epitaph on him, more perhaps, than by his talents, or his actions;) was Lord Nugent's second wife. She brought him neither felicity nor issue; but she brought him the house and estate at Gosfield, one of the finest in Essex. To the late Countess Dowager of Berkeley, he gave his hand a third time; though not under fortunate Auspices, nor in a happy hour. The late Marchioness of Buckingham was the only issue of this match, recognized by Lord Nugent. But, his devotion to the Sex, which remained proof to all trials, animated him even to the close of life. Lord Temple and he, both, composed verses, after this time, addressed to the same object. I believe it was in the month of August, 1776, that these aged Peers presented some couplets of their respective compositions, to the late Duchess of Gordon, then in the Meridian of her charms; when Lord Temple, having entertained her and the Duke at Stow, lighted up the

Grotto for her reception. Lord Nugent, to a perfect knowledge of the world, joined a coarse and often licentious, but natural, strong, and ready wit, which no place, nor company, prevented him from indulging; and the effect of which was augmented by an Irish Accent that never forsook him. It is well known, that when a *Bill* was introduced into the House of Commons, for better watching the Metropolis; in order to contribute towards effecting which object, one of the Clauses went to propose, that Watchmen should be *compelled* to sleep during the day-time; Lord Nugent, with admirable humour, got up, and desired that "he might be personally included in the provisions of the Bill, being frequently so tormented with the Gout, as to be *unable* to sleep either by day, or by night."

While I am on this subject, I cannot resist relating a frolick, which rendered Lord Nugent, or rather Mr. Nugent, he being then a Commoner, not a little distinguished, towards the end of George the Second's reign. George, Earl of Bristol, eldest of the three sons of the famous Lord Hervey, whom Pope has, very unjustly, transmitted to posterity, as "Lord Fanny," and as "Sporus;" like his father, inclined to a degree of effeminacy, in his person, manners, and dress. Probably, these characteristics of deportment, while they exposed him to some animadversion or ridicule, led to a supposition that they were connected with want of spirit; and that he would not promptly resent insult. Certain it is that Mr. Nugent, then a man of consideration, fortune, and fashion, living in the highest company of the Metropolis; being one evening at Lord Temple's house in Pall-Mall, where a splendid assembly of both sexes was collected; laid a singular bet with Lord Temple, that he would spit in the Earl of Bristol's hat. The wager was accepted, and Mr. Nugent instantly set about its accomplishment. For this purpose, as he passed Lord Bristol, who stood in the

door-way of one of the apartments, very richly dressed, holding his hat under his arm, with the inside uppermost; Mr. Nugent, turning round as if to spit, and affecting not to perceive Lord Bristol, performed that act in his hat.

Pretending the utmost concern and distress at the unintentional rudeness that he had committed, Mr. Nugent made a thousand apologies to the Earl for his Indecorum, and entreated to be allowed to wipe off the affront with his pocket handkerchief: but, Lord Bristol calmly taking out his own, used it for that purpose; besought Mr. Nugent not to be discomposed; assured him that he was not discomposed, himself; wiped the inside of his hat; and then replacing it as before, under his arm, asked Mr. Nugent whether he had any farther occasion for it in the same way? Having so done, the Earl, without changing a muscle of his countenance, or manifesting any irritation, quitted the place where he stood; sat down to play with the party he usually made at cards, finished his two or three Rubbers, and returned home. Mr. Nugent, after triumphantly winning his Bet, considered the matter as terminated; but in this supposition he counted without his host. Early on the following morning, before he was risen, he received a note, similar in its nature and contents to that which Gil Blas tells us he delivered to his master, Don Mathias de Sylva; but, with the summons contained in which, Mr. Nugent did not manifest the same careless promptitude to comply, as the Spanish Grandee exhibited, in the Novel of Le Sage. The Note acquainted him, that Lord Bristol expected and demanded Satisfaction for the insult of the preceding night, without delay; naming time, as well as place. An instant answer was required.

Mr. Nugent now perceived that he had involved himself in a very serious affair of Honour, where he had only meant to gratify a wanton moment of frolick.

However personally brave, he felt that the Exertion of his Courage, in order to cover or justify a premeditated insult, which nothing could warrant or excuse, would only aggravate his offence. Under this impression, having determined therefore to make reparation, he wrote to Lord Bristol, offering every possible Apology for the act committed; which, he admitted, would be inexcusable, if it had been meant as any Affront. But, as the best extenuation of so gross a seeming violation of all decorum, he added, that it did not arise from the most remote intention of insulting the Earl, the whole Matter having originated in a Bet. He concluded by professing his readiness to ask pardon in the most ample manner; requesting that the business might not produce any further consequences. To this Application Lord Bristol replied, that though he was disposed readily to admit, and to accept the proffered Reparation; yet, as the Affront had been committed in public company, so must the exacted Apology be made; and he named the Club-room at White's, as the place where he would receive it from Mr. Nugent. Not, however, by any means, Lord Bristol added, from him only; for, as he now understood that the Act owed its rise to a wager, it became clear that there must be another person implicated in the Transaction. He insisted therefore, on knowing the name of that individual, from whom, as a participator in the Frolick, he should equally exact an Apology; and declaring that on no other conditions would he relinquish his right to demand personal satisfaction. In consequence of so peremptory a Requisition, Mr. Nugent owned, that Lord Temple was the person to whom he had alluded; and both the Gentlemen were finally reduced to comply with the terms, by asking pardon in the Club-room at White's. Lord Bristol then declared himself satisfied, and the Business at an end.

The late Lord Sackville told me, that when young,

he was well acquainted with Lord Mark Kerr; a Nobleman whose person being, like Lord Bristol's, cast by Nature in a very delicate mould, sometimes subjected him among strangers, to insults, from a supposition that a man of so feminine a figure, would not be prone to resent an affront. In this calculation they were however egregiously deceived, he being a person of decided courage. Shortly after the battle of Dettingen, during the Summer of the year 1743, the Earl of Stair, then commanding the British forces in Germany, under George the Second, entertained at his table several French Officers, who had been taken prisoners in that engagement. A numerous company sat down to dinner, in the tent of the Commander-in-chief, among whom was Lord Mark; who being son to the Marquis of Lothian, and nearly related to Lord Stair, acted as one of his Aides du Camp. Lord Sackville was present on the occasion. A difference of opinion having arisen during the repast, on some point which was maintained by one of the French Officers with great pertinacity; Lord Mark Kerr, in a very gentle tone of voice, ventured to set him right on the matter of fact. But, the Frenchman, inconscious of his quality, and perhaps thinking that a frame so delicate, did not enclose a high spirit; contradicted him in the most gross terms, such as are neither used nor submitted to among Gentlemen. The circumstance took place so near to Lord Stair as unavoidably to attract his attention. No notice whatever was taken of it at the time, and after dinner the company adjourned to another tent, where Coffee was served. Lord Mark coming in about a quarter of an hour later than the others, Lord Stair no sooner observed him, than calling him aside, "Nephew," said he, "I think it "is impossible for you to pass by the affront that you "received from the French Officer at my table. You "must demand satisfaction, however much I regret the "necessity for it." "Oh, My Lord," answered Lord

Mark, "you need not be under any uneasiness on that "subject. We have already fought. I ran him through "the body. He died on the spot, and they are at this "moment about to bury him. I knew too well what I "owed to myself, and I was too well convinced of your "Lordship's way of thinking, to lose a moment in "calling the Officer to account."

I passed the ensuing Winter, of 1776-7, in London; a period which is now so distant, and the manners, as well as the inhabitants of the Metropolis, having undergone since that time, so total a change, that they no longer preserve almost any similarity. The sinister events of the American war, had already begun to shed a degree of political gloom over the Capital and the kingdom; but this cloud bore no comparison with the terror and alarm that pervaded the firmest minds in 1792, and 1793, after the first burst of the French Revolution, and the commencement of the Continental war in Flanders. In 1777, we in fact only contended for Empire and Dominion. No fears of subversion, extinction, and subjugation to foreign violence, or revolutionary arts, interrupted the general tranquillity of society. It was subjected, indeed, to other fetters, from which we have since emancipated ourselves; those of dress, Etiquette, and form. The lapse of two Centuries could scarcely have produced a greater alteration in these particulars, than have been made by about forty years. That Costume, which is now confined to the Levee, or Drawing-room, was then worn by persons of condition, with few exceptions, every where, and every day. Mr. Fox and his friends, who might be said to dictate to the Town, affecting a style of neglect about their persons, and manifesting a contempt of all the usages hitherto established, first threw a sort of discredit on Dress. From the House of Commons, and the Clubs in St. James's Street, it spread through the private Assemblies of London. But, though gradually

undermined, and insensibly perishing of an Atrophy, Dress never totally fell, till the Era of Jacobinism and of Equality, in 1793, and 1794. It was then that Pantaloons, cropped hair, and shoe-strings, as well as the total abolition of buckles and ruffles, together with the disuse of hair-powder, characterized the men: while ladies, having cut off those Tresses, which had done so much execution, and one lock of which purloined, gave rise to the finest model of mock-heroic Poetry, which our own, or any other language can boast; exhibited heads rounded "*a la Victime et a la Guillotine*," as if ready for the stroke of the axe. A drapery, more suited to the climate of Greece or of Italy, than to the temperature of an Island situate in the fifty-first degree of Latitude; classic, elegant, luxurious, and picturesque, but ill calculated to protect against damp, cold, and fogs; superseded the ancient female attire of Great Britain; finally levelling or obliterating almost all external distinction between the highest and the lowest of the sex, in this country. Perhaps, with all its incumbrances, penalties, and inconveniences, it will be found necessary, at some not very distant period, to revive, in a certain degree, the empire of Dress.

At the time of which I speak, the "*Gens de Lettres*," or "Blue Stockings," as they were commonly denominated, formed a very numerous, powerful, compact Phalanx, in the midst of London. Into this society, the two publications which I had recently given to the world; one, on the Northern Kingdoms of Europe; the other, on the History of France, under the Race of Valois; however destitute of merit, yet facilitated and procured my admission. Mrs. Montague was then the Madame *du Deffand* of the English Capital; and her house constituted the central point of union, for all those persons who already were known, or who emulated to become known, by their talents and productions. Her supremacy, unlike that of Madame

du Deffand, was, indeed, established on more solid foundations than those of intellect, and rested on more tangible materials than any with which Shakespear himself could furnish her. Though she had not as yet begun to construct the splendid Mansion, in which she afterwards resided, near Portman Square, she lived in a very elegant house in Hill Street. Impressed probably, from the suggestions of her own knowledge of the world, with a deep conviction of that great truth laid down by Moliere, which no Man of Letters ever disputed; that "*Le vrai Amphytrion est celui chez qui l'on dine*;" Mrs. Montague was accustomed to open her house to a large company of both sexes, whom she frequently entertained at dinner. A service of plate, and a table plentifully covered, disposed her guests to admire the splendor of her fortune, not less than the lustre of her talents. She had found the same results flowing from the same causes, during the visit that she made to Paris, after the Peace of 1763; where she displayed to the astonished *Literati* of that Metropolis, the extent of her pecuniary, as well as of her mental resources. As this topic formed one of the subjects most gratifying to her, she was easily induced to launch out on it, with much apparent complacency. The Eulogiums lavished on her Repasts, and the astonishment expressed at the magnitude of her income, which appeared prodigiously augmented by being transformed from Pounds Sterling into French Livres; seemed to have afforded her as much gratification, as the Panegyrics bestowed upon the "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespear."

Mrs. Montague, in 1776, verged towards her sixtieth year; but her person, which was thin, spare, and in good preservation, gave her an appearance of less antiquity. From the infirmities often attendant on advanced life, she seemed to be almost wholly exempt. All the lines of her countenance bespoke intelligence,

and her eyes were accommodated to her cast of features, which had in them something satirical and severe, rather than amiable or inviting. She possessed great natural cheerfulness, and a flow of animal spirits; loved to talk, and talked well on almost every subject; led the conversation, and was qualified to preside in her circle, whatever subject of discourse was started: but her manner was more dictatorial and sententious, than conciliating or diffident. There was nothing feminine about her; and though her opinions were usually just, as well as delivered in language suited to give them force, yet the organ which conveyed them, was not musical. Destitute of taste in disposing the ornaments of her dress, she nevertheless studied or affected those aids, more than would seem to have become a woman professing a philosophic mind, intent on higher pursuits than the Toilet. Even when approaching to fourscore, this female weakness still accompanied her; nor could she relinquish her diamond necklace and bows, which, like Sir William Draper's "blushing riband," commemorated by "Junius," formed of evenings, the perpetual ornament of her emaciated person. I used to think that these glittering appendages of opulence, sometimes helped to dazzle the disputants, whom her arguments might not always convince, or her literary reputation intimidate. That reputation had not as yet received the rude attack made on it by Dr. Johnson at a subsequent period, when he appears to have treated with much irreverence, her "Essay on Shakespear," if we may believe Boswell. Notwithstanding the defects and weaknesses that I have enumerated, she possessed a masculine understanding, enlightened, cultivated, and expanded by the acquaintance of men, as well as of books. Many of the most illustrious persons in rank, no less than in ability, under the reigns of George the Second and Third, had been her correspondents, friends, companions, and admirers. Pulteney, Earl of Bath, whose portrait hung

over the chimney piece in her drawing room; and George, the first Lord Lyttelton, so eminent for his genius, were among the number. She was constantly surrounded by all that was distinguished for attainments or talents, male or female, English or foreign; and it would be almost ungrateful in me not to acknowledge the gratification, derived from the conversation and intercourse of such a society.

Though Mrs. Montague occupied the first place among the "*beaux Esprits*" at this period, she was not without female competitors for so eminent a distinction. Mrs. Vesey might indeed be said to hold the second rank: but, unlike Mademoiselle *de l'Espinasse* at Paris, who raised a separate literary standard from Madame *du Deffand*; Mrs. Vesey only aspired to follow, at a humble distance, the brilliant track of Mrs. Montague. The former rather seemed desirous to assemble persons of celebrity and talents, under her roof, or at her table, than assumed or pretended to form one of them, herself. Though not lodged with the same magnificence as Mrs. Montague; yet she entertained with less form, as well as less ostentation. Mrs. Vesey's repasts were at once more select, and more delicate. Farther advanced in life than Mrs. Montague, she possessed no personal advantages of manner, and studied no ornaments of dress. Simplicity, accompanied by a sort of oblivious inattention to things passing under her very sight, characterized her. In absence of mind, indeed, she might almost be said to equal the Duke de Brancas, Chamberlain to Anne of Austria, relative to whose continual violation of common rules, Madame de Sevigné has consigned to us so many amusing Anecdotes. With Mrs. Vesey this forgetfulness extended to such a point, that she sometimes hardly remembered her own name. It will scarcely be credited, that she could declaim against second marriages, to a Lady of Quality who

had been twice married, and though Mr. Vesey was her own second husband. When at last reminded of the circumstance, she only exclaimed, "Bless me, my dear, "I had quite forgotten it!" There was, indeed, some decay of mind in such want of recollection. Her sister-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, and who formed, physically, as well as morally, a perfect contrast to Mrs. Vesey, superintended all domestic arrangements. From their opposite figures, qualities, and endowments, the one was called "Body," the other "Mind."

In these two houses might then be seen many or most of the persons of both sexes, eminent for literary attainments, or celebrity of any kind. Mrs. Thrale, still better known by the name of Mrs. Piozzi, was to be met with frequently in this society, followed or attended by Mr. Thrale, and by Dr. Johnson. Of the former, it is unnecessary to say any thing; and relative to the last, after the laboured, minute portraits which have been drawn of him, under every attitude, what is it possible to say new? I will freely confess that his rugged exterior and garb, his uncouth gestures, his convolutions and distortions, when added to the rude or dogmatical manner in which he delivered his opinions and decisions on every point;—rendered him so disagreeable in company, and so oppressive in conversation, that all the superiority of his talents could not make full amends, in my estimation, for these defects. In his anger, or even in the warmth of argument, where he met with opposition, he often respected neither age, rank, nor sex; and the usages of polished life imposed a very inadequate restraint on his expressions, or his feelings. What are we to think of a man, who, by the testimony of his own Biographer, denominated Lord Russel and Algernon Sidney, "rascals;" qualified Pennant by the Epithet of "a dog," because in his political opinions he was a Whig; gave to Fielding, the appellations of "a blockhead, and a barren rascal;"

and in speaking of King William the Third, always termed him "a scoundrel?" If not irascible, he was certainly dictatorial, coarse, and sometimes almost impracticable. Those whom he could not always vanquish by the force of his intellect, by the depth and range of his arguments, and by the compass of his gigantic faculties, he silenced by rudeness; and I have, myself, more than once, stood in the predicament which I here describe. Yet, no sooner was he withdrawn, and with him had disappeared these personal imperfections, than the sublime attainments of his mind left their full effect on the audience: for such, the whole assembly might be in some measure esteemed, while he was present. His beautiful compositions, both prose and poetical, the unquestionable benevolence and philanthropy of his character, his laborious and useful, as well as voluminous and toilsome productions, when added to his literary fame and pre-eminence;—all these combined qualities so overbore or subdued, the few who ventured to contend with him, that submission or silence formed the only protection, and the ordinary refuge, to which they had recourse.

We never can enough regret, that a man who possessed such poetic talents as are displayed in his two Imitations of Juvenal; "London," and the "Vanity of Human Wishes;" should have neglected that Branch of Composition, in which he might have attained to such comprehensive eminence. If Pope's Imitations of Horace, have more suavity, delicacy, and taste, than Johnson's productions can boast; the latter breathe a spirit of sublime and severe morality, mingled with a philosophic grandeur of thought, which is equally captivating, as it is impressive and instructive. How admirable is his picture of *Charles the Twelfth*, as opposed to that of *Hannibal!* How fine is the Comparison between *Wolsey* and *Sejanus!* What can exceed the judgment shewn in selecting *Charles the*

Seventh, the Bavarian Emperor of 1741, as opposed to the *Xerxes* of the Roman Satirist! The English language offers, perhaps, nothing more chaste, correct, and yet harmonious, than these Verses, which are free from any pedantry, or affectation of learning. The fact, however is, that Johnson did not dare to yield to the seductions of the Muse, or to abandon himself to the Inspiration of Poetry. He was compelled to restrain his efforts, to the more temperate walk of Prose, however capable he felt himself to be of emulating Addison, or Gray, or Pope. It is well known, that he was constitutionally subject to a melancholy, morbid humour, which, advancing with his years, approached, on certain occasions, to something like alienation of mind. Well aware of this infirmity, he was apprehensive of its effects. Topham Beauclerk, who lived in great intimacy with him, often expressed to him the astonishment and regret, naturally excited by his apparent neglect of such Poetic Powers as Nature had conferred on him. Johnson heard him in silence, or made little reply to these remonstrances. But, on Mr. Beauclerk's making the same remark to Mr. Thrale, that gentleman immediately answered, that "the real "reason why Johnson did not apply his faculties to "Poetry, was, that he dared not trust himself in such "a pursuit, his mind not being equal to the species of "Inspiration which Verse demands; though in the walk "of prose composition, whether moral, philological, or "biographical, he could continue his labours, without "apprehension of any injurious consequences."

If, nevertheless, after rendering due homage to his paramount abilities, which no testimony of mine can affect, I might venture to criticise so eminent a person, as having been deficient in any particular branch of Information and polite knowledge, I should say that his deficiency lay in History. Boswell has very aptly compared his understanding to a mill, into which

subjects were thrown, in order to be ground. And Mrs. Piozzi somewhere remarks, in better language than I can do it by memory, that "his mind resembled a "royal pleasure garden, within whose ample dimensions "every thing subservient to dignity, beauty, or utility, "was to be found, from the stately cedar down to the "lowliest plant or herb." That this assertion, if loosely and generally taken, is perfectly just, no person can dispute, who knew him. That he was even thoroughly conversant in the modern history of Europe, for the last two or three Centuries, is incontestable; and still less will it be denied, that he intimately knew all the classic periods of Greek and Roman story, most of which he had studied or perused in the original writers. But, these attainments he shared with many of his contemporaries. In the history of Europe during the middle Ages, by which I mean, from the destruction of the Roman Empire in the West, in the year 476, through the ten Centuries that elapsed before the revival of letters, I always thought him very imperfectly versed; if not, on some portions, uninformed and ignorant. To have compared his knowledge, on these subjects, with the information which Gibbon, or which Robertson possessed, would have been an insult to truth. But, as far as I could ever presume to form an opinion, he was much below either Burke, or Fox, in all general historical information.

Even as a Biographer, which is a minor species of History, Johnson, however masterly, profound, and acute, in all that relates to criticism, to discrimination, and to dissection of literary merit; has always appeared to me to have wanted many essential qualities, or to have evinced great inaccuracy and neglect. I do not mean to speak of his prejudices and political partialities, which hardly allow him to do justice to Milton, or to Addison, because the one was a Republican, and the other a Whig; just as he calls Hampden, "the Zealot

of Rebellion:" I allude to errors, which could only have arisen from an ignorance of facts, with which he might and ought to have been acquainted. What shall we say, when we find him telling us, that Stepney, the Poet, "was invited into public life by the Duke of Dorset?" The event in question must have taken place about 1683, towards the end of Charles the Second's reign. But, the creation of the Dukedom of Dorset only originated under George the First, in 1720. In like manner he informs us, that Prior published about 1706, "a volume of poems, with the encomiastic "character of his deceased patron, the *Duke* of Dorset." No doubt he means to speak of Charles, *Earl* of Dorset, who died nearly at that time. His mistakes, or his omissions and defect of information, in the life of that distinguished Nobleman, are much more gross. Johnson makes him succeed to James Cranfield, *second* Earl of Middlesex, in 1674, his uncle; who was already dead, many years antecedent. It was the *third* Earl of Middlesex, *Lionel*, to whose estates and title the Earl of Dorset succeeded, or was raised by Charles the Second. On all the interesting particulars of his marriages, his private life, and his decease, relative to which objects curiosity must be so naturally and warmly excited, the Biographer is either silent or misinformed. I may be told, that these inaccuracies, chiefly chronological, are of little moment. So is it, whether the great Duke of Marlborough died in 1722, or in 1723. But, he who undertakes to compose an account of Churchill's life, is bound to know, and accurately to relate, all the leading facts that attended, or distinguished it. Johnson, we may be assured, would have been, himself, the first to detect and to expose such errors in another writer.

Mrs. Thrale always appeared to me, to possess at least as much Information, a mind as cultivated, and more wit than Mrs. Montague; but she did not descend

among men from such an eminence, and she talked much more, as well as more unguardedly, on every subject. She was the Provider and the Conductress of Johnson, who lived almost constantly under her roof, or more properly, under that of Mr. Thrale, both in town and at Streatham. He did not, however, spare her, more than other women, in his Attacks, if she courted or provoked his Animadversion. As little did he appear to respect or to manage Garrick, who frequently made one of the assembly. His presence always diffused a gaiety over the room; but he seemed to shrink from too near a contact with Johnson, whose superiority of mind, added to the roughness and closeness of his hugs, reduced Garrick to act on the defensive. Mrs. Carter, so well known by her erudition, the Madame *Dacier* of England; from her religious cast of character, and gravity of deportment, no less than from her intellectual Acquirements, was more formed to impose some check on the asperity or eccentricities of Johnson. Dr. Burney, and his daughter, the author of "Evelina" and "Cecilia," though both were generally present; I always thought, rather avoided, than solicited, notice. Horace Walpole, whenever he appeared there, enriched and illuminated the conversation, by Anecdotes personal and historical; many of which were rendered more curious or interesting, from his having, himself, witnessed their existence, or received them from his father Sir Robert Walpole. Sir Joshua Reynolds, precluded by his deafness from mixing in, or contributing to general conversation; his trumpet held up to his ear, was gratified by the attention of those who addressed to him their discourse; a notice which the resources of his mind enabled him to repay with interest. Mrs. Chapone, under one of the most repulsive exteriors that any woman ever possessed, concealed very superior attainments, and extensive knowledge. Burke, though occupied in the toils of

parliamentary discussion, and of ministerial attack, which left him little leisure to bestow on literary men or subjects; yet sometimes unbent his Faculties among persons adapted by nature to unfold the powers of delighting and instructing, with which genius and study had enriched him. His presence was, however, more coveted, than enjoyed. Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Shipley, afterwards married to Sir William Jones, might be frequently seen there. The Abbé Raynal, who passed that winter in London, was readily admitted, and eagerly courted. It must be confessed that the variety of his Information, and the Facility, as well as Readiness, with which he communicated the stores of his exuberant Memory, would have rendered him a valuable accession to any circle; but his Loquacity generally fatigued even those, whom it delighted and improved. The present Lord Erskine, who, thirty years later, attained to the Great Seal, had not yet commenced his career of Jurisprudence. But, the versatility of his talents, the energy of his character, and the vivacity of his conversation, sufficiently manifested, even at that time, the effect which such a union of Qualities might produce, when powerfully urged and impelled towards one object. Happily for himself, he did not want the strongest impulse, arising from domestic pledges and embarrassments, well calculated to call out every faculty of the mind. It is curious to reflect, that if he had been born one step higher; if, instead of being the younger son of a Scotch *Earl*, his father had been a *Marquis*, he never could have been called to the Bar. His endowments, however great, assuredly would not, in any other Profession, have raised him to the Peerage, to fortune, and to fame. His celebrity, indeed, if we may believe Mr. Fox's Biographer, had not extended across the Straits of Dover, even in 1802, when the Corsican

First Consul appears not to have known his name. Mrs. Boscawen, though inferior in literary Reputation to Mrs. Montague, and perhaps possessed of less general information, yet conciliated more good-will. She had an historical turn of mind; and in the course of a long life passed among the upper circles of society, she had collected and retained a number of curious or interesting Anecdotes of her own Times. Mr. Pepys, now Sir William Pepys, to whose acquaintance and partiality I was not a little indebted, for facilitating my entrance into this Assembly of distinguished Persons, is the last individual whom I shall enumerate. To a mind adorned with classic images, and conversant with classic authors, he united great colloquial powers. The friend of the first Lord Lyttelton, of Sir James Macdonald, and of Topham Beauclerk, he was in principle a staunch Whig; and as Johnson might be justly esteemed a violent, as well as a bigotted Tory, much political sparring occasionally took place between them, in the progress of which, many sparks of historical or philosophical fire, were elicited on both sides.

Though literary reputation, or acknowledged talents and celebrity of some kind, seemed to constitute the primary title to a place in those conversations, from which every species of play was altogether excluded; yet rank and beauty were to be found there, and contributed to render them interesting. The late Duchess Dowager of Portland, Grand-daughter of the Lord Treasurer Oxford, herself a woman of distinguished taste in various branches of art, was a frequent visitant. It was impossible to look on her, without reflecting that while still in early childhood, she had been the object of Swift's poetic attention, and the subject of Prior's expiring Muse. I have seen the Duchess of Devonshire, then in the first bloom of youth, hanging on the sentences that fell from Johnson's lips, and contending for the nearest place to his chair. All

the Cynic moroseness of the philosopher and the moralist, seemed to dissolve under so flattering an approach; to the gratification and distinction resulting from which, he was nothing less than insensible. We may see in Boswell, how tractable, gentle, and accommodating he became while at Inverary, seated between the Duke and Duchess of Argyle.

It is natural to ask, whether the literary Society of London, at the period of which I am speaking, could enter into any competition for extent of talents, and superiority of attainments, with the Society of Paris, that met at the apartments of Madame *du Deffand*, and of Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*, under the reigns of Louis the Fifteenth and Sixteenth. In other words, whether the persons who formed the Assemblies in the English Capital, can support a comparison for ability and for fame, with those who were accustomed to meet in the French Metropolis. If I were to presume to give an opinion on this question, I should have no hesitation in saying, that neither in the period of its duration, nor in the number, merit, or intellectual eminence of the principal members, can the English Society be held up on any parity with that of France. The latter Assemblies may be said to have lasted near half a Century, from 1725, or 1730, down to 1775, or 1780, either in the Houses of Madame *du Deffand*, or of Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*, or in both. The "Blue Stocking" Assemblies at Mrs. Montague's and Mrs. Vesey's, remained in their brilliant state, only for about fifteen years, from 1770, to 1785. Before the last of those periods, Mrs. Vesey had yielded to the progress of time, and of infirmity; while Mrs. Thrale, become Mrs. Piozzi, had removed from the banks of the Thames, to those of the Arno. Mrs. Montague, indeed, survived; and her dinners, as well as her assemblies, were perpetuated to a very late period of her life; but the charm and the impulse that propelled them, had dis-

appeared. They were principally supported by, and they fell with, the giant talents of Johnson, who formed the *nucleus*, round which all the subordinate members revolved. It became impossible, after his decease in 1786, to supply his place. Burke, as I have already observed, had more powerful avocations, and aspired to other honors and emoluments, than those which mere literary distinction could bestow on him. Hume, and Adam Smith, men of superior endowments, who might have contributed to support such a society, had retired to Scotland, or were already dead. Robertson resided at Edinburgh, and only visited London occasionally, on business. Gibbon, I believe, never emulated to be a member of these assemblies, and never attended them. He, too, like Burke, looked more to politics, than to letters, for his substantial recompense; being at once a Member of the House of Commons, and a Lord of Trade. Perhaps, indeed, the freedom of Hume's, and of Gibbon's printed opinions on subjects connected with religion, might have rendered their admission difficult, or their society distasteful, to the principal persons who composed these parties; where nothing like a relaxation on points so serious, found protection or support. Johnson, who, as we know, had so great a repugnance to every species of Scepticism on matters of religious belief, that when composing his Dictionary, he would not cite *Hobbes*, the celebrated philosopher, as an authority for any word or expression used by that writer, merely because he held *Hobbes's* principles in aversion;—Johnson, who blamed *Tyers*, for only doing justice to *Hume*, upon parts of his character wholly unconnected with his writings; and who said, that "he should just as soon have thought of praising "a mad dog;"—*he* would hardly have remained in the same room with Hume and Gibbon; though when taken once by a sort of surprize, he did not refuse to dine in company with Wilkes, of whom he had never-

theless, previously said, that "he would as soon dine "with Jack Ketch, as with Jack Wilkes."

The case was widely different in Paris, where no political pursuits distracted men of letters; and where infidelity, or even Materialism, far from exciting alienation, would rather have conduced to recommend to notice, the persons professing such tenets. Among the Constellation of eminent men and women, who met at Madame *du Deffand's*, and at Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse's*, the greater number were, indeed, avowedly "*des Esprits* "*forts*;" in other words, Free Thinkers, who not content with being so themselves, endeavoured to make proselytes by their writings. It is evident therefore, that the circle in London, was, from various causes, necessarily much more contracted, than in France; where every person distinguished by talents, with few exceptions, commonly resided altogether in the Capital. For Voltaire was virtually banished beyond the French confines, by the government; and lived in the territory of Geneva, more by constraint, than by choice or inclination. Rousseau was a Genevese by birth, and only visited Paris from time to time. After stating these facts, which may explain the causes of the superiority of the literary society, or Assemblies of Paris, over those of London; it would be idle to contest that they altogether eclipsed ours, in almost every point of genius, science, and intellectual attainment. Who in fact, met at Mrs. Montague's, or at Mrs. Vesey's, that can compete with the names of Maupertuis, Helvetius, Montesquiou, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Madame du Chatelet, the Marquis d'Argens, Mademoiselle de Launay, the President Henault, D'Alembert, Diderot, Condamine, the Duchess de Choiseul, Marmontel, Raynal, the Duke de Nivernois, Marivaux, the Abbé Barthelemi, Turgot, Condorcet, and so many other illustrious persons of both sexes, who composed the Literati of the French Metropolis? We can scarcely be said to have any thing

to oppose to such a cloud of eminent persons, except the single name of Johnson.

There seems, indeed, to be something in the National character of the French; at least there was so previous to the temporary extinction of the ancient Monarchy, and the reign of Jacobinism, or military Despotism; more congenial to these mixed assemblies of persons of literary endowments, than is found among us. From the middle of the seventeenth Century, as long ago as the Regency of Anne of Austria, we find that such meetings existed at Paris, and enjoyed a great degree of celebrity. The Hotel de Rambouillet, as early as 1650, constituted the point of re-union for all the individuals of both sexes, distinguished in the Career of Letters. Catherine de Vivonne, (the Madame du Deffand of that period,) Marchioness of Rambouillet, presided at them: an eminence for which she was qualified, by the elegance of her taste, and the superiority of her mind. In her house, which became a sort of Academy, the productions of the time were appreciated, and passed in Review. Dying in 1665, she was succeeded by Henrietta de Coligny, Countess de la Suze, who, though with inferior reputation, continued to assemble the wits and "Beaux Esprits" at her Hotel. Her high birth, her extraordinary beauty, and her poetic talents, attracted to her circle every person eminent in the Metropolis. It was on her, that the four classic lines were composed;

"Quæ Dea sublimi vehitur per Inania Curru?
An Juno, an Pallas, an Venus ipsa venit?
Si Genus inspicias, Juno: si scripta, Minerva:
Si spectes Oculos, Mater Amoris erit."

Subsequent to her decease in 1673, these conversations seem to have languished for near fifty years, till they were revived and reanimated by the Duchess du

Maine, a Princess of the royal blood, grand-daughter of the great Condé, married to the Duke du Maine, natural son of Louis the Fourteenth. After her release from the Castle of Dijon, to which Fortress she had been committed Prisoner by the Regent Duke of Orleans, in 1717, for her participation in the Conspiracy of Prince Cellamare; about the year 1722, she began to assemble persons of literary celebrity under her roof, in whose society she passed the greater part of her leisure. These meetings, which were principally held, not in the Capital, but at the palace of Seaux, about four leagues South of Paris, continued down to the Duchess du Maine's decease, in 1753; and were attended by many of the persons of both sexes, who afterwards formed the circles at Madame du Deffand's, and at Mademoiselle l'Espinasse's apartments. During the same period of time, Madame de Tencin, sister to the Cardinal of that name, one of the most captivating women in France, the *Aspasia* of that Country, received at her Hotel, the "Gens de Lettres," and may be said to have rivalled the Duchess du Maine, as the protectress of taste and polite knowledge.

Nothing of a similar nature or description appears to have existed in London, between the Restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, and the conclusion of the Century, except the Society that met at the house of the famous Hortensia Mancini, Duchess de Mazarin, niece to the Cardinal of that name; who, from 1667, to the period of her death in 1699, was accustomed to receive at her apartments, the *Literati* of both sexes. St. Evrémond, an exile, a foreigner, and a fugitive, like herself, constituted the principal support, and the ornament of these parties; where the Chevalier de Grammont, so well known by the Memoirs published under his name, was likewise to be found. It is curious to remark, that the first "Blue Stocking" Assemblies, and I believe, the only meetings deserving the name,

which have ever been held in London, down to those of which we have been speaking, were set on foot by natives of France, expatriated and resident here. For neither the letters, nor the writings of Addison, Gay, Steele, Swift, or Pope, indicate that any such meetings existed from 1700, down to the beginning of the present reign. Lady Wortley Montagu, Lady Hervey, the Duchess of Queensberry, and various other females distinguished by their talents, no less than by their rank, adorned that period of time; but they do not appear to have emulated the line which Mrs. Montague so successfully undertook, though they occasionally received in their drawing rooms, the wits and poets of the reigns of Queen Anne, of George the First, and George the Second. Foreigners have, indeed, with reason reproached the English as too much attracted by the love of play, to Clubs composed exclusively of men, to be capable of relishing a mixed society, where researches of taste and literature constitute the basis and the central point of union.

I quitted England in the summer of 1777, and made some stay at the Hague, where I was presented by our Ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, to the Prince of Orange; with whom I afterwards had the honour to sup at "the "Palace in the Wood," as well as to meet him in private society. This Prince has become so well known to us, since his precipitate retreat from Holland in the winter of 1795, by his long residence in England, that it is unnecessary to enter into any minute details relative to his character and qualities. Even at the period to which I allude, he neither inspired public respect, nor excited private regard. His person, destitute of dignity, corresponded with his manners, which were shy, awkward, and altogether unfitted to his high situation as Stadtholder. If he displayed no glaring vices, he either did not, or could not, conceal many weaknesses, calculated to injure him in the estimation of mankind.

A constitutional somnolency, which increased with the progress of age, was too frequently accompanied by excesses still more injurious, or fatal to his reputation; I mean those of the table, particularly of wine. I have seen him at the Hague, of an evening, in a large company, at Sir Joseph Yorke's, in the situation that I here describe. In vigour, ability, or resources of mind, such as might enable him successfully to struggle, like William the Third, with difficult or tumultuous Times, he was utterly deficient. If William the Fifth had possessed the energies of that great Prince, we should neither have been engaged in war with Holland, as happened towards the close of 1780; nor would the Stadtholderate have been overturned in 1795, and the Seven Provinces, which successfully resisted all the power of Philip the Second, have ultimately sunk into an enslaved Province of the Corsican Ruler of France. John and Cornelius de Witt became to William the Third as formidable opponents, as Van Berkel and Neufville proved to his successor: but William the Fifth allowed the French Faction at Amsterdam, acting under the direction of Vergennes, to consolidate their strength, to conclude a treaty with the American Insurgents, and to precipitate a rupture with England. His magnanimous predecessor, though he had scarcely then attained to manhood, opposed and surmounted all the efforts of the Republican Party, sustained by Louis the Fourteenth with a view to subject Holland to French ambition. Van Berkel merited the fate of the two de Witts, and only escaped it by the inert and incapable conduct of the Stadtholder, who permitted the fairest opportunity to pass for bringing him to public punishment, as a violator of the laws of nations, a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to his own country. Relative to William the Fifth's personal courage, no opinion can be formed, as it was never tried; but he possessed neither the activity, nor any of

the endowments fitted for the conduct of armies. It must, however, be admitted, that his understanding was cultivated, his memory very retentive, his conversation, when unembarrassed, entertaining and even instructive, abounding with historical information that displayed extensive acquaintance with polite letters; and that he joined to a fine taste in the arts, particularly in painting, a generous protection of their professors. In a period of repose he might have been tolerated; but the Stadtholderate, at every time since its commencement in the person of William the First, and the revolt of the Low Countries from Philip the Second, has demanded the greatest energies in the individual who was placed at the head of the Dutch Commonwealth.

Nature, which rarely confers great or eminent qualities of mind in hereditary descent, seemed to have departed from that rule, in the House of Nassau-Orange; where she produced five Princes in succession, all of whom were conspicuous in a greater or a less degree, for courage, capacity, and the talents that ensure or confirm political power. The five Roman Emperors, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, who succeeded each other in Antiquity, were altogether unallied by ties of consanguinity. Adoption alone constituted the connection between them: and Commodus, whom we suppose to have been the son of Marcus Aurelius, the last of those five Cæsars, was only distinguished by his crimes, or by his incapacity. William the First and his two sons, Maurice, and Frederic-Henry, who may be said to have successively occupied the office of Stadtholder, or Captain-General of the United Provinces, during fourscore years, from 1567 to 1647, without interruption; were three of the most illustrious men whom we have seen in modern Ages. Even William the Second, though his end was premature, and in some measure unfortunate, yet manifested no less strength of character and vigour of mind, than his three predecessors.

The whole existence of William the Third, from his early youth to his grave, which occupied more than thirty years, formed a perpetual display of fortitude, endurance, toil, and military, as well as civil exertion. With him expired in 1702, the great Line of Nassau-*Orange*. In 1747, the dignity and functions of Stadtholder, which had been suspended for five and forty years, were revived in the person of William the Fourth, head of the branch of Nassau-*Dietz*, collaterally related to the preceding race. However little favoured by nature in his bodily formation, which was very defective; and however moderately endowed with intellectual powers was William the Fourth, who married the Princess Anne, daughter of George the Second; he at least maintained during the few years that he survived his elevation, an external dignity of deportment, and an irreproachable moral conduct. But, in the hands of William the Fifth, his son, may be said in every sense to have become eclipsed, that great office of Stadtholder, in itself only less than royal; and, under able management, perhaps even more formidable than the kingly dignity!

The reception of the late Prince of Orange by George the Third, when he sought refuge in this country from the French Invasion, in 1795, was no less affectionate, hospitable, and cordial, than the treatment which James the Second experienced in 1689, from Louis the Fourteenth. If James, justly expelled by his English subjects for tyranny, political and religious, was lodged at the Castle of St. Germain, and treated with Royal Honors, by the French Monarch; William was equally placed in the Palace at Hampton Court. The Princes of the Royal Family, and the Nation at large, vied in demonstrations of respect, compassion, and attention towards him. The Princess of Orange, a woman of a far more elevated, correct, and manly character than her husband, experienced as generous, and as kind a

welcome, from the King and Queen of Great Britain, as Mary of Modena, the Consort of James, received in France. Of a stature exceeding the height of ordinary women, she extremely resembled in her figure, the late King of Prussia, Frederick-William the Second, her brother, who was cast by nature in the same Colossal mould. Fortune, which had persecuted her in Holland, did not prove more favourable to her in England. Her second son, Prince Frederic of Orange, a young man who excited the liveliest expectations, and gave promise of many virtues, had entered into the Austrian Service, after his father's expulsion from Holland. By his mother he was regarded with peculiar predilection, as formed to support the honor of the Houses of Nassau and of Brandenburgh, from both which he equally descended. Exemplary in the discharge of all his military duties, to this principle his premature death was to be attributed, which took place at Venice, in January, 1799; occasioned by a malignant distemper or fever, caught in consequence of visiting the sick soldiers, confined in the hospitals of that city.

His Britannic Majesty first read the account of it at the Queen's house, in one of the French newspapers, on Thursday night, the 31st of January, 1799. Shocked at the intelligence, and not being quite sure of its authenticity, he put the newspaper in his pocket; and taking the Queen aside, communicated it to her with much concern. As the probabilities were greatly in favor of its truth, or rather, as no doubt could reasonably be entertained on the point, they agreed not to delay announcing it to the Prince and Princess of Orange; who might otherwise receive so melancholy a notification through the channel of the English newspapers, or even from common fame. This determination they executed on the following day, at the Queen's house, where they detained the Prince and Princess for two or three weeks, till the violence of the

emotions occasioned by the loss of their son, had subsided. Some faint hopes, indeed, were entertained during eight or ten days after the arrival of the intelligence, that it might prove either premature or untrue. It was, however, soon fully confirmed. All mankind agreed that Prince Frederic eminently possessed talents, honor, and courage. His unfortunate father, after arriving in this country under a dark political cloud, and after residing here many years, without acquiring the public esteem, or redeeming his public character, finally and precipitately quitted England under a still darker cloud; only to bury himself in the obscurity of Germany, there to expire, forgotten, and almost unknown. Such has been the destiny, in our time, of the Representative of that August House; which, in the sixteenth Century, while it conducted the armies of Holland, opposed and humbled Spain; and which, in the seventeenth Century, affixed limits to the ambition of France, under Louis the Fourteenth. A Corsican Adventurer has since enslaved, plundered, and conscribed during many years, the country in whose councils, Barnevelt, the two de Witts, and Heinsius, once presided; for which Van Tromp and Ruyter fought, conquered, and fell; and where the spirit of freedom seemed to have animated every individual, when the Duke of Alva overran, and desolated those Provinces. It is in making these reflections on the modern Dutch, and contrasting their conduct with the heroism of their ancestors, that we involuntarily exclaim with *Goldsmith*,

"Gods! how unlike their Belgic Sires of old!"

At the time when I visited the Hague, in July, 1777, Prince Louis, one of the brothers of the then reigning Duke of Brunswic Wolfenbuttel, and Commander-in-chief of the Dutch Forces, enjoyed a much higher place in the public consideration, than the Stadtholder. I have rarely seen in the course of my

life, a man of more enormous bodily dimensions. William, Duke of Cumberland, son of George the Second, whose corpulency was extreme, fell far short of him in bulk. But, this prodigious mass of flesh, which it was natural to suppose, would enervate or enfeeble the powers of his mind, seemed neither to have rendered him indolent or inactive. The strength of his character, and the solidity of his talents, while they supplied in some measure the defects of the Prince of Orange, animated and impelled the vast machine that he inhabited. Prince Louis manifested no somnolency when in company; nor was he ever betrayed at table, into excesses injurious to his reputation. On the Parade, and in his military capacity, he displayed equal animation and professional knowledge. Attached to the interests of the House of Orange, and to those of Great Britain, he became naturally obnoxious to the French faction in Holland; which finally effected his removal from the post that he held in the service of the Republic, and compelled him to retire out of the Dutch Dominions, a few years later than the period of which I am speaking. He died, I believe, in 1788. His dismission and departure prepared the way for the overthrow of the Stadtholderate, notwithstanding the temporary triumph of the late Duke of Brunswic, and the capture of Amsterdam, effected in the Summer of 1787, by the Prussian forces.

His brother, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, who commanded the allied army with so much reputation, during the Seven Years War, from 1757 down to 1763; and who occupied at that time so distinguished a rank in the history of Europe; was unquestionably an able general, and a good Tactician; but by no means endowed with superior talents of any kind. In order to have secured the degree of fame that he had acquired in the field, it may be asserted that he ought not to have survived his last Campaign. For, he soon after-

wards abandoned himself to the doctrines and reveries of the *Illuminés*, who, it is well known, obtained such an ascendant about that time, in Germany. They reduced his mind to a degree of imbecility which could only excite compassion. It will hardly be believed that before the year 1773, he was so subjugated by them, as frequently to pass many hours of the night, in churchyards, engaged in evoking, and attempting to raise apparitions. They practised successfully on his credulity, making him conceive that he beheld spectres, or aerial forms. These occupations, which afforded sufficient proofs of intellectual decline, having impelled the great Frederic, whose sound understanding despised the *Illuminés*, to dismiss Prince Ferdinand from his situation in the Prussian service; he then retired to Magdeburg, of the Chapter of which secularized Archbishoprick, he was Dean. In that city he principally resided till his decease, divested of any military command, in a sort of retreat; but, keeping a good table, and receiving strangers occasionally who visited Magdeburg. His income, a considerable part of which consisted in a Pension from the Crown of Great Britain, enabled him to maintain an establishment becoming his rank. An intimate friend of mine, now no more; about that time, Minister of England at the Court of Dresden, Mr. Osborn, being well acquainted with Prince Ferdinand, used frequently to dine with him. The Prince, who treated him with great regard, wishing to make a Proselyte of him, one day proposed that they should go together to a certain churchyard, on that same night; promising him that a ghost would infallibly appear to them. Mr. Osborn agreed to accept the proposal, and to accompany His Serene Highness to the scene of these supernatural exhibitions, provided that he would order six Grenadiers, their pieces loaded with ball cartridge, to attend them; and would enjoin the Grenadiers to fire upon whatever object might assume the appearance

of a ghost. But, the Prince by no means relished the idea, and the party did not take place. Of the accuracy of this anecdote I can have no doubt, as it was related to me by Mr. Osborn himself, whose honor and veracity were indisputable. Prince Ferdinand continued till the period of his death, in July, 1792, to be a dupe and a convert of the *Illuminés*.

Sir Joseph Yorke, afterwards created Lord Dover, maintained a distinguished rank among the Members of the Corps Diplomatique, in 1777, at the Hague. His table, splendid and hospitable, was open to strangers of every country. Educated under Horace, Lord Walpole, and the first Lord Hampden, his manners and address had in them something formal and ceremonious; but, the vigilance and ability which he displayed during above five-and-twenty years that he was Embassador of England to the States-General, more than compensated for these defects of deportment. Never, perhaps, at any period of modern time, except by Sir William Temple, under Charles the Second, were the Interests of Great Britain so zealously, yet temperately sustained, as by him; for whom the Stadtholder felt and expressed a sort of filial regard. In 1777, the English Sovereign and Nation still continued to preserve an Ascendancy in the Dutch Councils; till the augmenting misfortunes, and accumulated disgraces of the American war, finally enabling France to obtain a predominating influence, compelled Lord North to recall Sir Joseph Yorke from the Hague. With another of His Majesty's foreign Ministers, Mr. Wroughton, who became afterwards Sir Thomas Wroughton, I passed a considerable part of the Summer of 1778, in the Court and Capital of Poland. Warsaw, destined to become, in more recent periods, the Theatre of carnage and revolution, then enjoyed a delusive calm; while Austria, Saxony, and Prussia, were involved in war relative to the Bavarian Succession.

Wroughton, at the time of which I speak, was about forty-six. He had been very handsome in his youth; and though grown somewhat corpulent, still preserved many of the graces, and much of the activity of that period of life. His education, if it had not given him a very cultivated mind, had completely fitted him for the world; and a residence of more than twenty years at the two Courts of Poland and Russia, in a public character, rendered his conversation, upon all points connected with the History of the North of Europe, no less entertaining than informing. From him I learned a number of curious facts respecting the two Russian Empresses, Elizabeth and Catherine; which, though they assuredly would have been transmitted to posterity by Brantome, cannot, without violating decorum, be commemorated in the present Age.

Sir Thomas Wroughton was sent, at three or four-and-twenty, to Petersburgh, where he subsequently became British Consul, during the reign of the former of those Princesses. No man was better acquainted with her character, as well as with the political Intrigues which distinguished the concluding years of Elizabeth's life. He assured me that she died a victim to her own excesses, and almost with a saucer of cherry-brandy at her lips; it having been found impossible, by any injunctions of her physicians, to prevent the female attendants about her person and bed, from indulging her in this pernicious gratification. The last Princess of the Stuart line who reigned in this country, has been accused of a similar passion, if we may believe the Secret History of that time, or trust to the Couplet which was affixed to the Pedestal of her Statue in front of St. Paul's, by the satirical wits of 1714. The Empress Elizabeth's Amours were such as the Messalinas and Faustinas of Antiquity, are asserted to have carried on in the Capital of the Roman world, without delicacy, shame, or restraint. Suetonius might have found it

difficult to relate, and Juvenal as impossible to exaggerate, the particulars of Elizabeth's gallantries. Of Catherine, Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke with admiration and respect, though with freedom. To her notice he was, indeed, greatly indebted for his elevation in life; she having been instrumental in procuring him the appointment of Consul to Petersburgh. As he was in the flower of his age at that time, and of an imposing figure, he attracted her attention, and was honored by her with such distinguishing marks of predilection, as to draw upon him the resentment of the Grand Duke, her husband; who, when he ascended the throne early in 1762, by the name of Peter the Third, obtained, during his short reign, Wroughton's removal from Russia. He was then sent, by orders from his own Court, to Dresden, as Minister to Augustus the Third, Elector of Saxony, in his capacity of King of Poland; and he accompanied or followed that Monarch from Saxony to Warsaw, in the last visit that Augustus made to his Polish dominions. As Wroughton had become an object of Peter's unconcealed dislike, or jealousy; and as Catherine had distinguished him by personal attentions of the most flattering nature, it was not an improbable supposition, that she might have carried to the utmost extent, her preference of him. But he always assured me, even in moments of the greatest confidence and unreserve, that he had never violated for an instant, the limits of the most profound respect towards her; nor had ever received from her, encouragement for such presumption on his part. "Count Poniatowski," said he, "was "her Lover. I was only her humble Friend and Servant."

He told me, that the first time he ever heard the name of Orloff mentioned, or ever saw the Officer who afterwards became, as Prince Orloff, the avowed Favorite of Catherine in every sense, was on the following occasion. Crossing the court of the Winter Palace at Petersburgh, some time during the year 1760,

the Grand Duchess, who leaned on his arm, pointed out to him a young man in the Uniform of the Russian Guards, then in the act of saluting her with his Spontoon; and added, "*Vous voyez ce beau jeune "Homme? Le connoissez vous?*" Wroughton replying in the negative, "*Il s'appelle Orloff*," said Catherine; "*Croirez vous, qu'il a eu la Hardiesse de me faire "l'amour?*" "*Il est bien hardi, Madame,*" answered he, smiling. The conversation proceeded no further; but it remained deeply imprinted upon Wroughton's recollection, who from that moment silently anticipated the future favor of Orloff. Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke to me of Catherine's Participation or Acquiescence in the death of Peter the Third, as involuntary, reluctant, and the Result of an insurmountable Necessity. He even considered her knowledge of the destruction of the unfortunate Emperor Ivan, who was stabbed by his own Guards at Schlusselbourg, in 1764, with a view to prevent his being liberated by Mirowitsch, as exceedingly problematical. But he believed, in common with all Poland, that Catherine had found means to entrap and to transfer to Petersburgh, the Princess Tarrakanoff, a daughter of the Empress Elizabeth; where, as was asserted, she had perished in prison, by the waters of the River Neva entering the room in which she was confined. Alexis Orloff so well known in the Annals of Catherine's Reign, who then commanded the Russian Fleet in the Mediterranean; became, no doubt, on that occasion, the instrument of her vengeance, or rather of her apprehensions, by enticing on board his ship, in the port of Leghorn, the unhappy female in question. This accusation, sustained by many strong facts, and apparent proofs, narrated at great length, has since been submitted to the Tribunal of Europe, in "*La Vie de Catherine Seconde,*" by Castera, published in 1797, soon after the Empress's decease. Sir John Dick, who

at the time of the supposed Princess's seizure by Alexis Orloff, was British Consul at Leghorn; is named in the work to which I allude, as having been an accomplice in the act of ensnaring, and carrying her off to the Russian Admiral's ship. His wife is likewise charged with a participation in so foul a conspiracy.

I lived during several years, in habits of familiar acquaintance with Sir John Dick, who retained, at four-score, all the activity of middle life, together with the perfect possession of his memory and faculties. He was an agreeable, entertaining, well bred man, who had seen much of the world. Dining in a large company, at Mr. Thomas Hope's, in Berkeley Square, on Sunday, the 10th of February, 1799, I sat by Sir John Dick; and well knowing his intimacy with Alexis Orloff, I enquired of him where the Count then was? "He is," answered Sir John Dick, "at present at Leipsic, from "which place he wrote to me, only three weeks ago. "The Emperor Paul commanded him to travel, after "having made him and Prince Baratinskoi, both of "whom assisted in the termination of Peter the Third's "life, assist likewise at the funeral ceremonies of that "Prince. They held the Pall, and actually mounted "guard over the body, in the church of the Citadel of "Petersburgh, remaining the whole night with the "corpse. Alexis went through this function with "perfect composure." Encouraged by the frankness of this reply, I ventured to ask him if he had read the Narrative of the Princess Tarrakanoff's seizure, related in "*La Vie de Catherine Seconde?*" "I have certainly "perused it," said he, "and not without some concern, "as I am there accused by name, no less than my wife, "of having been a party to the act of transporting by "violence, a young unsuspecting, and innocent Princess, "on board the Russian Fleet. I will relate to you, as "a man of veracity, all the part that I took, and all I "know, relative to the pretended Princess in question,

" who is there asserted to have been a daughter of " Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, by Alexis Razoum-" offsky.

" During the time that the Russian Squadron lay in " the harbour of Leghorn, in 1771, Alexis Orloff, who " was the Admiral, resided frequently, if not principally, " at Pisa, where he hired a splendid house. One morn-" ing, about eleven o'clock, a Cossack, who was in his " service, and who acted as his Courier, arrived at my " door, charged with a message, to inform me that his " master, with some company, in three carriages, meant " to dine with me on that day. I accordingly ordered " a dinner to be prepared for his reception. When he " arrived, he brought with him a Lady, whom he " introduced to my wife and to myself: but he never " named her, only calling her, "*Questa Dama.*" She " was by no means handsome, though genteel in her " figure; apparently, thirty years of age; and had the " air of a person who had suffered in her health. There " seemed something mysterious about her, which excited " my curiosity, but which I could not penetrate. " Considering her with attention, it struck me forcibly " that I had seen her before, and in England. Being " determined, if possible, to satisfy myself on this point, " as we stood leaning against the chimney piece in my " drawing room, before dinner, I said to her, " I believe, " Ma'am, you speak English." " I speak only one little," " answered she. " We sat down to dinner, and after the " repast, Alexis Orloff proposed to my wife, and to " another Lady who was there present, to accompany " him and the female stranger on board his ship. They " both declining it, Orloff took her with him in the " evening. The Boom, or chain, was then stretched " across the harbour: but a boat came from the Russian " Admiral's ship, into which he put the Lady, and " accompanied her himself safe on board.

" On the ensuing morning, when Orloff came on shore,

" he proceeded to my house. His eyes were violently " inflamed, and his whole countenance betrayed much " agitation. Without explaining to me the cause or " the reason of this disorder, he owned that he had " passed a very unpleasant night; and he requested me " to let him have some of the most amusing books in " my library, in order to divert the Lady who was on " board his ship. I never saw her again: but I know " that soon afterwards, she was sent by Alexis, in a " Frigate, to Cronstadt; where, without being ever " landed, she was transferred up the Neva, to the " Fortress of Schlusselbourg, at the mouth of the lake " Ladoga. Catherine there confined her, in the very " room that Peter the Third had caused to be constructed, " with intent to shut up herself in it. The Lady " unquestionably died in that prison, of Chagrin; but " she was not drowned by the water of the Neva coming " into her apartment, as is asserted in "La vie de " Catherine Seconde."

" Having stated to you," continued Sir John Dick, " these circumstances, I will now inform you, who, and " of what description was the lady in question. Far " from being, as is pretended, a daughter of Elizabeth, " Empress of Russia, her father was a Baker of Nurem- " berg in Franconia. If, on this point, my testimony " should appear to you doubtful or suspicious, the " present Margrave of Anspach, who is in this country, " and who knew her well, is ready to testify the same fact. " She was a woman of pleasure, during a short time, " both in Paris, and here in London; at which last " mentioned city, she had picked up a few words of " English. Prince Nicholas Radzivil, who was driven " out of Poland by the Russians, having met with her, " made her his Mistress, and carried her with him into " Italy. In order to revenge himself on Catherine, who " had expelled him from his native country, and " confiscated his immense estates in Lithuania; he

"resolved on calling her the Princess Tarrakanoff, "pretending that she was Elizabeth's daughter. Such "she was, in fact, considered to be by many people; "and the report acquiring strength, soon reached "Petersburgh. Catherine, naturally alarmed at the "existence of a pretender, who might lay claim to the "very throne of Russia; and being informed that Prince "Radzivil asserted her right to the empire, as a legiti- "mate daughter of Elizabeth by Razoumoffsky, to whom "she had been secretly married; thought that not a "moment was to be lost, in securing the person of so "dangerous a rival. She issued private orders, there- "fore, to Alexis Orloff, enjoining him to gain possession "of the pretended Princess, at all events, and by every "possible means, either of money, or violence. To so "great a height did the Empress's apprehensions rise, "that Orloff avowed to me, he had received the positive "commands of Her Majesty, to pursue her even to "Ragusa, if necessary; where it was understood she "had retired; to demand her from the government of "that small Republic; and if they should refuse to "give her up, to bombard the city, and to lay it in "ashes. But, Alexis found means to entrap, or to "entice her, without either disturbance, or hostility. "He treated her as his Mistress, while he resided at "Pisa, and while she lay on board his ship at Leghorn. "These are all the particulars that I know relative to "her, and all the share that I had in her detention, or "her misfortunes."

It is probable that this recital, however natural and plausible it may appear, or however true it may be in point of fact, will nevertheless by no means carry conviction to every mind. I confess, that it neither produced that sentiment in me, at the time when Sir John Dick related it; nor, on the fullest consideration, am I thoroughly persuaded that the person in question, was not the daughter of Elizabeth. It seems

to be universally admitted, and I have always been so assured, that the Empress did privately espouse Razoumoffsky; that she had by him, between the years 1740 and 1745, various children; one of whom was brought up, and called the Princess or Countess Tarrakanoff. Prince Radzivil might, as is asserted in "*La Vie de Catherine Seconde*," have contrived means to carry her off; and after accompanying her to Rome, might there have quitted or deserted her. It is unquestionable, even by Sir John Dick's account, that Catherine dreaded her; and that Orloff, by her orders, decoyed, ensnared, and made himself master of the person of this unfortunate female. But, that in order to effect his base and barbarous purpose, Orloff actually married her, or pretended so to do; that she passed *several days* under Sir John Dick's roof, in amusement and dissipation; that "the Consul, his wife, and the wife of Rear "Admiral Greig, took their seats by her in the Barge, "which conveyed her on board the Russian Squadron;" finally, that a British Consul would dishonour himself, his Sovereign, and his nation, by openly facilitating so perfidious an act;—all these assertions of Castera, and many others relative to her treatment on board Orloff's ship, appear to me wholly undeserving of credit. They are, indeed, completely disproved by Sir John Dick's narrative to me, unless we suppose him utterly devoid of truth and honour. On the other hand, that he should have remained silent under such a charge, made in the face of all Europe, without attempting to repel, or to disprove it, in as public a manner as it was brought forward; seems almost like a negative admission of its veracity. His denial of the accusation, given in private conversation to me, could not redeem his character, to the world at large. Sir John, we may likewise remember, lay under personal obligations to Catherine the Second, who had conferred on him one of the Russian Orders of Knighthood; and from his connection with whom,

while Orloff lay at Leghorn with her fleet, he had derived great pecuniary advantages. The manner in which Alexis treated him, by bringing to his house a stranger, whom he never announced to Sir John, or to his wife, by name; and with whom he lived as his Mistress;—these facts seem to imply great subservience on the part of the British Consul, and will probably induce us to pause, before we give implicit belief to his assertions. I leave, however, the decision on this point, to every man's own opinion.

But was the Lady in question, the daughter of Elizabeth, or not? It seems to me impossible, for want of evidence, to reply satisfactorily to the question. I confess, however, that I think it more probable she should have been, as Sir John Dick asserted, a German woman, whom Prince Radzivil had instructed, or induced, to assume the name and title of Princess Tarrakanoff. It is even very difficult altogether to condemn the Empress Catherine, for endeavouring to get possession of her person. For, had she passed over to Ragusa, and from thence into the Ottoman dominions, she would have been, when once in the hands of the Turks, with whom Russia was at war, a most dangerous competitor to the throne. We must recollect, that Catherine herself had attained the imperial dignity by a revolution, and the consequent destruction of her husband, without any right of descent. To her, an impostress was nearly as formidable as a rightful pretender to the throne. The history of the false Demetrius, in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, so famous in the Muscovite Annals, might justly inspire her with apprehension. Similar scenes might be renewed under her own reign, in the interior of that vast Empire. Pugatcheff had long been considered, by a great part of the Russian people, as the Emperor Peter the Third. These considerations must, at least in a political point of view, justify Catherine for taking

measures to prevent the Lady in question from being made an instrument in the hands of vindictive or ambitious individuals, to accomplish their projects of Vengeance against herself. In the eyes of morality and of humanity, the whole reign and Administration of that Empress, however brilliant and imposing it may appear, through the medium of Voltaire's, or of the Prince de Ligne's writings, cannot bear a close examination, or support a severe scrutiny.

We shall find it equally difficult to palliate her conduct relative to the first Grand Duchess of Russia, wife of Paul; who is believed to have perished, or rather, to have been put out of life, by Catherine's directions or permission, in a manner still more tragical than the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff. I have seen the Grand Duchess in question, at the Drawing-room at Peterhoff, in 1774, soon after her marriage. She was by birth a Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, having been chosen in preference to two of her sisters, who accompanied her from Germany to Russia. They must have been very deficient in personal attractions, if Paul's selection resulted from her superiority in that respect, above her sisters. I have rarely beheld a young person less favored by Nature. She had a scorbutic humour in her face, nor did her countenance indicate either intelligence or dignity: but she was said to be amiable and pleasing in her manners. That she died during the course of her confinement after lying-in, about two years subsequent to her marriage, is certain; and it is equally indisputable, that Imputations of the heaviest nature, were on that occasion revived against the Empress Catherine, accusing her as the author of the Grand Duchess's death. I shall recount the particulars of her end, on the testimony of two Princes of Hesse Philipstahl, who were allied to her by consanguinity, and whom I met at Vienna in the beginning of 1778, at Marshal Haddick's, as well as at other

houses in that Capital. They came to seek service under Maria Theresa, and seemed to have no delicacy or reserve in relating the story, though it was then so recent a transaction. Their account was nearly as follows.

Wilhelmina, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, who, on her marriage with Paul, assumed the name of Natalia Alexiewna, proved with child in 1775, to the great joy of Catherine, as well as of the Empire at large, which anxiously expected an heir. Unfortunately for the Grand Duchess, though she went her full time, yet she had so long and dangerous a labour, that not only the child of which she was delivered, died in the birth; but, she was herself declared by the physicians and surgeons who attended her, to have received so much injury, as to be incapable of ever again producing children, even if she should ultimately recover. The case was of serious consequence to Russia, as Paul having neither brother nor sister, Heirs were indispensable to the welfare of the State. On the point being submitted to the Empress, and a few select advisers, as a political Question, after mature discussion, it was finally determined to sacrifice her to the public Interest, by putting her quietly out of the way. One great Impediment remained, however, to be surmounted. Paul was known to be not only attached in the warmest manner to his wife; but his principles of morality and humanity would not, it was believed, permit him to sanction such an act. In fact, when the idea was first suggested to him, though indirectly and ambiguously, he manifested the utmost indignation, as well as horror. With a view to extinguish all emotions of that nature in his bosom, and to induce him to consent to the deed, the persons who were employed for the purpose, assailed him therefore by other arguments and motives than those of State Policy or Necessity. "Your Im-" perial Highness then imagines," said they, "that the

"Grand Duchess was true to your Bed, and that the "Child which she brought into the world, was yours?" On his answering in the affirmative, they assured him that she had carried on a criminal intrigue with one of the handsomest, as well as most accomplished young Noblemen about the Court. Paul still continuing, nevertheless, incredulous, they put into his hands various of her own Letters, and those of her Lover; which, as they asserted, had been discovered, or intercepted, containing unequivocal proofs of mutual intercourse, sufficient to convince the Grand Duke of her Infidelity. He then abandoned her to her fate; and the medical attendants having received proper instructions, completed the rest, in a manner equally effectual and expeditious.

Such was the account given by the Princes of Hesse Philipstahl; and a circumstance which augments its probability is, that the Nobleman himself, who was accused of being the Lover of the Grand Duchess, then resided at Vienna; to which city he had been sent, as common report affirmed, by Catherine, on the complaints of her son, immediately after the death of the unfortunate Princess in question. I knew him intimately, during a long time, while at Vienna. He since filled the post of Envoy from the Empress of Russia, at the Court of Naples; where he was believed to have carried his temerity, and his success even higher than he had done at Petersburgh. Few men whom I have ever seen or known, were more formed by Nature to be beloved by women. His figure was advantageous; his manners, though lofty, yet were gay and captivating whenever he desired to conciliate good-will; and his countenance, which somewhat resembled that of a Calmuck, had in it nevertheless an air of distinction, spirit, and intelligence. He had served in the Russian Fleet, under Alexis Orloff; was present at the memorable victory of Schismé, on the coast of Natolia, in

1770, where the Turkish squadron in that Bay was destroyed; and had acquired, under Admirals Elphinstone and Greig, not only a knowledge of naval Tactics, but of the English language likewise, which he spoke with admirable ease and fluency. When we contemplate the history of the Imperial Family of Russia, from the reign of Peter the First, down to the present time; we shall find nothing in the story above related, either improbable, or inconsistent with the measures to which the Sovereigns of that Empire have continually had recourse, under similar circumstances, in various instances.

If Catherine did not hesitate, by the commission of a crime, to render her son a widower, she was at least determined to lose no time in providing him a second wife. For this purpose, she applied, almost immediately after the removal of the unfortunate Grand Duchess, to the great Frederic, King of Prussia, requesting him to select for Paul, a German Princess, to supply the vacancy occasioned in her family by death. She even sketched out with her own hand, the prominent qualities of person and of mind, which she considered as principally requisite in the object of his choice. This delicate commission Frederic executed with great ability; and, having fully sounded the ground, he recommended the Princess Sophia of Wirtemberg to the Empress, for her future daughter-in-law. It was, perhaps, impossible to have made a more judicious selection, for such a dangerous eminence. She was not quite seventeen years of age; and she possessed, besides youth, personal attractions, calculated to retain the Grand Duke's affections. Her understanding, solid, and her deportment, blameless, secured universal esteem; while, at the same time, she neither displayed such talents, energy of character, or ambition, as could render her an object of Catherine's apprehension. Paul, accompanied by Marshal Romanzoff, whose

victories over the Turks have rendered him so justly celebrated, was sent by Catherine, in 1776, to Berlin; where Frederic, after contributing to procure him a wife, entertained him at Potzdam, in the most splendid manner. At one of these entertainments, given, if I recollect right, in the new palace near *Sans Souci*; in the midst of the dinner, a large piece of the cieling fell down on the table, involving the room and the company in dust, confusion, and astonishment; not unlike the accident which Fundanius relates as happening at Nasidienus's supper. The King, with admirable presence of mind, instantly throwing his arms round Paul, who sat next him, held the Grand Duke closely embraced, without suffering him to stir, till the cause, as well as the consequences of the disaster, were ascertained. When it was discovered to have arisen only from a defect in the plaister of the cieling, and to have been altogether casual, a Courier was immediately dispatched to Petersburgh, stating the particulars to Catherine; assuring her at the same time, that her son was in perfect safety. We cannot help admiring the quickness of Frederic's perception, which, ignorant as he was from what cause so unusual and alarming an event originated, led him, without a moment's delay, to participate the danger and the misfortune, if such existed, with the Grand Duke. In fact, they must have perished together, if they perished at all. The malignity of mankind would, unquestionably, have suspected or attributed treachery of some kind, had any fatal accident, in which the King was not enveloped, befallen his guest. Frederic, by his promptitude, obviated the possibility of misrepresentation, either at Petersburgh, or in any other of the Courts of Europe.

During the first ten or fifteen years of the reign of Catherine the Second, it was commonly believed; and in Poland, where men ventured to state their opinions in conversation, with more freedom than they dared to do

in Russia, I have heard it often maintained in private Society; that the Grand Duke Paul would, sooner or later, disappear, as Peter the Third did in 1762, and as the unfortunate Emperor Ivan did in 1764. If Catherine had dreaded her son, such an event might have been not improbable: but she knew him, and did not fear him. The strongest mark of her superiority to all apprehension from his machinations, or efforts to ascend the Russian Throne before his time, was the permission which she gave him to travel over Germany, France, and Italy. He was accompanied on his Tour, by the Grand Duchess, for whom he then manifested the utmost fondness; though the testimonies which he gave her of his affection, were not always regulated by delicacy or propriety. Sir William Hamilton told me, that when Paul arrived at Naples, in 1782, he had the honour to accompany the Grand Duke and Duchess, on their excursions round that city; to view Portici, Pompeia, and the other principal objects of curiosity, visited by travellers. "The first time," said Sir William, "that I was with "them in a coach, we had not proceeded far, when Paul, "as if unconscious that I was present, throwing his arms "about the Grand Duchess, began to kiss her with as "much warmth as he could have shewn if they had "been alone, and newly married. I was somewhat "embarrassed at this unusual display of matrimonial "attachment, hardly knowing which way to direct my "view; for there was no other person with us in the "carriage: and as I sat opposite to their Imperial Highnesses, I could not easily avoid seeing all that passed, "though I affected to look through the glass, at the "objects without. At length, the Grand Duke address-"ing himself to me, said, '*Monsieur Le Chevalier*, "*J'aime beaucoup ma femme.*' It was impossible not to "credit the assertion, after the proofs which he had just "exhibited. But we had not proceeded a mile further, "when he recommenced the same demonstrations of

"attachment, which he repeated many times before "we arrived at Portici: usually observing to me, each "time, '*Vous voyez que J'aime beaucoup ma femme.*' "I could only express my satisfaction at his felicity, "concealing my astonishment at the testimonies of it "which I had witnessed." It would have been happy for this violent and infatuated Prince, if he had never ascended the Russian Throne, but had always continued in the state of political annihilation to which his mother had reduced him, and in which she retained him to the end of her life.

The pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, and the first Grand Duchess of Russia, were not the only females of high rank, whom Catherine the Second is accused of having caused to be put out of life. Augusta Caroline, eldest daughter of the late celebrated Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, who fell at Auerstadt, perished in a manner equally mysterious; and, as some persons believe, not less tragical. This Princess, who was born towards the end of the year 1764; before she attained the age of sixteen, was married to the present King, at that time Prince, of Wirtemberg. He was then about twenty-six years old, and might be considered as eventual presumptive heir to his uncle, the reigning Duke of Wirtemberg, Charles Eugene. When I was at the Court of Brunswic, in the Autumn of 1777, at which time the Princess was near thirteen, I saw her more than once, in the apartments of her mother. She had a very fair complexion, light hair, pleasing features, and an interesting figure. Some years after her marriage, she accompanied the Prince her husband into Russia, when he entered into the military service of that Crown; to the Heir of which, as has been already stated, his sister was married. They resided during some time at Petersburgh, or in other parts of the Russian Empire; but in 1787 he quitted Catherine's service and dominions; leaving

his wife behind, of whose conduct, it was asserted, he had great reason to complain. They had then three children living, two sons and a daughter, whom the Empress permitted him to take away, when he withdrew from her employ; but she retained the Princess under her own protection. At the end of a year or two, it was notified to the Prince of Wirtemberg, as well as to the Duke of Brunswic, by order of the Empress, that the wife of the one, and the daughter of the other, was no more. The Duke, her father, immediately demanded in the most pressing terms, that her body might be delivered up to him: but this request was never granted, nor did he even receive any such authentic proofs of her decease, and still less of the circumstances attending it, as could satisfy him on the subject. Doubts were not only entertained whether she died a natural death, but it remained questionable whether she did not still survive, and was not existing in Siberia, or in the Polar Desarts; like many other illustrious exiles of her own family, who had been banished thither by the Empress Elizabeth, when she ascended the Throne in 1741, on the deposition of Ivan.

I have heard this subject agitated between 1789 and 1795, when great uncertainty prevailed respecting the point; though it seemed to be generally believed that she was dead, and that her end had been accelerated or produced by poison. It was natural to ask, who had caused the poison to be administered? Was the Empress herself the perpetrator of this crime? And even if that fact should be admitted, was not the Prince of Wirtemberg tacitly a party to its commission? Though no positive solution of these questions could be given, yet when the fact of the Princess's death came to be universally understood, many persons doubted the innocence of her husband. The King of Great Britain himself was strongly imbued with the opinion, of which he

made no secret. In 1796, when the first overtures were begun, on the part of the Court of Wirtemberg, for the marriage of their Prince, to the Princess Royal; George the Third was so prepossessed against him, for having been supposed privy to the death of his wife, that he would not listen to the proposal. In order to remove an obstacle of such magnitude, the Prince sent over to London, a private Agent, instructed to ascertain from what quarter the accusation came, and furnished with documents for disproving it. That Agent I personally knew, while he was here, employed on the above mission. He possessed talents, spirit, zeal, and activity, all which he exerted in the cause. Having clearly traced the imputation up to Count Woronzoff, who long had been, and who then was the Russian Envoy at our Court; he induced the Count, by very strong personal remonstrances, accompanied, as we must suppose, by proofs, to declare his conviction of the Prince's innocence, and utter ignorance of the nature or manner of his wife's end. It followed of course, that Catherine, under whose exclusive care she remained, could alone be accused of having produced it. The Agent finally satisfied His Majesty, that the Empress, and she only, caused the Princess to be dispatched, without the participation, consent, or knowledge of her husband; if after all she did not die of a natural death.

In May, 1797, the Princess Royal of England was married to the Prince of Wirtemberg, who, before the conclusion of that year, became Duke, by the decease of Frederic Eugene his father. Early in the summer of 1798, a gentleman conversing with me on the subject of the first Princess of Wirtemberg's death, assured me that he had seen and perused all the papers relative to her imprisonment and decease; which, at the desire of the Prince, and by his authority, had been transmitted to George the Third; who, after a full inspection of them, became perfectly convinced of his having had no

part in that dark and melancholy transaction: lastly, he gave it as his Opinion, that Catherine had alone caused her to be poisoned, unless her decease resulted from natural causes.

"Frederic William, reigning Duke of Wirtemberg," said he, "entered when young, as is well known, into "the Prussian service. Old Frederic liked and dis- "tinguished him. Wishing to attach him to the House "of Brandenburg by permanent ties, and considering "him as a man of promising abilities, the King "himself set on foot, and finally concluded his mar- "riage with the eldest daughter of his own favourite "Nephew and General, the Duke of Brunswic. This "event took place in 1780. About five years after- "wards, Frederic being disposed to form a second "alliance with the family of Wirtemberg, by marrying "his great Nephew, the present King of Prussia, as "soon as his age would allow, with the Princess Eliza- "beth, sister to the Prince; dispatched him to Peters- "burgh for that purpose. His instructions were, to "apply to the Grand Duchess, who was likewise his "sister, for the exertion of her influence at the Court "of Stutgard, in order to prevail on the Duke to "promise his niece to the eventual heir of the Prussian "Monarchy. This negotiation was, however, rendered "unsuccessful, by the demand which the Emperor "Joseph the Second made, about the same time, of the "Princess Elizabeth of Wirtemberg, for his Nephew, "Francis, hereditary Prince of Tuscany, now Emperor "of Austria; a marriage which was actually accom- "plished early in 1788.

"When the Prince of Wirtemberg arrived in the "Capital of the Russian Empire, this alliance above "mentioned, was already settled; or at least, was too "far advanced, to be overturned by his interference. "After making, therefore, every effort in his power, "through the Grand Duchess, to prevent its accomplish-

" ment; and finding these exertions fruitless, he " returned to Potzdam. Whether Frederic suspected " any duplicity or insincerity on his part; or, whether " it was the result merely of disappointment; it is " certain that he received the Prince very coldly: and " the Empress of Russia having soon arterwards invited " him into her service, he quitted that of Prussia, and " revisited Petersburgh. She employed him in the war " that began in 1787 against the Turks, and he " commanded one of the three armies which took the " field. The Van, consisting of forty thousand men, " was entrusted to him. He is said to have displayed " great military talent, to have distinguished himself " much, and to have rendered essential services to " Catherine.

" At the time that he entered the Russian service, " he carried the Princess his wife with him to Peters- " burgh, as well as the two sons and daughter which " she had brought him. Being in the flower of her " youth, endowed with many amiable qualities of mind " and of deportment, she soon became a favourite of " Catherine; in whose society and intimate confidence " she occupied a distinguished place. It can hardly " however excite astonishment, that such an intercourse " should have been calculated to corrupt her morals. " The Court and Palace of the Empress, were scenes of " dissipation and licentiousness. Yet, when the Prince " went to serve against the Turks, he, of necessity left " his wife exposed to all these temptations. In effect, " during his absence, she conducted herself so impru- " dently, that when he returned, after the conclusion of " the Campaign, to Petersburgh, he found himself " under a necessity of adopting some strong measures " respecting her. Being placed in this painful situation, " he wrote to her father, the Duke of Brunswic, " informing him of his daughter's misconduct, and " consulting him on the mode of action proper to be

" pursued. It was agreed between them, that as a " preliminary step, she should be removed out of " Russia; and the Prince accordingly demanded " Catherine's permission to quit her dominions, together " with his wife and his family. The Empress allowed " him to retire, and to take with him his children; but " she peremptorily refused to permit him to carry his " wife back to Germany. All remonstrance proving " vain, the Princess therefore remained behind, and he " quitted Petersburgh, with his sons and daughter, to " return to Wirtemberg.

" About a fortnight after his departure, the Princess, " without any reason assigned, was sent by the order of " Catherine, to the Castle of Lhode, about two hundred " miles from Petersburgh; but, in what part or " province of that vast empire, I am unable to assert. " There, it seems, under close confinement, she remained " about eighteen months: but, all her German " attendants, male and female, were withdrawn from " her. At the end of that time, the Prince received " letters from the Empress, informing him that his " wife was dead of *an Hemorrhage*. Similar informa- " tion was conveyed by Catherine, to the Duke of " Brunswic, the unfortunate Princess's father. No " particulars were stated; nor, as far as appears, were " any other circumstances ever known respecting her. " Thus situated, the Duke of Brunswic, conscious that " he could neither bring his daughter to life, nor call " the Empress to account, acquiesced patiently in the " calamity: but, during some years, he did not com- " municate to the Duchess his wife, the intelligence of " her daughter's death. She, therefore, remaining in " ignorance of the Catastrophe, continued to believe " that the Princess was still confined at Lhode, or " somewhere in the Deserts of Russia. The Duchess " used even to speak of her, as being alive in Siberia; and " this fact will account for the universality of the report."

If the account given me by Sir John Dick, relative to the supposed Princess Tarrakanoff, left many circumstances dark and unexplained in the history of that female; it must be owned that, after considering this narrative, no less uncertainty still pervades the story of the Princess of Wirtemberg. It is natural to ask, why did Catherine cause the Princess to be imprisoned, or poisoned? Her gallantries, however culpable or notorious they might be, yet constituted no crime against the Empress of Russia; who exhibited in her own conduct, an example of emancipation from all restraint and decorum on the article of female irregularities. It was the Prince, her husband, whom she had dishonoured and incensed. What proof is adduced, except assertion, that he did not know of the intentions of Catherine to confine and banish her? In the case of Peter the Third, and of Ivan; as well as in the instances of the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, and of the first Grand Duchess of Russia; the motives for her commission of a crime, by putting them out of life, are obvious. But, none such appear in the instance before us. There are, moreover, other particulars which may lead us to hesitate in forming a decisive opinion on the subject. The death of the Princess of Wirtemberg at Lhode, was announced and stated in all the German Almanacks, printed by authority, to have taken place on "the 27th September, 1788." Her husband remained a widower, near eight years after that event, before he attempted to obtain the hand of the Princess Royal of Great Britain. During so long a period of time, he seems to have adopted no measures for repelling the calumnious reports circulated all over Europe, of his participation in the death of his wife: reports which had made the most unfavourable impression, even in England. It is true that George the Third became convinced of his innocence, before he consented to the union of the Prince with his eldest daughter.

But, though the King yielded to the proofs brought upon this point, yet it is well known that he did it with reluctance and hesitation; rather giving way to the Princess's avowed wishes on the subject, than himself desiring, or approving the match. So far indeed was he from pushing forward the alliance, that I know from good authority, he offered the Princess, after all the preliminaries were adjusted, and the marriage was fixed, to break it off, if she chose to decline it; taking on himself personally, the whole responsibility of its failure. There remains still another important fact, which merits consideration. We have seen that Count Woronzoff originally maintained his Sovereign's innocence of the Princess's death, though he was afterwards induced to depart from that assertion. But, *when* did he make such an admission? Much depends on the time. For, Catherine died on the 6th of November, 1796; and after her death, a crime, more or less, might not appear to be of much consequence, where so many could be justly attributed to her. Certain it is, that the Negociation advanced much more rapidly after the decease of the Empress, and on the 18th of May, 1797, the nuptials were solemnized. Over the nature, as well as over the author, of the first Princess of Wirtemberg's death, a deep or impenetrable veil is drawn. We must leave it to time to unfold, if it does not rather remain, as is more probable, for ever problematical.

Before I quit this subject, I cannot help remarking, that during the course of the eighteenth Century, the family of Brunswic, in its different Branches, produced no less than five Princesses, who exhibited in succession, the most conspicuous examples of human infelicity. The first of them was Sophia of Brunswic *Zell*, married to George the First; who, for her alledged, but unproved Gallantries with Count Konigsmark, was confined during near forty years, at the sequestered seat

of Ahlden, in the Electorate of Hanover, where she expired in 1726. Charlotte-Christina of Brunswic *Blankenburg*, who espoused in 1711, the Czarowitz Alexis, only son of Peter the Great; a Princess endowed by Nature, with almost every amiable and estimable quality of body and of mind; equally beautiful and virtuous; fell a victim, in the flower of her youth, to the ferocious treatment that she experienced from her husband. She died at Petersburgh, in child-bed, at twenty-one years of age, in 1715; lamented by the whole Empire, except by Alexis, whose brutal character rendered him incapable of appreciating her value. Brunswic *Wolfenbuttel* furnished the next instance, in the person of Elizabeth, married in 1765, to the late King of Prussia, then only Prince Royal; divorced four years afterwards, for her irregularities; confined at Stettin, where I have seen her in 1774; and who, I believe, still survives, forgotten and unknown, in some part of the Prussian dominions, after having witnessed the temporary subversion of her own house, and the calamities inflicted on that of Brandenburgh, by Bonaparte. Caroline Matilda, of Brunswic *Lunenburgh*, posthumous daughter of Frederic, late Prince of Wales, and sister of George the Third, is the fourth in this enumeration. Banished by a Revolution, from Denmark, in 1772, effected in the name of Christian the Seventh, her imbecile husband; she only survived it about three years, terminating her short career, in the prime of life, at Zell, in 1775. Augusta Caroline, of Brunswic *Wolfenbuttel*, whose melancholy history, and whose ambiguous end, we have been surveying, closes the list. It must be esteemed singular, that in the lapse of scarcely a hundred years, such a fatality should seem to have marked so many females of that illustrious family.

In the Autumn of 1778, I visited Dresden for the second time: a Court which was rendered peculiarly

agreeable to the English at that period, by the hospitality and polished manners of His Majesty's Minister to Saxony, Sir John Stepney; one of the finest Gentlemen who has been employed on foreign Missions, during the course of the present reign. Dresden was then a place where the *Illuminés* had made a deep and general impression on the public mind; Schrepfer having chosen it, only a few years earlier, for the scene of his famous Exhibition of the Apparition of the Chevalier de Saxe. Having given, in a former work, some account of that extraordinary imposition, I shall not resume the subject here; but I cannot help relating another somewhat similar story, which was told me, during my residence in Dresden, by the Count de Felkesheim. He was a Livonian Gentleman, settled in Saxony, of a very improved understanding, equally superior to credulity, as to superstition. Being together in the month of October, 1778, and our discourse accidentally turning on the character and performances of Schrepfer; "I have conversed," said he to me, "with "several of the individuals who were present at the "scene of the spectre or phantom, presented by him in "the gallery of the palace of the Duke of Courland. "They all agreed in their account of the leading parti- "culars. Though I do not pretend to explain by what "process or machinery, that business was conducted, I "have always considered him as an artful impostor, "and his audience as dupes. Yet am I not so decidedly "sceptical on the possibility of supernatural appear- "ances, as to treat them with ridicule, because they "may seem to be unphilosophical. I received my "education in the university of Konigsberg, where I had "the advantage of attending Lectures in Ethics and "Moral Philosophy, delivered by a Professor who was "esteemed a very superior man in those branches of "science. He had, nevertheless, though an Ecclesiastic, "the reputation of being tinctured with incredulity, on

"various points connected with revealed Religion. "When, therefore, it became necessary for him, in the "course of his Lectures, to treat on the nature of "Spirit, as detached from Matter; to discuss the "Immortality of the Soul; and to enter on the "Doctrine of a Future State; I listened with more "than ordinary attention, to his opinions. In speaking "of all these mysterious subjects, there appeared to me "to be so visible an embarrassment, both in his lan- "guage and his expressions, that I felt the strongest "curiosity to question him further respecting them. "Finding myself alone with him soon afterwards, I "ventured to state to him my remarks on his deport- "ment, and I entreated him to tell me if they were well "founded, or only imaginary suggestions.

"The hesitation which you noticed," answered he, "resulted from the conflict that takes place within "me, when I am attempting to convey my ideas on a "subject, where my understanding is at variance with "the testimony of my senses. I am, equally from reason "and reflexion, disposed to consider with incredulity "and contempt, the existence of Apparitions. But, a "circumstance which I have witnessed with my own "eyes, as far as they, or any of the perceptions can be "confided in; and which has even received a sort of "subsequent confirmation, from other circumstances "connected with the original fact, leaves me in that "state of Scepticism and suspense which pervaded my "discourse. I will communicate to you its cause. "Having been brought up to the profession of the "church, I was presented by Frederic William the "First, late King of Prussia, to a small Benefice "situated in the interior of the country, at a considerable "distance South of Konigsberg. I repaired thither, in "order to take possession of my Living, and found a "very neat Parsonage House, where I passed the night "in the bed-chamber which had been occupied by my

" predecessor. It was in the longest days of Summer;
" and on the following morning, which was Sunday,
" while lying awake, the curtains of the bed being
" undrawn, and it being broad daylight, I beheld the
" figure of a man, habited in a sort of loose gown,
" standing at a reading desk, on which lay a large
" book, the leaves of which he appeared to turn over
" at intervals. On each side of him stood a little boy,
" in whose faces he looked earnestly from time to time;
" and as he looked, he seemed always to heave a deep
" sigh. His countenance, pale and disconsolate, indi-
" cated severe distress of mind. I had the most perfect
" view of these objects; but being impressed with too
" much terror and apprehension to rise, or to address
" myself to the appearances before me, I remained for
" some time a silent and breathless spectator, without
" uttering a word, or altering my position. At length,
" the man closed the book, and then taking the two
" children, one in each hand, he led them slowly across
" the room; my eyes eagerly following him, till the
" three figures gradually disappeared, or were lost
" behind an iron Stove, which stood at the farthest
" corner of the apartment.

" However deeply and awfully I was affected by the
" sight which I had witnessed, and however incapable
" I was of explaining it to my own satisfaction, yet I
" recovered sufficiently the possession of my mind, to get
" up; and having hastily dressed myself, I left the house.
" The sun was long risen, and directing my steps to
" the Church, I found that it was open; but the
" Sexton had quitted it, and on entering the Chancel,
" my mind and imagination were so strongly impressed
" by the scene which had recently passed, that I en-
" deavoured to dissipate the recollection, by considering
" the objects around me. In almost all the Lutheran
" Churches of the Prussian dominions, it is an estab-
" lished usage to hang up against the walls of some

" part of the building, the portraits of the successive " Pastors or Clergymen, who have held the Living. " A number of these paintings, rudely performed, were " suspended in one of the Ayles. But I had no sooner " fixed my eyes on the last in the range, which was " the portrait of my immediate predecessor, than they " became rivetted to the object; as I instantly recog- " nized the same face which I had beheld in my bed- " chamber, though not clouded by the same deep ex- " pression of melancholy or distress.

" The Sexton entered, as I was still contemplating " this interesting head, and I immediately began a con- " versation with him, on the subject of the persons who " had preceded me in the Living. He remembered " several Incumbents, concerning whom, respectively, I " made various enquiries, till I concluded by the last, " relative to whose history I was particularly inquisitive." " We considered him," said the Sexton, " as one of the " most learned and amiable men who have ever resided " among us. His charities and benevolence endeared " him to all his parishioners, who will long lament his " loss. But he was carried off in the middle of his days, " by a lingering illness, the cause of which has given " rise to many unpleasant reports among us, and which " still forms matter of conjecture. It is however " commonly believed, that he died of a broken heart." My curiosity being still more warmly excited by the mention of this circumstance, I eagerly pressed him to disclose to me what he knew or had heard, on the subject. " Nothing," answered he, " is absolutely known, but " scandal had propagated a story of his having formed " a criminal connection with a young woman of the " neighbourhood, by whom, it was even asserted, that " he had two sons. As a confirmation of the report, " I know that there certainly were two children, who " have been seen at the parsonage; boys of about four " or five years old. But they suddenly disappeared,

" some time before the decease of their supposed father;
" though to what place they are sent, or what is become
" of them, we are wholly ignorant. It is equally certain,
" that the surmises and unfavourable opinions formed
" respecting this mysterious business, which must
" necessarily have reached him, precipitated, if they did
" not produce the disorder, of which our late Pastor
" died: but he is gone to his account, and we are bound
" to think charitably of the departed."

"It is unnecessary to say with what emotions I
" listened to this relation, which recalled to my imagina-
" tion, and seemed to give proof of the existence, of all
" that I had seen. Yet, unwilling to suffer my mind to
" become enslaved by Phantoms which might have been
" the effect of error or deception, I neither communicated
" to the Sexton, the circumstance which I had just wit-
" nessed, nor even permitted myself to quit the chamber
" where it had taken place. I continued to lodge there,
" without ever again witnessing any similar appearance;
" and the recollection itself insensibly began to wear
" away, as the Autumn advanced. When the approach
" of Winter rendered it necessary to light fires through
" the house, I ordered the iron Stove that stood in the
" room, and behind which the figure which I had beheld,
" together with the two boys, seemed to disappear, to
" be heated for the purpose of warming the apartment.
" Some difficulty was experienced in making the attempt,
" the Stove not only smoking intolerably, but, emit-
" ting a most offensive smell. Having, therefore, sent
" for a blacksmith to inspect and repair it, he discovered
" in the inside, at the farthest extremity, the bones of
" two small human bodies, corresponding perfectly in
" size, as well as in other respects, with the description
" given me by the Sexton, of the two boys who had been
" seen at the parsonage. This last circumstance com-
" pleted my astonishment, and appeared to confer a sort
" of reality on an appearance, which might otherwise have

" been considered as a delusion of the senses. I resigned " the Living, quitted the place, and returned to Konigs- " berg; but it has produced upon my mind the deepest " impression, and has, in its effects, given rise to that " uncertainty and contradiction of sentiment which you " remarked in my late discourse." Such was Count Felkesheim's story, which, from its singularity, appeared to me deserving of commemoration, in whatever contempt we may hold similar anecdotes.

One of the most interesting portions of my life, was the time that I passed at Naples, in the summer of 1779. Sir William Hamilton, His Majesty's Minister, constituted in himself the greatest source of entertainment, no less than of instruction, which that Capital then afforded to strangers. He honored me with his friendship, which he continued to the end of his life. In his person, tho' tall and meagre, with a dark complexion, a very aquiline nose, and a figure which always reminded me of *Rolando* in "Gil Blas;" he had nevertheless such an air of intelligence, blended with distinction in his countenance, as powerfully attracted and conciliated every beholder. His mother, Lady Archibald Hamilton, enjoyed, as is well known, a very distinguished place in the favour of Frederic, late Prince of Wales; and Sir William himself was brought up from early life, with His present Majesty, to whom he became, after his accession to the Crown, an Equerry. At a very early period he entered into the army, and was at the battle of Fontenoy, as well as, I think, at that of La Feldt. I wish that it were possible to relate with delicacy, an Anecdote that he recounted to me, of the former action. "We were exposed," said he, "on that " occasion, as is well known, to a very severe and " murderous fire of artillery, for a long time, without " the power of moving: so peremptory were the orders " issued, that we should remain on the ground where we " were stationed. The cannon balls, from time to time,

" swept away whole Files, and produced sensations by
" no means agreeable, even among the firmest persons
" present. I had then an opportunity of seeing exempli-
" fied, the physical effects of fear on the human body.
" Many of the British Grenadiers, though capable of
" actively facing death in any shape, and ardently
" desirous to march against the enemy, yet experienced,
" internally and involuntarily, the most violent pains.
" Unable to support them, pressed by an irresistible
" necessity, and compelled to remain fixed in the same
" place, several of them *se detroussoient, presentoient le*
" *derriere aux canons de l'ennemi, & firent feu;* thus en-
" deavouring to exhibit a proof of their contempt for
" the very danger, of which they felt within themselves
" the strongest sensations."

The versatility of Sir William Hamilton's character, constituted one of the most interesting features of his composition. Endowed with a superior understanding, a philosophic mind, and a strong inclination to the study of many branches of science, or of polite letters, which, as is well known, he cultivated with distinguished success; he was equally keen as a sportsman, in all the exercises of the field. After being actively occupied in studying the Phenomena of Vesuvius, like the Elder Pliny; or in exploring the antiquities of Pompæia, and of Stabia, with as much enthusiasm as Pausanias did those of antient Greece; he would pass whole days, and almost weeks, with the King of Naples, either hunting or shooting in the royal woods; or more laboriously engaged in an open boat, exposed to the rays of a burning sun, harpooning fish in the bay of Castellamare. When beyond seventy years of age, he preserved undiminished his love of these sports, particularly of fishing, which he followed with great ardour; thus mingling pursuits or passions of the mind and of the body, rarely united in the same man. I have seen him, not more than two years before his decease, perform the

"Tarentella," an Apulian Dance, which as it is undoubtedly a copy of the Bacchant amusements of Antiquity, demanded no slender portion of animal strength and spirits. The occasion was so remarkable, that I am induced to relate the particulars. Intelligence of the glorious victory obtained by the English Fleet under Lord Nelson, before Copenhagen, arrived in London, on Wednesday, the 15th of April, 1801. Sir William Hamilton then resided in Piccadilly. About ten o'clock, that evening, I went to his house, with Sir John Macpherson. We found assembled there, the Dukes of Gordon and Queensberry, Lord William Gordon, Monsieur de Calonne, Mr. Charles Greville, (Sir William's nephew,) the Duke de Noia, who was a Neapolitan nobleman, Mr. Kemble, the celebrated Comedian, and his wife, the Reverend Mr. Nelson, now Earl of that name, with some other persons. Lady Hamilton, inspired by the recent success of Lord Nelson against the Danes, of which victory he had transmitted her, with his remaining hand, all the particulars as they occurred, from the 1st, up to the 8th of April, the day when the dispatches came away; after playing on the Harpsichord, and accompanying it with her voice, undertook to dance the "Tarentella."

Sir William began it with her, and maintained the conflict, for such it might well be esteemed, for some minutes. When unable longer to continue it, the Duke de Noia succeeded to his place; but he, too, though near forty years younger than Sir William, soon gave in. Lady Hamilton then sent for her own maid servant; who being likewise exhausted, after a short time, another female attendant, a Copt, perfectly black, whom Lord Nelson had presented her, on his return from Egypt, relieved her companion. It would be difficult to convey any adequate idea of this Dance; but the *Fandango* and *Seguedilla* of the Spaniards present an image of it. We must recollect that the two performers

are supposed to be a Satyr and a Nymph; or, rather, a Fawn and a Bacchant. It was certainly not of a nature to be performed, except before a select company; as the screams, attitudes, starts, and embraces, with which it was intermingled, gave it a peculiar character. I only mentioned it, in order to shew Sir William Hamilton's activity and gaiety at that advanced period of life. Though a finished Courtier, he preserved such an independance of manner, without any mixture of servility or adulation, as seemed eminently to qualify him for the diplomatic profession. His conversation offered a rich diversity of anecdote. With these qualifications, it cannot excite wonder that he formed the delight and ornament of the Court of Naples. No foreign Minister, not even the *family* embassadors of France and Spain resident there, enjoyed in so eminent a degree the favor or affection of His Sicilian Majesty. Nor was the attachment of that Prince to Sir William, merely limited to hunting, or fishing parties. He gave the English Envoy many solid proofs of sincere regard; a regard that extended to the British crown and nation. One striking instance of this partiality took place in June, 1779, while I was at Naples. The King of Spain, Charles the Third, having written confidentially to his son Ferdinand, that he should probably be induced soon to take part with Louis the Sixteenth, by entering into a war with Great Britain, as he effectively did immediately afterwards; the King of Naples, though enjoined by his father to secrecy, communicated the letter itself to Sir William Hamilton. He even accompanied the disclosure, with the assurance of his deep regret at such a line of policy, and his firm determination never to enter into the combination against England, though himself a Prince of the House of Bourbon, and included in "the Family Compact" by name. Sir William transmitted the King's communication, as well as his assurance on the point, without

delay, to Lord North, then first Minister. I received this anecdote from himself at Naples.

It was in Sir William's, and the first Lady Hamilton's company, that I learned a number of curious, as well as authentic particulars relative to the King and Queen of Naples. Ferdinand the Fourth was then in the twenty-ninth year of his age; tall, muscular, and active in his frame, capable of immense fatigue, and apparently formed for long life. His features were coarse and harsh, his nose immoderately long, like that of his father and brother, Charles the Third, and Charles the Fourth, Kings of Spain: but, nevertheless, though the component parts of his face might separately be esteemed ugly, the general expression of his countenance had in it something intelligent, and even agreeable. There was an unpolished simplicity, or rather a rude nature, in his manner, attitudes, deportment, and conversation, which pleased for a double reason; on account of its own intrinsic claim to be liked, and as being rarely found on a throne, where we naturally expect disguise, artifice, and habits of concealment. If he conversed little with strangers, he seemed at least, when he talked, always to say what he thought; and he betrayed no defect of natural understanding, though he was altogether destitute of that elegance and art, which frequently veil the want of information. He always reminded me of a rustic, elevated by fortune or accident, to a Crown: but it was an amiable, honest, sensible, well intentioned rustic, not altogether unworthy of such an elevation.

Curious wording

The Queen of Naples, who was not quite twenty-seven years old at this time, seemed much better fitted to represent the Majesty of the Throne, and to do the honors of a Court. Though neither possessing beauty of face, nor loveliness of person, yet was she not absolutely deficient in either; and if her figure might be esteemed too large, still it wanted neither grace,

dignity, nor even attractions. She is the only Queen whom I ever saw weep in public, before a croud of both sexes, assembled in her own Palace, on a Gala Day The Festival on which I was presented to her, happened to be the anniversary of the loss of her eldest son, who expired exactly a year before, in 1778. He was a very fine boy, of promising expectations, to whom his mother was passionately attached. The ignorance of the Neapolitan Physicians, as it was believed, had caused his death: for, being seized with a violent sickness and pain in his stomach, from which, an Emetick, promptly administered, might probably have relieved him, they had the imprudence to bleed him, and thereby brought on fatal convulsions. Such was the Queen's distress, at the recollection of the event which had taken place on this painful anniversary, that she was unable to repress her emotions. In the Presence Chamber of the Palace at Naples, she stood under a Canopy, her right hand held out to the Nobility and Courtiers, as they approached to kiss it; holding in her left, a handkerchief with which she perpetually wiped her eyes, that were suffused in tears. It was difficult not to be favorably impressed towards a Princess, capable of giving such an involuntary testimony of her maternal tenderness, in a place and situation, where it was impossible to suspect her of artifice or affectation.

Having drawn this imperfect outline of the King and Queen of Naples, from my own personal observations, I shall enumerate some of the particulars respecting them, which I collected in the course of conversation from Sir William or Lady Hamilton. I mean, his first wife, woh was a most accomplished and superior woman.

"No European Sovereign, without exception," said Sir William, "has been so ill educated as the King "of Naples. He is not even master of any language, "except Italian, without making a painful effort; and "his ordinary Italian is a Neapolitan dialect, such as

" the lowest of his subjects, the *Lazaroni*, speak in their " intercourse with each other. It is true that he under- " stands French, and converses in it when indispensable; " but he rarely reads any French author, and still more " rarely attempts to write in that language. All the " correspondence that takes place between him and his " Father, the King of Spain, is carried on in the " common Neapolitan Jargon. They write very fre- " quently and largely to each other; but seldom does " this intercourse embrace political subjects: their " letters, of which I have seen numbers, being filled " with accounts of the quantity and variety of the " game respectively killed by them, in which the great " ambition of each Prince, is to exceed the other. " Ferdinand, indeed, who scarcely ever reads, considers " as the greatest of misfortunes, a rainy day, when the " weather proves too bad for him to go out to the " chace. On such occasions, recourse is had to every " expedient by which time may be killed, in order to " dissipate His Majesty's Ennui, even to the most " puerile and childish pastimes. The King's education " was systematically neglected: for Charles the Third, " alarmed at the imbecility of his eldest son, Philip, " Duke of Calabria, who, on account of his recognized " debility of understanding, was wholly set aside from the " right of succession, strictly ordered, at his departure " for Spain, in 1759, that this, his third son, should not " be compelled to apply to any severe studies, or be " made to exert any close application of mind.

" I have frequently seen the unfortunate Duke of " Calabria, who has only been dead a few years, and " who was by birth heir to the Spanish Monarchy. " He attained to manhood, and was treated with certain " distinctions, having Chamberlains placed about him " in constant attendance, who watched him with unre- " mitting attention; as otherwise he would have com- " mitted a thousand excesses. Care was particularly

" taken to keep him from having any connexion with " the other sex, for which he manifested the strongest " propensity; but it became at last impossible to " prevent him altogether from attempting to eman- " cipate himself in this respect. He has many times " eluded the vigilance of his keepers, and on seeing " ladies pass through the apartments of the palace, " would attack them with the same impetuosity as Pan, " or the Satyrs are described by Ovid, when pursuing " the Nymphs; and with the same intentions. More " than one Lady of the Court has been critically rescued " from his embraces. On particular days of the year, " he was allowed to hold a sort of Court or Levee, when " the foreign Ministers repaired to his apartments, to " pay their compliments to him: but his greatest " amusement consisted in having his hand held up by " his attendants, while gloves were put upon it, one " larger than another, to the number of fifteen or sixteen. " His death was justly considered as a fortunate event, " under such circumstances of incurable imbecility.

" Before the present King fully attained his seven- " teenth year, the Marquis Tanucci, then Prime " Minister, by directions sent from the Court of Madrid, " provided him a wife. The Archduchess Josepha, one " of the daughters of the Empress Maria Theresa, being " selected for Queen of Naples; and being represented " to young Ferdinand, as a Princess equally amiable in " her mind, as she was agreeable in her person; he " expected her arrival with great pleasure, mingled even " with some impatience. So much more severely was it " natural that he should feel the melancholy intelli- " gence, when it arrived from Vienna, that she was " dead of the small-pox. In fact, he manifested as " much concern at the event, as could perhaps be " expected in a Prince of his disposition, and at his " time of life, for the death of a person whom he had " never seen. But, a circumstance which greatly aug-

" mented his chagrin on the occasion was, it's being
" considered indispensable for him not to take his usual
" diversion of hunting or fishing, on the day that the
" account reached Naples. Ferdinand reluctantly sub-
" mitted to such a painful and unusual renunciation:
" but, having consented to it from a sense of decorum,
" he immediately set about endeavouring to amuse
" himself within doors, in the best manner that cir-
" cumstances would admit; an attempt in which he
" was aided by the Noblemen in waiting about his
" person. They began therefore with Billiards, a game
" which His Majesty likes, and at which he plays with
" skill. When they had continued it for some time,
" leap-frog was tried, to which succeeded various other
" feats of agility or gambols. At length, one of the
" gentlemen, more ingenious than the others, proposed
" to celebrate the funeral of the deceased Arch-Duchess.
" The idea, far from shocking the King, appeared to him,
" and to the whole company, as most entertaining; and
" no reflexions, either on the indecorum, or want of
" apparent humanity in the proceeding, interposed to
" prevent its immediate realization. Having selected
" one of the Chamberlains, as proper, from his youth and
" feminine appearance, to represent the Princess, they
" habited him in a manner suitable to the mournful
" occasion; laid him out on an open Bier, according
" to the Neapolitan custom at interments; and in
" order to render the ceremony more appropriate, as
" well as more accurately correct, they marked his face
" and hands with Chocolate drops, which were designed
" to imitate the pustules of the small-pox. All the
" Apparatus being ready, the funeral procession began,
" and proceeded through the principal Apartments of
" the palace at Portici, Ferdinand officiating as Chief
" Mourner. Having heard of the Arch-Duchess's
" decease, I had gone thither on that day, in order to
" make my condolence privately to His Majesty on

" the misfortune; and entering at the time, I became " an eye-witness of this extraordinary scene, which, in " any other country of Europe, would be considered as " incredible, and would not obtain belief.

" The Arch-Duchess Caroline being substituted in " place of her sister, and being soon afterwards con- " ducted from Vienna to Naples, the King advanced in " person, as far as the 'Portella,' where the Neapolitan " and Papal territories divide, in order to receive his " new bride. She was then not sixteen years old, and " though she could not by any means be esteemed " handsome, yet she possessed many charms. Ferdi- " nand manifested on his part, neither ardor nor " indifference for the Queen. On the morning after " his nuptials, which took place in the beginning of " May, 1768, when the weather was very warm, he rose " at an early hour, and went out, as usual to the chace, " leaving his young wife in bed. Those Courtiers who " accompanied him, having inquired of His Majesty " how he liked her; '*Dormé com un amazzata*,' replied " he, '*et suda com un Porco*.' Such an answer would " be esteemed, any where except at Naples, most " indecorous; but here we are familiarized to far " greater violations of propriety and decency. Those " acts and functions which are never mentioned in " England, and which are there studiously concealed, " even by the vulgar, here are openly performed. " When the King has made a hearty meal, and feels an " inclination to retire, he commonly communicates that " intention to the Noblemen around him in waiting, " and selects the favoured individuals, whom, as a mark " of predilection, he chuses shall attend him. '*Sono ben* " '*pransato*,' says he, laying his hand on his belly, " '*Adesso bisogna un buona panchiata*.' The persons " thus preferred, then accompany His Majesty, stand " respectfully round him, and amuse him by their " conversation, during the performance."

However strong this fact may appear, and however repugnant to our ideas of decency; it has been for successive centuries, perfectly consonant to the manners of the Italians in general, and scarcely less so to those of the French. D'Aubigné, a grave writer, in the "Memoirs of his own Life," does not hesitate to relate in the most circumstantial manner, the narrow escape which Henry the Fourth, his master, had of being knocked on the head, while engaged in this necessary function. Nay, D'Aubigné composed a "*Quatrain*" on the adventure, which he has transmitted to posterity. The story is so naturally related, and is so characteristic of the nation, that I can't resist giving it in the words of the author, which I shall not however venture to translate. Henry, who was then only King of Navarre, having effected his escape from Paris, in 1575, on which occasion D'Aubigné accompanied him; they passed the River Seine at Poissy, and soon afterwards stopped to refresh themselves in a village. Here, says D'Aubigné, the King "*etant allé faire ses affaires dans un tet à cochons, une* "*vieille qui le surprit en cet état, lui auroit fendue la* "*tête par derrière, d'un coup de Serpe, sans moi qui* "*parai le coup.*" It is clear from this circumstance, that D'Aubigné must have been close to his royal master at the time. Then follows the ludicrous Epitaph which he made for the occasion, on a supposition that the old woman had killed the King.

"Cy git un Roi, grand par merveille,
Qui mourut comme Dieu permet,
D'un coup de serpe d'un vieille,
Ainsi qu'il chioit dans un tet."

His predecessor, Henry the Third, it is well known, was stabbed in the belly, of which wound he died, in 1589, while sitting on the *Chaise percée;* in which indecorous

situation he did not scruple to give audience to Clement, the regicide Monk, who assassinated him. Marshal Suwarrow, in our own time, received his Aids du Camp and his General Officers, precisely in a similar manner. Madame de Maintenon, as the Duke de St. Simon informs us, thought those moments so precious, that she commonly accompanied Louis the Fourteenth to the "Garderobe." So did Louvois, when Minister of State. The Duke de Vendome, while commanding the Armies of France in Spain and Italy, at the commencement of the last Century, was accustomed to receive the greatest personages, on public business, in the same situation. We have Cardinal Alberoni's authority for this fact. If we read the account written by Du Bois, of the last illness of Louis the Thirteenth, we may there see what humiliating functions Anne of Austria performed for that Prince in the course of his malady; over which, an English writer, more fastidious, would have drawn a veil. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and the Palatine Duchess of Orleans, though women of the highest birth and rank, as well as of unimpeached conduct, conceal nothing on these points, in their writings. The former, speaking of the Duchess of Orleans, her step-mother, second wife of Gaston, brother of Louis the Thirteenth, says, "She had contracted a singular habit of always "running into another room, *pour se placer sur la* "*Chaise percée*, when dinner was announced. As she "never failed in this particular, the Grand Maitre, or "Lord Steward of Gaston's Household, who performed "the ceremony of summoning their Royal Highnesses "to table; observed, smelling to his Baton of office, "that there must certainly be either Senna or Rhubarb "in its composition, as it invariably produced the effect "of sending the Duchess to the Garderobe." I have, myself, seen the late Electress Dowager of Saxony, daughter of the Emperor Charles the Seventh, at her own palace, in the suburbs of Dresden, rise from the

table where she was playing, when the room has been full of company of both sexes; lay down her cards, retire for a few minutes, during which time the game was suspended, and then return, observing to those near her, "*J'ai pris Medicine aujourd'huy.*" These circumstances sufficiently prove that Ferdinand, however gross his manners or language seem to us, by no means shocked the feelings, or excited the disgust of his own courtiers.

"In all the exercises or exertions of the body, that "demand vigour and address," continued Sir William, "the King of Naples excels. He might have contended "for the prize at the public games of ancient Greece, "at Elis, or at Olympia, with no ordinary prospect of "success. He likes, in particular, wrestling, and having "heard that a young Irish Gentleman of the name of "Bourke, who visited Naples not long since, was an "expert Wrestler, he caused it to be signified, that he "should like to try a fall with that foreigner: but, "Bourke had the good sense to decline a contest for "the honours of the Palæstra, with a crowned head. "He dances violently at the Court Balls; on one of "which occasions, some years ago, I witnessed a scene "truly original, as well as comic. When his brother-"in-law, the Emperor Joseph, being on his travels, "arrived here, a superb Ball was given in honor of his "visit; at which entertainment, however, he declined "mixing in the Dance. While his Imperial Majesty "was standing near the dancers, engaged in conversa-"tion with me; Ferdinand having gone down the set, "and being in a most profuse state of perspiration, "pulled open his waistcoat: then taking Joseph's hand, "he applied it suddenly to his own shirt behind, "exclaiming at the same time, '*Sentité qui, Fratello* "'*mio.*' The Emperor instantly withdrew his hand, "not without manifesting great discomposure; and the "two Sovereigns remained for a few seconds, looking in

" each other's faces. Surprize was equally painted in " the features of both; for, as the one had never before " been invited to try such an experiment, so the other " had never found any individual who did not esteem " himself honored by the familiarity. I had no little " difficulty to restrain the muscles of my countenance " on the occasion.

" Joseph, who held his brother-in-law's understand- " ing in great contempt, endeavoured to assume over " him the sort of superiority, arrogated by a strong, " over a weak mind. But Ferdinand, though con- " fessedly his inferior in cultivation and refinement, was " by no means disposed to adopt his political opinions " or ideas. He even manifested, in various conversa- " tions, and on many occasions, that, defective as his " education had been, he possessed as much plain sense, " and even acute discernment, as the Emperor, or his " brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Joseph " did not, indeed, inspire any very high admiration, by " his deportment, or general conduct, while he remained " at Naples. He was irritable, and even irascible, " where he should have shewn good humour, or com- " mand of temper. I accompanied him to the summit " of Vesuvius, and with concern saw him break his cane " over the shoulders of the Guide, Bartolomeo, for some " slight offence which he had given his Imperial " Majesty.

" Ferdinand's passions are all swallowed up in his " rage for the pleasures of the field; hunting, shooting, " and fishing: for, this last diversion, peculiarly adapted " to the climate of Naples, must be included in the " number. He thinks no fatigue, and no privations, " too great for its indulgence. The quantity of game, " by which I principally mean deer, wild boar of all " ages, and stags of every kind, preserved in the Royal " woods or parks, at Astruni, at Caserta, Caccia Bella, " and other places, exceeds belief. And the slaughter

" made of them in some of the hunting parties, is " equally beyond credibility. I have frequently seen a " heap, composed only of the offal or bowels, reaching " as high as my head, and many feet in circumference. " The King rarely misses a shot; but, when he is tired " with killing, then commences another operation. He " next dissects the principal pieces of game, of which he " sends presents to favored Courtiers, or distributes it " among his attendants. In order to perform this part " of the diversion, he strips, puts on a flannel dress, " takes the knife in hand, and, with inconceivable " dexterity cuts up the animal. No carcass-butcher in " Smithfield can exceed him in anatomical ability; but " he is frequently besmeared with blood from head to " foot, before he has finished, and exhibits an extra- " ordinary spectacle, not easily to be imagined. The " Queen herself is sometimes obliged to be present at the " scene, though more, as may be supposed, in compliance " with the King's wish, than from her own inclination. " He is equally indefatigable on the water, in harpoon- " ing or in catching fish; particularly the Pesce Spada, " or Sword-fish; and he neither regards heat, nor cold, " nor hunger, nor danger. On these occasions, he is " usually or always attended by a number of chosen " Liparots, natives of the Lipari islands, who have " been in all Ages most expert sailors, divers, and " fishermen.

" It is thus that Ferdinand passes the greatest " portion of his time; while the Potentates of " Germany, England, France, and Spain, are engaged " in war. Not that he is indifferent to the felicity of " his subjects, or regardless of the security and pros- " perity of his dominions. On the contrary, his heart, " which is animated with the best emotions towards his " people, impels him to manifest it by all his measures: " but his defects of education, render him shy, em- " barrassed, and awkward; nor have his Ministers any

" wish to awaken, or to invigorate, the faculties of " his mind. Neither Tanucci, who governed Naples " during his Minority, nor Sambuca, the present First " Minister, desire to see him assume an active part in " the administration of public affairs. The Chevalier " Acton, who is at the head of the Marine, has, how- " ever, begun to put the Neapolitan Navy in a more " respectable condition, than it has been for several " Centuries. Already it affords some protection to the " coasts of Calabria and of Sicily; which have been " perpetually infested by the Algerines, Tunisians, and " other Pirates; who were accustomed to land, and to " carry off whole villages into slavery, precisely as " Barbarossa did, two hundred years ago. Such " calamities are even now by no means unusual. It " is a fact, that I narrowly escaped myself, some time " since, in one of my maritime excursions round the " Southern Provinces of the Kingdom, being surprized " in a Sparonara, while lying close under Cape Sparti- " vento. Lady Hamilton was of the party, and those " Barbarians would not have respected my official " character; nor still less would they have regarded " the reclamations of this Government.

" The power of the Neapolitan Kings is moreover " fettered by many impediments which would be very " difficult to surmount, even for a Prince of the greatest " talents, or of the most vigorous character. In Apulia, " as well as in Calabria and Sicily, the great feudal " Barons still retain privileges, that render them almost " independent of the Crown; and which they consider " as imprescriptible, having constituted their birth- " right for Ages, under the various Dynasties that " have reigned over this beautiful country. The " Church enjoys revenues and immunities, not less " incompatible in many respects, with civil order and " obedience. But, Ferdinand is greatly beloved by his " people, who know, and who do justice, to his good

" intentions. He is even far more popular than the " Queen. That Princess, who possesses an active mind, " and very considerable parts, as well as ambition and " love of power, has assumed a share in the Administra- " tion, for which she is by no means unqualified: yet " is she less esteemed than her husband; who, if he " is not ardently attached to her as a wife, treats her " at least with great consideration, kindness, and con- " fidence. They live together in conjugal union, though " Her Majesty is not exempt from the frailties and " weaknesses of her sex. Indeed, the air, manners, and " society of this Capital, are all very inimical to female " virtue. From the time of the first Jane, Queen of " Naples, so famous in the Annals of gallantry, down " to the present day, these countries have exhibited " scenes of dissolute pleasure, or rather, of unrestrained " licentiousness. They will probably ever so remain. " Yet," concluded Sir William, " if I were compelled to " be a King, I would choose Naples for my Kingdom. " Here, a Crown has fewer thorns, than in any other " country. His very want of political power, ensures " his repose; and the storms which desolate Europe, " pass over his head. Placed at the extremity of Italy, " he is removed out of the way of contest and hostility. " A delicious climate, shores, to which the Romans " retired when masters of the world, in order to enjoy " a luxury unattainable elsewhere, and which are still " covered with the remains of Roman splendor, or " Grecian magnificence; all the productions of the " Levant, which are to be found here, blended with " those of the Mediterranean; a splendid Capital, " palaces, wood, game, every thing seems assembled " in this enchanting Bay, that can conduce to human " enjoyment. Such is the favored position, and the " enviable lot of Ferdinand the Fourth." Such, indeed, as here described, it might be considered without exaggeration, in 1779; though during the awful con-

vulsions which have shaken Europe since that period, produced by the French Revolution, his situation has undergone a material change.

The impunity with which the great Nobility perpetrated the most atrocious crimes, and the facility that they found in evading enquiry, or in eluding justice, constituted at that time, one of the worst features of the Neapolitan Administration. Lady Hamilton, who had been several years resident at Naples, where she died not long afterwards, related to me various instances illustrative of this fact. "Some time ago," said she, "a Sicilian lady of high rank, was by order of the "Court, brought prisoner here, from that Island. She "had committed so many assassinations or murders, "that her own relations having denounced her, called "on the Government to arrest the further course of her "crimes. It was believed that she had dispatched ten "or eleven persons, by the dagger, or by poison; par-"ticularly by that species of poison, denominated "'*Aqua tophana.*' I had the curiosity to visit her, "during her confinement. She received me in her bed, "sat up, conversed with great cheerfulness, offered me "Chocolate and other refreshments, and seemed to be "perfectly at her ease. In her person she was delicate, "feminine, and agreeable, her manners polite and "gentle. Her age did not exceed three or four and "twenty. From her deportment, one could not have "suspected her to be capable of such atrocities. "Though her guilt was unquestionable, she was not "put to death. Confinement for life, in a Convent of "a severe Order, together with certain acts of religious "mortification or penance, which they are compelled "to undergo; these constitute the punishments usually "inflicted here, on culprits of high birth."

The vicinity of the northern provinces of the kingdom of Naples, to the Papal territories, and the ease with which malefactors of both countries, respectively gained

an Asylum, by passing the frontiers, opened another door to the commission of the most flagitious acts. Conversing one day, at Portici, on this subject, with Lady Hamilton, she related to me the following story, which I shall endeavour to give in her own words. "About the year 1743, a person of the name of Ogilvie, "an Irishman by birth, who practised Surgery with "great reputation at Rome, and who resided not far "from the 'Piazza di Spagna,' in that city; being in "bed, was called up to attend some strangers who "demanded his professional assistance. They stopped "before his house, in a coach; and on his going to the "door, he found two men masked, by whom he was "desired to accompany them immediately, as the case "which brought them, admitted of no delay, and not "to omit taking with him his lancets. He complied, "and got into the coach; but, no sooner had they "quitted the street in which he resided, than they "informed him that he must submit to have his eyes "bandaged; the person to whom they were about to "conduct him, being a lady of rank, whose name and "place of abode, it was indispensable to conceal. To "this requisition he likewise submitted; and after driving "through a number of streets, apparently with a view to "prevent his forming any accurate idea of the part of "the city to which he was conducted, the carriage at "length stopped. The two gentlemen, his companions, "then alighting, and each taking him by the arm, con-"ducted him into a house. Ascending a narrow stair-"case, they entered an apartment, where he was released "from the bandage tied over his eyes. One of them "next acquainted him, that it being necessary to put "out of life a lady who had dishonored her family, "they had chosen him to perform the office, knowing "his professional skill; that he would find her in the "adjoining chamber, prepared to submit to her fate; "and that he must open her veins with as much expedi-

" tion as possible; a service, for the execution of which,
" he should receive a liberal recompence.

" Ogilvie at first peremptorily refused to commit an
" act, so highly repugnant to his feelings. But, the
" two strangers assured him, with solemn denunciations
" of vengeance, that his refusal could only prove fatal
" to himself, without affording the slightest assistance
" to the object of his compassion; that her doom was
" irrevocable, and that unless he chose to participate a
" similar fate, he must submit to execute the office im-
" posed on him. Thus situated, and finding all entreaty
" or remonstrance vain, he entered the room, where he
" found a Lady, of a most interesting figure and appear-
" ance, apparently in the bloom of youth. She was
" habited in a loose undress; and immediately after-
" wards a female attendant placed before her a large tub
" filled with warm water, in which she immersed her
" legs. Far from opposing any impediment to the act
" which she knew he was sent to perform, the Lady
" assured him of her perfect resignation; entreating
" him to put the sentence passed on her into execution,
" with as little delay as possible. She added, that she
" was well aware, no pardon could be hoped for from
" those who had devoted her to death, which alone
" could expiate her trespass: felicitating herself that
" his humanity would abbreviate her sufferings, and soon
" terminate their duration.

" After a short conflict with his own mind, perceiv-
" ing no means of extrication or of escape, either for
" the Lady, or for himself; being moreover urged to
" expedite his work, by the two persons without, who,
" impatient at his reluctance, threatened to exercise
" violence on him, if he procrastinated; Ogilvie took
" out his lancet, opened her veins, and bled her to
" death in a short time. The gentlemen having care-
" fully examined the body, in order to ascertain that
" she was no more; after expressing their satisfaction,

" offered him a purse of *Zechins*, as a remuneration;
" but he declined all recompense, only requesting to be
" conveyed from a scene, on which he could not reflect
" without horror. With this entreaty they complied,
" and having again applied a bandage to his eyes, they
" led him down the same staircase, to the carriage. But,
" it being narrow, in descending the steps, he contrived
" to leave on one, or both of the walls, unperceived by
" his conductors, the marks of his fingers, which were
" stained with blood. After observing precautions
" similar to those used in bringing him thither from
" his own house, he was conducted home; and at
" parting, the two Masques charged him, if he valued
" his life, never to divulge, and if possible, never to
" think, on the past transaction. They added, that
" if he should embrace any measures, with a view to
" render it public, or to set on foot an inquiry into it,
" he should be infallibly immolated to their revenge.
" Having finally dismissed him at his own door, they
" drove off, leaving him to his reflections.

" On the subsequent morning, after great irresolution,
" he determined, at whatever risk to his personal safety,
" not to participate, by concealing so enormous a crime.
" It formed, nevertheless, a delicate and difficult under-
" taking to substantiate the charge as he remained
" altogether ignorant of the place to which he had been
" carried, or of the name and quality of the Lady whom
" he had deprived of life. Without suffering himself
" however to be deterred by these considerations, he
" waited on the Secretary of the Apostolic Chamber,
" and acquainted him with every particular; adding
" that if the government would extend to him pro-
" tection, he did not despair of finding the house, and
" of bringing to light the perpetrators of the deed.
" Benedict the Fourteenth, (Lambertini), who then
" occupied the Papal chair, had no sooner received the
" information, than he immediately commenced the

"most active measures for discovering the offenders. "A guard of the *Sbirri*, or Officers of Justice, was "appointed by his order, to accompany Ogilvie; who "judging from various circumstances, that he had been "conveyed out of the city of Rome, began by visiting "the Villas scattered without the walls of that "Metropolis. His search proved ultimately successful. "In the Villa Papa Julio, constructed by Pope Julius "the Third, (*del Monte*) he there found the bloody "marks left on the wall by his fingers, at the same time "that he recognized the apartment in which he had put "to death the Lady. The Palace belonged to the Duke "de Bracciano, the chief of which illustrious family, and "his brother, had committed the murder, in the person "of their own sister. They no sooner found that it "was discovered, than they fled to this city, where they "easily eluded the pursuit of justice. After remaining "here for some time, they obtained a pardon, by the "exertions of their powerful friends, on payment of a "considerable fine to the Apostolic Chamber, and under "the further condition of affixing over the chimney "piece of the room where the crime had been perpetrated, "a plate of Copper, commemorating the transaction, "and their penitence. This plate together with the "inscription, still continued to exist there till within "these few years."

However extraordinary many circumstances of this story may appear, similar events or accounts have been circulated and believed in other countries of Europe. I have often been assured, both at Vienna, and in various places of the German Empire, that an occurrence not less romantic, and more enigmatical in its nature, took place in 1774, or 1775; for some uncertainty prevailed as to the precise time when the fact was pretended to have happened. It is well known that the "Bourreau," or public executioner of the city of Strasburgh, although that place has formed a part of the

French Monarchy ever since the reign of Louis the Fourteenth; yet was frequently employed during a great part of the last Century, to execute the functions of his office on the other side of the Rhine, in Swabia, on the Territories of Baden, and in the Brisgaw, all which countries constitute a portion of Germany. Some persons who arrived at Strasburgh about the period to which I have alluded; having repaired, as it is said, to the house of the executioner, during the night, demanded that he should instantly accompany them out of the town, in order to execute a criminal of condition; for which service he should, of course, receive a liberal remuneration. They particularly enjoined him to bring the sword with which he was accustomed, in the discharge of his ordinary functions, to behead malefactors. Being placed in a carriage with his conductors, he passed the bridge over the river, to Kehl, the first town on the Eastern bank of the Rhine; where they acquainted him that he had a considerable journey to perform; the object of which must be carefully concealed, as the person intended to be put to death, was an individual of great distinction. They added, that he must not oppose their taking the proper precautions to prevent his knowing the place to which he was conveyed. He acquiesced, and allowed them to hoodwink him. On the second day they arrived at a moated Castle, the draw-bridge of which being lowered, they drove into the court. After waiting a considerable time, he was then conducted into a spacious hall, where stood a Scaffold hung with black cloth, and in the Centre was placed a stool or chair. A female shortly made her appearance, habited in deep mourning, her face wholly concealed by a veil. She was led by two persons, who, when she was seated, having first tied her hands, next fastened her legs with cords. As far as he could form any judgment from her general figure, he considered her to have passed the period of youth. Not a word

was uttered; neither did she make any complaints, nor attempt any resistance. When all the preparations for her execution were completed, on a signal given, he unsheathed the instrument of punishment, according to the practice adopted in the German Empire, where the Axe is rarely, or never, used for decapitation; and her head being forcibly held up by the hair, he severed it, at a single stroke, from her body. Without allowing him to remain more than a few minutes, he was then handsomely rewarded, conducted back to Kehl, by the same persons who had brought him to the place, and set down at the end of the bridge leading to Strasburgh.

I have heard the question frequently agitated, during my residence in Germany, and many different opinions stated, relative to the Lady thus asserted to have been put to death. The most generally adopted belief rested on the Princess of Tour and Taxis, Augusta Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Alexander, Prince of Wirtemberg. She had been married, at a very early period of life, to Charles Anselm, Prince of Tour and Taxis. Whether it proceeded from mutual incompatibility of character, or, as was commonly pretended, from the Princess's intractable and ferocious disposition, the marriage proved eminently unfortunate in its results. She was accused of having repeatedly attempted to take away her husband's life, particularly while they were walking together near the Castle of Donau-Stauff, on the high bank overhanging the Danube, when she endeavoured to precipitate him into the river. It is certain, that about the year 1773, or 1774, a final separation took place between them, at the Prince's solicitation. The reigning Duke of Wirtemberg, her brother, to whose custody she was consigned, caused her to be closely immured in a Castle within his own dominions, where she was strictly guarded, no access being allowed to her. Of the last mentioned fact, there is little doubt; but it

may be considered as much more problematical, whether she was the person put to death by the executioner of Strasburgh. I have dined in the Autumn of the year 1778, with the Prince of Tour and Taxis, at his Castle or seat of Donau-Stauff, near the northern bank of the Danube, a few miles from the city of Ratisbon. He was then about forty-five years of age, and his wife was understood to be in confinement. I believe that her decease was not formally announced as having taken place, till many years subsequent to 1778; but this circumstance by no means militates against the possibility of her having suffered by a more summary process, if her conduct had exposed her to merit it; and if it was thought proper to inflict upon her capital punishment. The private annals of the great Houses and Sovereigns of the German Empire, if they were divulged, would furnish numerous instances of similar severity exercised in their own families, during the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. Some of these stories might realize the tragical adventures commemorated by Boccace, or related by Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis the First, in her "Tales;" which last are not fictions, but faithful delineations of the Adventures that took place in the Court of Pau, where she resided, near the foot of the Pyrenees. Count Konigsmarck fell a victim, at Hanover, to the resentment of Ernest Augustus, father of King George the First: and we know how narrowly the great Frederic, afterwards King of Prussia, escaped falling by the same weapon which beheaded his companion Katt, arbitrarily sacrificed by Frederic William the First, for only endeavouring to facilitate the Prince's evasion from his father's Court.

While I am engaged on the subject of extraordinary events, I shall record one more fact, which may appear equally curious with either of the stories that I have just recounted. During the first Winter that I passed

at Vienna, in 1778, I became acquainted with the Count and Countess Podotski. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of high rank, whom I have seen on the Continent. Her husband, a great Polish Nobleman, hereditary Cup-bearer, or "Grand Echanson" of the Crown, had become in some measure an Austrian subject, in consequence of the first partition of Poland, which took place in 1772. His patrimonial estates lying principally in that Southern Portion of the kingdom which fell to the share of Maria Theresa, he of course repaired frequently to Vienna; between which capital and Warsaw he divided his time. During the Winter of 1776, as the Count and Countess Podotski were on their way from Vienna to Cracow, the wolves which abound in the Carpathian Mountains, rendered more than ordinarily bold and ferocious, in consequence of the severity of the season; descending in great numbers, began to follow the carriage between the two little towns of Oswiezk and Zator; the latter of which places is only a few Leagues distant from Cracow. Of two servants who attended him, one had been sent forward to Zator, for the purpose of procuring post horses. The other, a *Heyduc*, to whom he was much attached on account of his fidelity, finding the wolves rapidly gaining ground on them, rode up, and exhorted the Count to permit him to abandon to these animals his horse; as such a prey would naturally arrest their impetuosity, and allow time for the Count and Countess to reach Zator. Podotski immediately agreed to the proposal; and the *Heyduc* mounting behind the carriage, left his horse, who was soon overtaken, and torn in a thousand pieces.

They continued their journey meanwhile with all possible speed, in the hope of getting to the town, from which they were at an inconsiderable distance. But, their horses were bad; and the wolves, become more

ravenous, as well as eager, by having tasted blood, already were nearly up with them. In this extremity, the Heyduc said to his master, "There is only one way "left to save us. We shall all be devoured in a few "minutes. I am ready to sacrifice myself, by going "to meet the wolves, if you will swear to be a father "to my wife and children. I shall be destroyed; but, "while they are occupied in falling upon me, you "may escape." Podotski, after a moment's reluctance to accept such an offer, pressed nevertheless by the prospect of imminent destruction to them all, and seeing no prospect of any other means of extrication, consented; and assured him that if he were capable of devoting himself for their common preservation, his family should find in him a constant protector. The *Heyduc* instantly descending, advanced to meet the wolves, who surrounded and soon dispatched him. But, his magnanimous sacrifice of himself, by checking the ardour of their pursuit, allowed Count Podotski time to reach the gates of Zator in safety. I ought not to omit that the *Heyduc* was a Dissident or Protestant, while his master professed the Catholic religion; a circumstance which greatly added to the merit and effect of the sacrifice. I believe Count Podotski most religiously fulfilled his engagement, to befriend the family of his faithful servant. For the honour of human nature, we ought not to suppose it possible that he could fail on such a point. I cannot say that I have heard him relate this story, himself; but I have received it from those persons who knew its authenticity, and who recounted it to me at Vienna, while the Count was engaged in the same room at Play, in the hotel of the French Embassador, the Baron de Breteuil, only about two years after it took place. An instance of more prompt, cool, and generous self-devotion, is, perhaps, not to be found in the History of mankind; nor ought its value to be at all diminished by the consideration,

that even if the *Heyduc* had not acted as he did, they must all probably have perished together.

If Naples, in 1779, offered a number of enchanting objects to the imagination and the senses; Florence, where I likewise passed a considerable time in the same year, presented others not less captivating to the mind. The "Palazzo Vecchio," once inhabited by Cosmo, and by Lorenzo de Medicis: names which will be for ever venerated;—the Chapel of St. Lorenzo, where reposed the remains of so many Princes of that illustrious family, whose Monuments were adorned by the hand of Michael Angelo;—the Gallery constructed for the reception of all those Master-pieces of ancient, and of modern genius, which taste and expence had collected in the lapse of Ages;—even the surrounding Scenery, the Arno, Fiesolé, Vallombrosa, and every object, awakened classic, or poetic recollections. Sir Horace Mann, who was then the British Minister at the Court of Tuscany, had outlived the extinction of the House of Medicis; for which line of Princes, however, he seemed to preserve the same predilection, which Brantome always manifests for that of Valois. He remembered, and personally knew, the last Grand Duke of the Medicean line, John Gaston, who died in 1737; and in consequence of whose decease without issue, those beautiful countries, constituting his dominions, were finally tranferred to a Prince of Lorrain.

Conversing one day with Sir Horace Mann, on this topic, which always excited his regret; "John Gaston," observed he to me, "was one of the most superior "and accomplished men, whom the present Century "has witnessed, if his immoderate pursuit of pleasures "had not enervated his mind, and debilitated his frame. "He became, long before his death, incapable of con- "tinuing his family: but that inability did not produce "its extinction. A sort of fatality seemed to overhang "the House of Medicis, and to render ineffectual all the

" measures adopted for its prolongation. When the
" fact was perfectly ascertained, that John Gaston
" could not perpetuate his line, the Cardinal Hippolito
" de Medicis, his Uncle, was selected for that purpose;
" and a dispensation from his ecclesiastical vows, was
" obtained from the Papal See. The only, and the in-
" dispensable object of the marriage, being the attainment
" of heirs male to the Grand Duchy, in order to prevent
" its seizure by foreign violence, or its incorporation
" with the Austrian, French, or Spanish Monarchies; all
" Italy was searched, to find a young and handsome
" Princess, from whom might be expected a numerous
" family. A Princess of Mirandola, on whom the
" selection fell, seemed to unite every requisite qualifica-
" tion. The nuptials were solemnized; and the bride-
" groom being of a feeble constitution, as well as advanced
" in life, it was plainly insinuated to the Lady, that for
" reasons of state necessity, connected with the very
" political existence of Tuscany under the reigning
" House, she must produce an heir. The most agree-
" able youths and Pages about the court were purposely
" thrown in her way, and every facility was fur-
" nished, that might conduce to the accomplishment
" of the object. But, so sacredly did she observe the
" marriage vow, that no seductions could make an
" impression on her, and she remained without issue.
" Her husband died, and was followed by John Gaston.
" France having acquired Lorrain, and Don Carlos being
" made Sovereign of Naples, Tuscany was delivered over,
" as a conquered country, to Francis, Duke of Lorrain.
" But, no sooner had these events taken place, than
" Hippolito's widow, who had surmounted every tempta-
" tion to inconstancy during his life, gave the reins to
" her inclinations, and brought into the world two or
" three children, within a few years. It was thus that
" Florence, the repository of so many invaluable monu-
" ments of Greek and Roman Sculpture, collected dur-

" ing successive Centuries, by the Princes of Medicis, " passed into the Austrian Family." Sir Horace little foresaw at that time, the new Revolutions impending over Tuscany, about to issue from the Volcano of the French Revolution.

That beautiful country, the cradle of the fine arts in 1779, under the mild and parental government of the Grand Duke Leopold, enjoyed a great degree of felicity, as well as prosperity: perhaps as much, or more, than at any period of it's History; either when a Commonwealth, or under the House of Medicis. While his father, Francis, retained the Sovereignty of Tuscany, it was considered only as a detached Province of the Austrian Monarchy, rarely visited, and the internal Administration of which, Francis committed to Germans, or to subjects of Lorrain. But, with the accession of Leopold, Florence assumed a new aspect; and though he occasionally repaired to Vienna, in order to pay his duty to the Empress Maria Theresa his mother, yet he was not partial to the climate or manners of Austria. He loved the banks of the Arno; dividing his time between the occupations of civil government, the education of his numerous family, which he superintended in person with great care; and the researches of natural Philosophy, particularly Chymistry; for which last mentioned pursuit, like the Emperor Francis his father, he nourished a strong predilection. In imitation of other royal Philosophers, ancient and modern, he sought in the gratifications of female society, the best relief from the toils and cares of State. The Countess Cowper was at this time distinguished by his attachment; and the exertion of his interest with Joseph the Second his brother, procured her husband, Lord Cowper, to be created soon afterwards a Prince of the German Empire: an honor, which I believe, had not been conferred on any English subject, since the beginning of the last Century, when John Churchill, the great Duke

of Marlborough, was raised to the dignity of Prince of Mildenheim, by the Emperor Joseph the First, after the memorable victory of Blenheim.

While I am engaged on the subject of the two brothers, Joseph and Leopold, who were successively Emperors of Germany, I shall say a few words relative to both these Princes. The reign of Joseph, comprising more than nine years, from November 1780, to February 1790, may be considered as one of the most unfortunate and injurious to the House of Austria, which occurs in the Annals of that family. He possessed, nevertheless, many eminent virtues; activity, frugality, enlargement of mind, facility of access, indefatigable application, great renunciation of pleasure, the desire of acquiring knowledge, and of ameliorating the condition of his people. But he was theoretical, precipitate, ambitious, and led astray by his anxiety to appear, like his contemporary, Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, his own General and Minister. That great Prince last named, became himself, on more than one occasion, during the "Seven years war," the victim of his temerity or pertinacity in rejecting the advice of his commanders. Joseph attempted, with far inferior talents, to conduct the military operations; but disaster perpetually attended him in the field. Laudohn was reduced to the necessity of forcing him to quit the camp in Lower Hungary during the war carried on against the Turks; and his arms never penetrated beyond the Danube, into Servia, till he left the army, and retired to Vienna. His alliance with Catherine the Second, and his visits to the Crimea, of which the Prince de Ligne has given us such amusing details, produced no permanent advantages to his Crown, or benefit to his people. We know that he had actually made with the Russian Empress, a partition of all the European portion of the Turkish Dominions, and of some of the Asiatic Provinces lying along the shore of the Black sea: but

the two Sovereigns found it easier to divide Poland, than to dismember Turkey. Joseph's imprudent, arbitrary, and impolitic infractions of the privileges, or constitutional rights of his subjects, when aggravated by his suppression of many of the Monastic establishments; produced either an insurrection or a dangerous fermentation among the Hungarians, and throughout the Austrian Netherlands. While he fondly anticipated the conquest of the Ottoman Provinces beyond Belgrade, which Prince Eugene had subjected seventy years earlier; the Hungarians opened a secret Negociation, of the most dangerous nature, with the Court of Berlin; and the Flemings overturned the Imperial Government at Brussels. Even the Archduchy of Austria and the Kingdom of Bohemia manifested symptoms of disaffection: while the French Revolution, which had commenced in the Summer of 1789, advancing with gigantic steps towards Democracy, Anarchy, and Violence, painfully attracted his attention on that vulnerable quarter. Such was the critical and convulsed state of the Austrian Monarchy, when Joseph expired at Vienna, in the Spring of 1790, at the age of forty-nine; extenuated by diseases, caused or accelerated in their progress, by his own irritability of temper, agitation of mind, and the embarrassment of his affairs.

Leopold, who succeeded him, and who was unquestionably a Prince of deep reflexion, enlarged capacity, and sound judgment; perceived the misfortunes which had flowed from the spirit of innovation, reform, and restless activity or ambition, that had characterized his brother. But it was not easy to withdraw from the political connexions formed by Joseph, with the Empress Catherine the Second. Yet, alarmed at the state of Flanders and of Hungary, while he dreaded the issue of the revolutionary struggle in which his brother-in-law, Louis the Sixteenth, was involved with his subjects;

Leopold, after many doubts, and much hesitation, finally determined to quit the alliance of Russia. A circumstance which took place not long after his accession, confirmed him in the resolution. Potemkin, who then governed his imperial mistress and the Court of Petersburgh; commanding the Armies of that Power in the vicinity of Oczakow, on the Coast of the Black Sea, pushed his conquests against the Turks, so far to the Westward, as to approach the Austrian Frontier, on the Lower Danube, in Servia. Uneasy at the advances of such a neighbour, the Emperor addressed a letter to him, couched in very obliging language, but intimating His Imperial Majesty's wishes that he would desist from prosecuting his advantages any further on that side. Potemkin, intoxicated with favour, brutal in his manners, insolent, and restrained by no considerations of policy, or of respect for the dignity of the writer, had the audacity to throw the letter on the ground, to spit upon it, and to trample it under foot; adding the most injurious or insulting Epithets relative personally to Leopold. These barbarous and impolitic ebullitions of his rage, were reported soon afterwards to the Emperor, by Foscari, the Venetian Embassador at the Court of Petersburgh; who having returned to Venice, and there meeting His Imperial Majesty, acquainted him with the facts. Leopold heard the Narration with great apparent calmness, but such an insult did not make the less deep impression on his mind. We may however assume, that before Potemkin would have ventured on so outrageous an act of contempt toward his Sovereign's ally, he had good reason to believe that the ties between the two Courts or Sovereigns, were about to be dissolved, and new Alliances to be formed by Austria.

In fact, Leopold, from an early period of his Reign, turned all his views towards the two Courts of Berlin and London. After concluding a Treaty at Reichenbach,

with the King of Prussia, he made Peace with the Turks at Sistova; renouncing all his brother Joseph's Conquests in Bosnia and Servia, restoring Belgrade to the Porte, and abandoning his connexions with Catherine. Impelled by an anxious desire of arresting the course of the French Revolutionary Principles, which he foresaw, would, if not checked, eventually involve Europe in the greatest calamities, he set on foot the celebrated *Interview of Pilnitz*. In the Summer of 1791, having repaired with his eldest son, the present Emperor Francis, to that Castle or hunting seat of the Elector of Saxony, situate near Dresden; Frederick William, accompanied in like manner by his successor the reigning King of Prussia, there met Leopold. The conferences led to a Treaty, which adopted as its fundamental Basis, the Resolution "not to make war on France, but to "arm against the introduction of *French Revolutionary* "*Principles* into Germany and the Low Countries." The Emperor, who had formed an opinion by which he systematically adhered, that the Republican Faction in Paris would only be aided by aggression and hostility; thought that War must therefore be avoided: but he conceived that the great Powers of Europe should arm against *French Principles*, by forming a military Cordon round France; thus shutting in the moral or political infection, and leaving them to exhaust their rage on each other. Such was the unquestionable object and scope of that memorable Treaty, relative to which so much has been said and written within the last twenty years. How far the plan might have proved efficacious, if it had been generally acted upon by all the Germanic Body, as early as 1791; and if Leopold, who framed it, had lived to conduct its operations; it is difficult to venture a decided opinion: but for the authenticity of the Fact itself, I think I may challenge contradiction. Perhaps, moral and political principles are not to be shut in or compressed by any defensive

precautions which can be adopted by human wisdom. I am fully convinced at least, that when Mr. Pitt, early in 1793, declared open hostility on France, he could not have saved England by temporizing measures. Nay, I thought at the time, and I continue so to think now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, that Mr. Fox would have formed the same Estimate, and have acted precisely in the same manner, if he had been seated in Pitt's place, as First Minister, on the Treasury Bench. The whole difference in their mode of seeing and appreciating the tendency of the French Revolution, lay in the possession, or the negation, of political power. Indeed, the fact was practically proved, when Fox, after Pitt's decease in 1806, arrived at employment. It soon became evident how much his attainment of a seat in the Cabinet had illuminated his understanding, as well as invigorated his measures, in opposition to revolutionary principles and their consequences.

I return to Leopold. So anxious was he to form a defensive League against the French Republican contagion, that on the very day succeeding his Coronation at Frankfort, as Emperor of Germany, in the Autumn of 1790, he dispatched a confidential Agent to the Court of Berlin, empowered to open a private Negociation with Frederick William. It was confined to the two Sovereigns; their respective Ministers, Kaunitz and Hertzberg, being excluded from any knowledge of the transaction. The King of Prussia, who came readily into Leopold's views, employed Bischoffswerder, his favourite, to carry back his assent. But, no final or effectual Measures, as they well knew, could be settled, without the participation of England. Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville entered ardently into the Plan, which had in view two objects; to arrest the arms of Catherine on the Shore of the Euxine, and to coerce the Republicans of Paris, without making offensive War on France. The former of these points would un-

questionably have been attained if Mr. Fox had not excited so formidable an opposition in the House of Commons, as compelled the Ministry reluctantly to recede from their engagements. He at the same time sent Mr. Adair as his own private Agent, to Petersburgh; an act, for which, many persons thought that he deserved. Impeachment. Leopold, apprehensive of Catherine's resentment, doubtful of Mr. Pitt's and Lord Grenville's sincerity, nor without alarm at the murmurs which he foresaw would arise among his own troops, on the evacuation of Belgrade, and the Restitution of his conquests in Servia; said to a Gentleman, deep in his confidence, with whom he was accustomed to unbosom his thoughts, and who had formed the medium of his intercourse with Frederic William, "*J'ai signé la Paix avec les Turcs: mais, la Grande Bretagne, est elle sincere? Me tiendra t'elle ses engagemens? Catherine sera inexorable. Je l'ai vu en songe, hier, la nuit, le poignard à la main.*" He even disapproved and lamented Pitt's line of conduct towards the Empress, in the business of Oczakow, as severe, irritating, and calculated to render her implacable. "Why," observed Leopold, speaking to the same friend, "rob the Empress of her laurels, and humiliate her in "the eyes of Europe? It is necessary that her head "should be incircled with glory, in order to hide her "feet, which are all stained with blood." In fact, Catherine, who never forgave either Austria, Prussia, or England, for their conduct towards her, propelled those Powers to commence war on France in 1792; but never aided them in the contest. On the contrary, she compelled Frederick William to withdraw from the great Alliance, and to return home, by attacking Poland. "If," said the king, "I had not marched my "army back into my own dominions, she would not "only have taken Warsaw, but have entered Berlin like-"wise." It was Russia, therefore, which acted as one

great cause of the overthrow of the first Confederacy against Republican France.

During the Autumn of the year 1791, Leopold being on his way from Vienna to Florence, stopped, for refreshment, at a small post house in the Duchy of Styria; where, while he remained, a croud of people, all of whom were his own subjects, pressed round to look at him. Among them he remarked an old woman, who, when he got into his carriage, approached it; and knocking against the glass with her hand, addressed some words to him in a tone of great violence and asperity, accompanied with gestures indicative of resentment: but, as she spoke in the Styrian Dialect, he was wholly unable to comprehend her meaning. Apprehending that she might have some complaint to prefer, or might have received some injury demanding redress, he ordered his attendants to question her on the subject of her application. They manifested considerable reluctance in explaining to him its nature; but, on his insisting to be informed, one of them answered that she said, "Render justice promptly. We know all that "the Poissardes have done at Paris." The Emperor made no reply; but when he recounted the story to the Gentleman who related it to me, he added, "You may "suppose that I have read and reflected much upon "the French Revolution, and its consequences: but, all "that has been said, or can be written upon it, never "carried such conviction to my mind, as the few words "uttered by the old woman in Styria."

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the Emigrants, for inducing Leopold to commence war with France, he remained inflexibly steady to his System of arming against the Revolution, but of never attacking the French Nation. It was not till after his decease, under Francis, his successor, in the Summer of 1792, that the Austrians entered Champagne, in conjunction with the Prussian forces. Leopold's death

took place on the first day of March, that year, at Prague; to which city he had repaired for the purpose of being crowned King of Bohemia. I think I may venture to assert with confidence, that he was poisoned; and that the poison was administered in sweetmeats, which a Lady presented him at a Masquerade. Every endeavour was used to conceal the fact; and with that view, it was pretended that his end had been produced by some drugs or incentives, which he himself prepared in his own Laboratory: for he passed much time in chymical researches and processes. But, Agusius, his physician, who opened his body, did not entertain any doubt that he fell a victim to poison. During the Spring of the year 1798, chancing to be alone with a foreign Nobleman, whose name I do not think proper to mention, but whose veracity was unquestionable; and who, as having been the Embassador of a Crowned Head at the Court of Vienna, when Leopold's death happened, possessed the best means of obtaining information; I ventured to interrogate him on the subject. "I was accustomed," answered he, "during the "last year of the Emperor's life, to see him frequently, "and to have long audiences of him, on business, in his "Closet. During these interviews, I beheld him "divested of any disguise; and I can pronounce, as a "matter of certainty, that his mind was then altogether "broken, and his faculties enfeebled. His memory in "particular had become so weakened, that he could no "longer retain, from one day to another, the facts or "images committed to it. He rarely recollected the "conversation of the preceding morning. This pre-"mature decay of his intellectual powers, resulted from "his inordinate passion for the other sex, which had "characterised him at every period of his life, and "which he continued to indulge when it proved "destructive to his frame. The Brain was parti-"cularly affected. In my Audiences of Leopold, he

"always walked up and down the apartment, during "the whole time. On his table lay a number of rolls "of wax, which he bit from one minute to another, "spitting out the pieces on the floor. When he quitted "the room, whether any other persons were present, "or whether we were alone, he never advanced forward "in a strait line; but he went round the sides of the "chamber, touching with his hand the wainscot, or the "window shutters. No circumstances could more "strongly indicate a disordered or enfeebled under-"standing. As to the nature of his death, I am unable "positively to pronounce upon the Fact. Certainly, "his body, when opened, exhibited every mark of "poison. But, if he was poisoned, by whom was "it administered, or with what object? I cannot "pretend to guess, nor even to form a Conjecture." Two opinions, as I have been assured, prevailed at Prague, respecting it; both of which were alike founded on Leopold's well known determination not to engage in a war with France. One party maintained that the Girondists, which Faction then predominated at Paris, dreading the effects of his defensive System, as most injurious to their tenure of power, removed him in the manner related: while another party accused the Emigrants of having produced his death, as the only means left them of regaining their estates, by forcing an immediate rupture between the Austrian and French Governments. I must leave the fact problematical. Time will probably elucidate its nature.

Among the objects of mingled curiosity and compassion, which Florence presented in 1779, to the view of an Englishman, was the Chevalier de St. George; or, as we commonly denominate him, the *Pretender*. It was impossible to contemplate him, without making many reflections on his own destiny, and on the condition of the infatuated Family of which he was the

representative. Neither antient, nor modern History, presents the example of a line of Princes so eminently unfortunate, during a succession of Ages! The calamities which overwhelmed the House of Bourbon, awful as they must be esteemed, have been comprized within the space of five and twenty years: but, from James the First of *Scotland*, murdered in the most inhuman manner at Perth, in 1437, down to the last of his Descendants; with only the two exceptions of James the First of *England*, and Charles the Second; all the others perished by the hand of the executioner, or by violent and premature death, or in exile, maintained by foreign contribution. It was not however merely considered as the grandson of James the Second, and the Inheritor of the pretensions of the Stuarts, that the Chevalier de St. George excited an interest in the mind of every reflecting spectator. By his mother he descended from the celebrated John Sobieski, King of Poland, who was his maternal great Grandfather; the first Chevalier de St. George having carried off from Inspruck, about the year 1719, and married, Clementina Sobieska, daughter and heiress of Prince James Sobieski, whom Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, meditated, some years earlier, to have placed on the Polish Throne. In right of that Princess, her son succeeded to very considerable patrimonial estates, situated in Poland; the produce of which formed a much more solid source of support, than the precarious allowance or donations, made and withdrawn as circumstances impelled, by the French and Spanish Crowns, or by the Apostolic See. Clement the Fourteenth (Ganganelli), when he refused to continue to the Chevalier, the public *Honors* previously enjoyed by his father and himself at Rome, where they had a canopy decorated with the Royal Arms of Great Britain, erected over their box in the theatre; retrenched likewise the pecuniary *Appointments*, antecedently paid him out of

the Treasury of St. Peter. Nor do I believe that they were restored by Pius the Sixth, after his election to the Papal Chair in 1775: but, the Pretender's income at the time of which I speak, might be estimated at more than five thousand Pounds sterling; a sum fully adequate, at Florence, to maintain an establishment becoming his situation.

His faculties, even in their Zenith, appear to have been very moderate: but his valour, though not heroic, was never, I believe, called in question by the Scots, during his Campaign in 1745 and 1746; as that of Charles the Second had been doubted in 1652, at the battle of Worcester; and as James the Second's courage was questioned, on various occasions, both as Lord High Admiral on the water, and on the land. Charles the First is indeed the only Prince of the Stuart Race, after their accession to the English Throne, whose bravery, conspicuously displayed at Edge Hill, at Newbury, at Naseby, and in many other battles or encounters, equally sustained him in the last act of his life, on the Scaffold. In 1779, Charles Edward exhibited to the world a very humiliating spectacle. At the Theatre, where he appeared almost every evening, he was led in by his Domestics, who laid him down on a species of Sofa, in the back part of his Box; while the Countess d'Albany, his consort, occupied the front seat during the whole performance. Count Alfieri, her "*Cavaliero servante*," always attended on her in public, according to the established usages of society throughout Italy. As, for obvious reasons, no English subject could be presented to a man who still laid claim to the British Crown; there was not any opportunity of seeing the Chevalier de St. George which offered itself, except across the Theatre: and even there he lay concealed, as I have already observed, on account of his infirmities; rarely coming forward to view.

Being desirous, nevertheless, to obtain a more

accurate idea of his face and person, than could be acquired at such a distance; I took my station, one evening, at the head of a private staircase, near the door by which, when the performance closed, he quitted the Playhouse. Previous to my leaving England in 1777, His Majesty had been pleased, at the application of Lord Robert Manners, who then commanded the third regiment of Dragoon Guards, to give me a Lieutenant's Commission; and Lord Robert had allowed me to wear his Uniform, which I had on at the time. The present General Manners, now first Equerry to the King, then a Cornet in his father's regiment, dressed in the same Uniform, and actuated by a similar curiosity, accompanied me. As soon as the Chevalier approached near enough to distinguish the English Regimental, he instantly stopped, gently shook off the two servants who supported him, one on each side; and taking off his hat, politely saluted us. He then passed on to his Carriage, sustained by the two attendants, as he descended the staircase. I could not help, as I looked at him, recollecting the series of dangers and escapes which he underwent or effected, for successive months, among the Hebrides, after his defeat at Culloden; a chain of adventures which has no parallel, except in those equally extraordinary hardships which distinguished the flight of Charles the Second from Worcester. Mrs. Lane gave to that King, the same noble proofs of disinterested devotion, which Flora Macdonald displayed towards the Pretender: and both Princes were eminently indebted for their final preservation, to female loyalty. Charles Edward's complexion was dark, and he manifestly bore the same family resemblance to his grandfather James the Second, that His Britannic Majesty's countenance presents to George the First, or to the late King. On the occasion just related, he wore, besides the Decorations of the Order of the *Garter*, a velvet great coat, which his infirm

health rendered necessary even in Summer, on coming out of the Theatre; and a cocked hat, the sides of which were half drawn up with gold twist. His whole figure, paralytic and debilitated, presented the appearance of great bodily decay.

The strength of his mind had likewise become extinct at this time; and with the decline of his intellectual powers, the suavity of his temper forsaking him, he became irritable, morose, and intractable, particularly in his family. An unhappy propensity to wine, which he gratified to excess, while it enervated his system, rendered him frequently an object of pity or of contempt, when in public; divesting him of that dignity which would otherwise have always accompanied the representative of so many Kings. His misfortunes, exile, and anomalous situation, aggravated by mortifications of various kinds which he had undergone, both in France, and at Rome; probably induced him to have recourse to the grape, for procuring oblivion, or temporary felicity. That melancholy indulgence extinguished the last hope which fortune ever tendered him, of ascending the Throne of England, justly forfeited by the tyranny and imbecile bigotry of James the Second.

I know from high authority, that as late as the year 1770, the Duke de Choiseul, then First Minister of France, not deterred by the ill success of the attempts made in 1715, and in 1745, meditated to undertake a third effort for restoring the House of Stuart. His enterprizing spirit led him to profit of the dispute which arose between the English and Spanish Crowns, respecting the possession of Falkland Islands, in order to accomplish the object. As the first step towards it, he dispatched a private emissary to Rome, who signified to Charles Edward, the Duke's desire of seeing him immediately at Paris. He complied, and arrived in that city with the utmost privacy. Having announced it to Choiseul, the Minister fixed the same night at

twelve o'clock, when he and the Marshal de Broglio would be ready to receive the Pretender, and to lay before him their plan for an invasion of England. The Hotel de Choiseul was named for the interview, to which place he was enjoined to repair in a hackney Coach, disguised, and without any attendant. At the appointed time, the Duke and the Marshal, furnished with the requisite papers and instructions drawn up for his conduct on the expedition, were ready: but, after waiting a full hour, expecting his appearance every instant, when the Clock struck one, they concluded that some unforeseen accident must have intervened to prevent his arrival. Under this impression they were preparing to separate, when the noise of wheels was heard in the court yard, and a few moments afterwards, the Pretender entered the room, in a state of such intoxication, as to be utterly incapable even of ordinary conversation. Disgusted as well as indignant at this disgraceful conduct, and well convinced that no expedition undertaken for the restoration of a man so lost to every sense of decency or self interest, could be crowned with success; Choiseul, without hesitation, sent him, next morning, a peremptory order to quit the French Dominions. The Pretender returned to Italy; and the Nobleman who related to me these particulars, being in company with the late Duke of Glocester, in 1770, while walking together in the streets of Genoa, met the Chevalier de St. George, then on his way back from France to Rome. The Duke de Choiseul was soon afterwards dismissed by Louis the Fifteenth; new principles of policy were adopted in the Cabinet of Versailles; the business of the Falkland Islands being accommodated, peace continued to subsist between the Courts of France and England: while Charles Edward, driven by the mortifications which he experienced at Rome, to abandon that city, sought refuge at Florence; where he finished in January, 1784, his inglorious career,

as James the Second had done at the palace of St. Germain, in 1701.

Louisa, Countess d'Albany, his Consort, merited a more agreeable partner, and might have graced a Throne. When I saw her at Florence, though she had been long married, she was not quite twenty-seven years of age. Her person was formed on a small scale, with a fair complexion, delicate features, and lively, as well as attractive manners. Born Princess of Stolberg, she excited great admiration on her first arrival from Germany: but in 1779, no hope of issue by the Chevalier could be any longer entertained; and their mutual infelicity had attained to such a height, that she made various ineffectual attempts to obtain a separation. The French Court may indeed be censured for not having earlier negociated and concluded the Pretender's marriage, if it was desired to perpetuate the Stuart Line of Claimants. When Charles Edward espoused Louisa, Princess of Stolberg, he was past his fiftieth year, broken in constitution, and debilitated by excesses of many kinds. After his decease, she quitted Italy, and finally established herself at Paris. In the year 1787, I have passed the evening at her residence, the Hotel de Bourgogne, in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, where she supported an elegant establishment. Her person then still retained many pretensions to beauty; and her deportment, unassuming, but dignified, set off her attractions. In one of the apartments stood a Canopy, with a chair of state, on which were displayed the royal Arms of Great Britain; and every piece of plate, down to the tea spoons, were ornamented in a similar manner. Some of the more massy pieces, which were said to have belonged to Mary of Modena, James the Second's Queen, seemed to revive the extinct recollections of the Revolution of 1688. A numerous company, both English and French, male and female, was assembled under her roof, by all of whom she was

addressed only as Countess d'Albany: but her own domestics, when serving her, invariably gave her the title of Majesty. The Honours of a Queen, were in like manner paid her by the Nuns of all those Convents in Paris, which she was accustomed to visit on certain Holydays or festivals. She continued to reside in the Capital of France, till the calamitous progress of the French Revolution compelling her to abandon that country, she repaired to London; where she found not only personal protection, but new resources in the liberality and bounty of George the Third.

While I am engaged on the subject of the Stuart family, I shall commemorate a fact, which will probably, on perusal, impress every reader with as much astonishment as it did myself at first hearing it. Dining at the present Earl of Hardwicke's, in London, with a large company, in June, 1796; among the persons present, was the late Sir John Dalrymple, known by his "History of England," and "State Papers." The conversation turning on historical subjects, he assured us that the Princess Sophia, mother of King George the First, who only failed in ascending the throne of Great Britain in her own person, by dying about seven weeks before Queen Anne; was, nevertheless, a determined Jacobite in her political principles. On our expressing the amazement which such an assertion was calculated to produce, he declared, that while he was occupied in looking over the Chest in Kensington Palace, from which, in the beginning of the present reign, he took the State Papers that he had given to the world; he found a bundle of Letters, marked on the back, in King William's own hand-writing, "Letters of the Electress "Sophia to the Court of St. Germain's." Having perused them, he ascertained that Sophia was really in close Correspondence with James the Second, and attached to his interests, in opposition to those of William. Lord Rochford, who had procured for Sir

John Dalrymple, permission from His Majesty, to examine and publish the Papers in question; being then Secretary of State, he immediately communicated to that Nobleman his discovery: requesting at the same time, his Lordship's opinion on the propriety of giving to the world, the Letters of the Electress Sophia. "Publish them by all means, Jack," answered he. Thus empowered, from such authority, Dalrymple destined them for the press: but, before he had time to get the Letters copied, Lord Rochford sent to him, desiring to have them delivered back to himself, in order that he might submit them to His Majesty's inspection; he having, on more mature reflection, judged it proper to take the King's pleasure on a matter of such delicacy and singularity. Dalrymple returned them therefore to Lord Rochford, who carried them to the Queen's House, and presented the Bundle to His Majesty. But, they were neither restored, nor was even any allusion to them ever made in conversation by the King; he no doubt conceiving it more judicious to commit such documents to the flames, than to permit their publication. However extraordinary this Anecdote may appear, it ought not to surprize, on full consideration, that Sophia should feel the warmest attachment to James the Second. He was very nearly related to her by Consanguinity, her mother, Elizabeth, the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia and Charles the First, his father, being brother and sister. Nor could Sophia, during many years subsequent to the Revolution of 1688, nourish the slightest expectation of being called to the British throne, while the Princess Anne and her issue interposed between the House of Brunswic and that succession. It was not till after the death of William, the young Duke of Glocester, in 1700, when the Princess Sophia and her Descendants being named by Act of Parliament, to succeed eventually to the Crown of Great Britain, as the nearest Protestant heirs

of the Royal line; her interests from that time, became opposed to the right of blood existing in the Stuart race.

Brussels, where I made a short stay in the Summer of the same year, 1779, exhibited another Prince in a state of corporal and mental infirmity, not less calculated to excite pity than the Pretender. The Austrian Netherlands were then administered, as they had been almost ever since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, by Prince Charles of Lorrain. His double alliance, both by consanguinity and by marriage, with the Emperor Francis and Maria Theresa; being brother to the former, and having married the sister of the latter Sovereign; —these qualities and pretensions, rather than any mental endowments, civil or military, had raised him to the government of the Low Countries, the most enviable delegation of sovereign power in Europe. Neither Hungary, nor the Milanese, nor Sicily, nor Sardinia, nor Ireland, nor Norway, could enter into any political competition with the rich provinces of Flanders, Haynault, and Brabant. Brussels constituted one of the most pleasing, as well as elegant Courts of the Continent; its local position, almost central between Germany, Holland, France, and England, rendering it far more important in a diplomatic point of view, than either Turin, Warsaw, or Naples; perhaps even than Copenhagen, or Stockholm. Prince Charles of Lorrain, having been bred to the profession of arms from his early youth, and possessing an athletic frame of body, with unquestionable personal courage, had more than once nominally commanded the Austrian armies. His passage of the Rhine in 1744, and his irruption into Alsace, acquired him a degree of Reputation, which he by no means afterwards preserved, during the memorable "Seven years War." To Frederic, King of Prussia he was indeed a most unequal antagonist, as that great Prince sufficiently proved at the battle of Lissa, in

December, 1757, where he defeated the Austrians, and on many other occasions. When I was presented to Prince Charles, in August 1779, he might be regarded as performing the last of the Seven Ages of Man, and as sinking fast into "mere oblivion." At his Levee he seemed apparently unconscious of any thing beyond the mere ceremony of the hour, even his speech and articulation being rendered very indistinct by a paralytic affection. He expired in the following Summer, at his palace in the vicinity of Brussels, regretted by the Flemings for his moderation: and was succeeded in the Government general of the Netherlands, by the Archduchess Christina, the favorite daughter of the Empress Queen Maria Theresa.

Never did a deeper political gloom overspread England, than in the Autumn of 1779, when I arrived in London from the Continent. I question, whether at the time of the Destruction of the ships of war lying in the Medway, burnt by the Dutch, under Charles the Second; or after the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets by the French, off Beachy-Head, in 1690, under William and Mary; which constitute two of the most calamitous Epochas in our History; greater despondency, consternation, and general dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the Kingdom. The disgraceful naval Campaign of 1778, in which Keppel's engagement off Ushant forms the principal or only feature; had been succeeded by another year of Hostilities, still more humiliating to Great Britain. D'Orvilliers, at the head of the fleets of France and Spain, rode Master of the Channel for a considerable time; and the total want of enterprize, or of information on their part, alone saved the Town, as well as the Dock-yards at Plymouth, from falling into the enemy's possession. Not only was the place in want of many indispensable articles for repelling an Attack: even flints for the muskets, however incredible the fact may appear, were deficient. Sir Charles Hardy, who com-

manded our fleet; inferior in numbers, and unapprized of the enemy's approach to the coast of England, remained quietly cruizing in the Atlantic, while they thus menaced our shores. Happily, the defect of intelligence, or of mutual confidence in the combined Squadrons, supplied every Ministerial neglect; and extricated the country from a calamity, which, had it taken place, must have shaken not only the Administration, but would have convulsed the Throne itself. Faction did not however less pervade the Navy, where the respective adherents of Keppel and of Palliser, carried their reciprocal rancour to the utmost height. The American war, after four unsuccessful Campaigns, began to grow odious to the nation: while the Administration, depressed under the weight of a contest, to which the talents of the great Earl of Chatham might have been found unequal, did not manifest or exert the energy demanded by the nature of the emergency. Even the King, notwithstanding a display of private virtues, which since Charles the First had not been exhibited by any Sovereign of Great Britain, not even by William the Third, yet fully participated in the unpopularity of his Ministers. As he was supposed to feel a more than common interest in the reduction of his revolted subjects, so he was believed to exert a more than ordinary personal influence over the Cabinet which directed the operations of the war.

After the return of Lord Howe in 1778, from his unsuccessful Campaigns in America, the supreme naval command on that coast, as well as in the West Indies, devolved on Admiral Byron. He was a brother of Lord Byron, whose Duel with Mr. Chaworth rendered him unfortunately conspicuous in the Journals of the House of Peers. At an early period of his life, having been wrecked on the desart Coast of Patagonia, not far from Cape Horn, with Captain Cheap, in the "Wager" Frigate, he there endured inconceivable hardships.

during a great length of time. An intrepid and skilful, no less than an experienced naval Officer, he was nevertheless deficient in the judgment, promptitude, and decision of character, requisite for conducting the operations of a numerous fleet. On the element of the water, an evil destiny seemed invariably to accompany him, from his first expedition under Commodore Anson, down to the close of his professional life. So well was this fact known in the Navy, that the sailors bestowed on him the name of "Foul Weather Jack," and esteemed themselves certain of stormy weather, whenever they sailed under his Command. From the time of his leaving England in 1778, till his return about two years afterwards, all the tempests of the deep seemed to have conspired against him. No man could less say with Æolus, or rather with Holstenius,

"*Ventorumque* facis Tempestatumque potentem;"

Virgil having written the line,

"*Nimborumque* facis Tempestatumque potentem."

During the action which Byron fought with D'Estaign, in July, 1779, off Grenada, all the characteristic valour of the British was displayed, not only by the crews, but by the Captains and their Commander. Yet the honors of the day were divided, while the advantages of it were reaped by France; though the slaughter of men on the side of the French prodigiously exceeded our loss. But, the West India islands, one after another, fell into the enemy's hands; and after the surrender of Grenada, when D'Estaign quitted Martinico, to carry the arms of Louis the Sixteenth against Savannah, he triumphantly swept the coast of America. We must reluctantly confess, that the Navy of England at this period of the present Reign, had sunk to a point of depression hardly conceivable, when compared with the

times of Hawke, Saunders, and Boscawen; or if placed near the still more splendid period of Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson. We may incline to attribute so extraordinary a contrast, to the errors or inability of Lord North's Administration: the popular voice, I well know, sanctioned that accusation: but its cause lay principally in the nature of the contest, which depressing the national energy, unnerved the British spirit, and allowed France, during near four years, from 1778 to 1782, aided by Spain, to make such exertions, as acquired them a temporary ascendant on the Ocean. Byron, recalled from his Command soon afterwards revisited England, and his name occurs no more in our naval History: but it has derived new Celebrity in the present times, from the poetic eminence to which his grandson has attained, by productions emulating the fame of Spenser, of Gray, of Mason, and of Scott.

To Byron, succeeded Rodney, who fills so distinguished a place during the unfortunate period of the American war: a naval Commander as much distinguished by the prosperous fatality which attended him, as Byron seemed to be under the influence of an unlucky Planet. Cardinal Mazarin, who, before he employed any individual, always asked, "*Est il heureux?*" had he been First Minister of England, might have selected Rodney, upon that principle, from among all the Admirals in the Navy. His person was more elegant than seemed to become his rough profession. There was even something that approached to delicacy and effeminacy in his figure: but no man manifested a more temperate and steady courage in Action. I had the honor to live in great personal intimacy with him, and have often heard him declare, that superiority to fear was not in him the physical effect of constitution; on the contrary, no man being more sensible by nature to that passion than himself; but that he surmounted it from the considerations of

honor and public duty. Like the famous Marshal Villars, he justly incurred the reputation of being "*glorieux et bavard*;" making himself frequently the theme of his own discourse. He talked much and freely upon every subject; concealed nothing in the course of conversation, regardless who were present; and dealt his censures, as well as his praises, with imprudent liberality: qualities which necessarily procured him many enemies, particularly in his own profession. Throughout his whole life, two passions, both highly injurious to his repose, women and Play, carried him into many excesses. It was universally believed that he had been distinguished in his youth, by the personal attachment of the Princess Amelia, daughter of George the Second, who displayed the same partiality for Rodney, which her cousin, the Princess Amelia of Prussia, manifested for Trenck. A living evidence of the former connexion existed, unless fame had recourse to fiction for support. But, detraction, in every age, from Elizabeth down to the present times, has not spared the most illustrious females.

The love of Play had proved more ruinous in its effects to Rodney, and that indulgence compelled him, after quitting England, to take refuge at Paris. So great was his pecuniary distress while he resided in the French Capital, as to induce him to send over his second wife to London, early in 1777, with the view of procuring a subscription to be opened among the Members of the Club at White's, for his relief. Lady Rodney finding it however impracticable to raise any supplies from that source; after much ineffectual solicitation among Sir George's former friends, finally renounced the attempt. The old Marshal de Biron having soon afterwards, by an act of liberality, enabled Rodney to revisit his country, he made the strongest applications to the Admiralty for employment. His private circumstances, indeed, imperiously demanded

every exertion when he was named, towards the Autumn of 1779, to command the expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, for the West Indies. I passed much time with him, at his residence in Cleveland Row, St. James's, down to the very moment of his departure. Naturally sanguine and confident, he anticipated in his daily conversation, with a sort of certainty, the future success which he should obtain over the enemy; and he had not only already conceived, but he had delineated, on paper the naval Manœuvre of breaking, or intersecting the Line, to which he afterwards was indebted in an eminent degree, for his brilliant victory over De Grasse: a Manœuvre then new in maritime Tactics, though now become familiar to us; and which Nelson practised with so much effect, in the Battle of the Nile, as well as on other occasions. Rodney possessed no superior parts; but, unlike Keppel, his enterprizing spirit always impelled him rather to risk, than to act with caution, when in presence of the enemy. The ardor of his character supplied, in some degree, the physical defects of his health and constitution, already impaired by various causes: while his happy audacity, directed by the nautical skill of others, controuled by science, and propelled by favourable circumstances, at length enabled him to dissipate the gloom that had so long overhung our naval Annals, at the same time that he covered himself with great personal glory.

The Ministry sustained about this time, a diminution of strength, and a loss of talents in the House of Peers, which an Administration so unpopular could ill afford, by the defection of Lord Lyttelton, who suddenly went over to the side of Opposition. His decease, not less sudden in its nature, took place immediately afterwards. He was a man of very considerable parliamentary abilities, who, notwithstanding the many glaring vices of his private character, might have made a conspicuous political figure, if he had not been carried off in the

prime of life. His father, the first Lord Lyttelton, well known as an Historian and a Poet, derived not less respect from the elevation of his mind, and his many domestic virtues. The second Lord Lyttelton, by the profligacy of his conduct, and the abuse of his talents, seemed to emulate Dryden's Duke of Buckingham, or Pope's Duke of Wharton; both of whom he resembled in the superiority of his natural endowments, as well as in the peculiarity of his end. Villiers, the "Zimri" of Dryden's Poem of "Absalom and Achitophel;" after exhausting his health, and squandering his immense fortune in every species of excess or riot, expired, as is well known, at a wretched tenement, on his own estate near Helmsley, in Yorkshire, abandoned by all his former admirers. Wharton, who acted a part under George the First, hardly less distinguished or eccentric, than Villiers had performed under Charles the Second; terminated his equally extraordinary career, exiled and attainted, among the Pyrenees, in an obscure Monastery of Catalonia, worn out by his pursuit of pleasures. Lyttelton, when scarcely thirty-six, breathed his last at a country house near Epsom, called Pit Place, from its situation in a chalk pit, where he witnessed, as he conceived, a supernatural appearance.

Having gone down there for purposes of recreation, with a gay party of both sexes, several among whom I personally knew; he had retired to bed, when a noise which resembled the fluttering of a dove or pidgeon heard at his chamber window, attracted his attention. He then saw, or thought he saw, a female figure, which approaching the foot of the bed, announced to him that in three days precisely from that time, he should be called from this state of existence. In whatever manner the supposed intimation was conveyed, whether by sound or by impression, it is certain that Lord Lyttelton considered the circumstance as real; that he mentioned it as such, to those persons who were in the

house with him, that it deeply affected his mind, and that he died on the third night, at the predicted hour. About four years afterwards, in the year 1783, dining at Pit Place, I had the curiosity to visit the bed-chamber, where the casement window, at which, as Lord Lyttleton asserted, the dove appeared to flutter, was pointed out to me. And at his step-mother's, the Dowager Lady Lyttelton's, in Portugal Street, Grosvenor Square, who being a woman of very lively imagination, lent an implicit faith to all the supernatural facts which were supposed to have accompanied or produced Lord Lyttelton's end; I have frequently seen a painting, which she herself executed in 1780, expressly to commemorate the event. It hung in a conspicuous part of her drawing room. There, the dove appears at the window, while a female figure, habited in white, stands at the bed foot, announcing to Lord Lyttelton his dissolution. Every part of the picture was faithfully designed after the description given her by the Valet de Chambre who attended him, to whom his master related all the circumstances. This man assured Lady Lyttelton, that on the night indicated, Lord Lyttelton, who, notwithstanding his endeavours to surmount the impression, had suffered under great depression of spirits during the three preceding days, retired to bed before twelve o'clock. Having ordered the Valet to mix him some Rhubarb, he sat up in the bed, apparently in health, intending to swallow the medicine; but, being in want of a tea spoon, which the servant had neglected to bring, his master, with a strong expression of impatience, sent him to bring a spoon. He was not absent from the room more than the space of a minute; but when he returned, Lord Lyttelton, who had fallen back, lay motionless in that attitude. No efforts to restore animation, were attended with success. Whether, therefore, his death was occasioned by any new shock

upon his nerves, or happened in consequence of an Apoplectic or other seizure, must remain matter of uncertainty and conjecture.

It is however to be observed, that the Lyttelton family, either from constitutional nervous irritability, or from other causes, was peculiarly susceptible of impressions similar to the shock which seems to have produced Lord Lyttleton's end. His father, though a man of very distinguished talents, manifested great credulity, as I have been assured, on the subject of Apparitions: and his cousin, Miss Lyttelton, who married the present Sir Richard Hoare, died in a way somewhat similar, about four years later, at Stourhead. The second Lord Lyttelton's life had likewise been of a nature and description so licentious, not to say abandoned, as to subject him continually to the keenest reproaches of an accusing conscience. This domestic spectre, which accompanied him every where, was known to have given rise, while on his travels, particularly at Lyons, to scenes greatly resembling his last moments. Among the females who had been the objects and the victims of his temporary attachment, was a Mrs. Dawson, whose fortune, as well as her honor and reputation, fell a sacrifice to her passion. Being soon forsaken by him, she did not long survive; and distress of mind was known to have accelerated, if not to have produced her death. It was her image which haunted his pillow, and was supposed by him to have announced his approaching dissolution at Pit Place.

Lord North, who had presided during ten years at the head of Administration, continued in the Spring of 1780, to struggle with the utmost difficulty through the sixth Session of Parliament, against a numerous and augmenting Opposition in both Houses. His resignation, anxiously anticipated, seemed to be inevitable, and even imminent: but the ministerial disgraces, as well as the triumphs of the adverse party, were equally

obliterated in a Calamity, which for the time of its duration, absorbed all attention.—I mean the Riots of June, 1780. No event in our Annals bears any analogy with the scene then exhibited in the Capital, except the Fire of London under Charles the Second. Even that misfortune wanted some of the melancholy and sanguinary features which characterized the tumults in question. During the conflagration of 1666, whatever stories may have been invented by party rage, or commemorated on public Monuments, by religious Antipathy, the inhabitants had only to contend with the progress of a devouring element. In 1780, the flames were originally kindled, as well as rendered far more destructive, by a populace of the lowest and vilest description, who carried with them, wherever they moved, the materials of universal ruin. It was only in their blood, by the interposition of an overwhelming military force, that the convulsion became finally arrested; and that London, after being desolated by fire, was rescued from plunder, bankruptcy, and subversion. Even the French Revolution, which from July, 1789, down to April, 1814, either under the forms of a Republic, or of a military Despotism, has presented to mankind a pattern of every crime revolting and degrading to human nature; yet did not produce in the Capital of France, any similar outrages. At Lyons, it must be admitted that Collot d'Herbois in 1793, exercised the most savage vengeance on the Buildings of the city, as well as on the unfortunate Inhabitants. But, neither Robespierre, nor Bonaparte, though the former converted the Metropolis into a charnel-house; and though the vengeance, or atrocious ambition of the latter Adventurer has covered Europe with human bones, from the Tagus to the Moskwa; yet ever directed their destructive efforts against the public and private edifices of Paris.

I was personally present at many of the most

tremendous effects of the popular fury on the memorable 7th of June, the night on which it attained its highest point. About nine o'clock on that evening, accompanied by three other Gentlemen, who, as well as myself, were alarmed at the accounts brought in every moment, of the outrages committed; and of the still greater acts of violence meditated, as soon as darkness should favor and facilitate their further progress; we set out from Portland-place, in order to view the scene. Having got into a hackney-coach, we drove to Bloomsbury-square; attracted to that spot by a Rumour generally spread, that Lord Mansfield's residence, situate at the North-east corner, was either already burnt, or destined for destruction. Hart-Street and Great Russell-Street presented, each, to the view, as we passed, large fires composed of furniture taken from the houses of magistrates, or other obnoxious individuals. Quitting the coach, we crossed the Square, and had scarcely got under the wall of Bedford House, when we heard the door of Lord Mansfield's house burst open with violence. In a few minutes, all the contents of the apartments being precipitated from the windows, were piled up, and wrapt in flames. A file of foot-soldiers arriving, drew up near the blazing pile; but, without either attempting to quench the fire, or to impede the mob, who were indeed far too numerous to admit of their being dispersed, or even intimidated, by a small detachment of Infantry. The populace remained masters; while we, after surveying the spectacle for a short time, moved on into Holborn, where Mr. Langdale's dwelling-house and warehouses afforded a more appalling picture of devastation. They were altogether enveloped in smoke and flame. In front had assembled an immense multitude of both sexes, many of whom were females, and not a few held infants in their arms. All appeared to be, like ourselves, attracted as spectators solely by curiosity, with-

out taking any part in the acts of violence. The kennel of the street ran down with spirituous liquors, and numbers of the populace were already intoxicated with this beverage. So little disposition, however, did they manifest to riot or pillage, that it would have been difficult to conceive who were the authors and perpetrators of such enormous mischief, if we had not distinctly seen at the windows of the house, men, who while the floors and rooms were on fire, calmly tore down the furniture, and threw it into the street, or tossed it into the flames. They experienced no kind of opposition, during a considerable time that we remained at this place: but a party of the Horse-Guards arriving, the terrified crowd instantly began to disperse; and we, anxious to gratify our farther curiosity, continued our progress on foot, along Holborn, towards Fleet-Market.

I would in vain attempt adequately to describe the spectacle which presented itself, when we reached the declivity of the Hill, close to St. Andrew's Church. The other House and Magazines of Mr. Langdale, who, as a Catholic, had been selected for the blind vengeance of the mob; situated in the hollow, near the North end of Fleet-Market, threw up into the air a pinnacle of flame resembling a Volcano. Such was the beautiful and brilliant effect of the illumination, that St. Andrew's Church appeared to be almost scorched by the heat of so prodigious a body of fire; and the figures on the Clock were as distinctly perceptible as at noon-day. It resembled indeed a Tower, rather than a private Building, in a state of Conflagration; and would have inspired the Beholder with a sentiment of admiration allied to pleasure, if it had been possible to separate the object, from its causes and its consequences. The wind did not however augment its rage on this occasion; for the night was serene, and the sky unclouded, except when it became obscured by the volumes of smoke, which, from

time to time produced a temporary darkness. The mob, which completely blocked up the whole Street in every part, and in all directions, prevented our approaching within fifty or sixty yards of the Building: but the populace, though still principally composed of persons allured by curiosity, yet evidently began here to assume a more disorderly and ferocious character. Troops, either horse or foot, we still saw none; nor, in the midst of this Combination of tumult, terror, and violence, had the ordinary Police ceased to continue its functions. While we stood by the wall of St. Andrew's Church-yard, a Watchman, with his lanthorn in his hand, passed us, calling the hour, as if in a time of profound tranquillity.

Finding it altogether impracticable to force our way any further down Holborn-Hill, and hearing that the Fleet prison had been set on fire, we penetrated through a number of narrow lanes, behind St. Andrew's Church, and presently found ourselves in the middle of Fleet-Market. Here, the same Destruction raged, but in a different stage of its progress. Mr. Langdale's houses were already at the height of their demolition: the Fleet prison on the contrary was only beginning to blaze, and the sparks or flaming particles that filled the air, fell so thick upon us on every side, as to render unsafe its immediate vicinity. Meanwhile we began to hear the Platoons discharged on the other side of the river, towards St. George's Fields; and were informed, that a considerable number of the Rioters had been killed on Black-friar's Bridge, which was occupied by the Troops. On approaching it, we beheld the King's Bench prison completely wrapt in flames. It exhibited a sublime sight, and we might be said there to stand in a central point, from whence London offered on every side, before, as well as behind us, the picture of a city sacked and abandoned to a ferocious enemy. The shouts of the populace, the cries of women, the crack-

ling of the fires, the blaze reflected in the stream of the Thames, and the irregular firing which was kept up both in St. George's Fields, as well as towards the quarter of the Mansion-House, and the Bank;—all these sounds, or images combined, left scarcely any thing for the imagination to supply; presenting to the view every recollection which the classic descriptions in Virgil, or in Tacitus, have impressed on the mind in youth, but which I so little expected to see exemplified in the Capital of Great Britain.

Not yet satisfied, and hearing that an obstinate conflict was going on at the Bank, between the Soldiery and the Rioters, we determined, if possible, to reach that spot. We accordingly proceeded through St. Paul's Churchyard towards it, and had advanced without impediment to the Poultry, within about sixty paces of the Mansion House, when our progress was stopped by a Centinel, who acquainted us that the Mob had been repulsed in their attempt upon the Bank; but, that we could penetrate no further in that direction, as his orders were peremptory, not to suffer the passage of any person. Cheapside, silent and empty, unlike the Streets that we had visited, presented neither the appearance of tumult, nor of confusion; though to the East, West, and South, all was disorder. This contrast formed not the least striking circumstance of the moment. Prevented thus from approaching any nearer to the Bank, satiated in some measure with the scenes which we had witnessed, and wearied by so long a peregrination, which, from our first alighting near Bloomsbury Square, had all been performed on foot; we resolved to return to the west end of the town. On Ludgate Hill we were fortunate enough to find a Hackney Coach, which conveyed us safely back, about four o'clock in the morning.

It is impossible for the most prejudiced person without violating truth, to accuse the Opposition of having

had any participation as a body, direct or indirect, in these outrages. They were indeed themselves, individually, the objects of popular prejudice and violence, not less than the Ministers; Sir George Savile's house, in Leicester Square, having been one of the first assailed and plundered by the mob. Devonshire House in Piccadilly, menaced with the same fate, was considered as so insecure, that the Duchess of Devonshire yielding to her fears, did not venture to remain in it after dusk, for a considerable time. She took refuge at Lord Clermont's in Berkeley Square, where she deemed herself safe from attack, and lay down for successive nights, on a Sofa, or a small tent bed, placed in the Drawing Room. Many other persons of both sexes, of the highest rank, either quitted their own residence, or sent their most valuable effects and jewels into the country. The first Minister, Lord North, passed that alarming night at his official residence in Downing Street, accompanied by a few Friends, who had repaired thither to offer him their personal aid, if circumstances should render it necessary for his protection.

One of those Gentlemen, Sir John Macpherson, has often recounted to me the particulars of that memorable evening, which I shall give in his own words, and which will be perused with no common interest. "A day or "two before the 7th of June," said he, "Count Malt-"zan, then the Prussian Minister at our Court, called "on me, and informed me that the Mob had deter-"mined to attack the Bank. He added, that the fact "had come to his knowledge through an authentic "channel, on the accuracy of which I might depend. "Having conveyed this information immediately to "Lord North, I received on the morning of that day, "an intimation to be at his house in Downing Street, "at dinner. When I got there, I found Mr. Eden, "(since created Lord Auckland) the Honourable General "Simon Fraser, the Honourable John St. John, and

"Colonel North, afterwards Earl of Guilford. Mr. "Brummell, Lord North's private Secretary, who lived "likewise in the same Street, was in attendance, but "did not make one of the Company. We sat down at "table, and dinner had scarcely been removed, when "Downing Square, through which there is no outlet, "became thronged with people, who manifested a dis- "position, or rather a determination, to proceed to acts "of outrage. Lord North, with his habitual good "humour, observed to me, 'you see, Macpherson, here "is much confusion. Who commands the upper tier?' "'I do,' answered Colonel North, 'and I have got twenty "or more Grenadiers well armed, stationed above stairs, "who are ready on the first order, to fire upon the Mob.' "General Fraser sat silent; while Mr. Eden, whose "house was situated on the opposite side of the Square, "only remarked calmly to Colonel North, that if the "Grenadiers fired, their shot would probably enter his "windows. The tumult without still continuing, and "it being uncertain from one minute to another, whether "the populace might not proceed to extremities; Lord "North said to me, 'What is to be done, Macpher- "son?' 'My opinion,' answered I, 'is to send out two "or three persons, who mixing among the mob, may "acquaint them that there are troops posted in the "house, ready, without waiting for the Riot Act being "read, to fire on them, the instant that they commit "any outrage; exhorting them at the same time, for "their own sakes, to disperse peaceably without delay. "But,' added I, 'here sits General Fraser, who knows "far better than any of us, what is wisest to be done, "and who has not yet opened his mouth.' The popu- "lace continued to fill the little Square, and became "very noisy; but they never attempted to force the "street door. Mr. St. John held a pistol in his hand; "and Lord North, who never lost an occasion of jest- "ing, exclaimed, 'I am not half so much afraid of the

" mob, as of Jack St. John's pistol.' By degrees, as the " evening advanced, the people, informed from various " quarters, that there were Soldiers posted in the house, " ready to fire if they committed any violence; began " to cool, and afterwards gradually to disperse without " further effort. We then sat down again quietly to the " table, and finished our wine.

" Night coming on, and the Capital presenting a " scene of tumult or conflagration in many various " quarters, Lord North, accompanied by us all, mounted " to the top of the house, where we beheld London " blazing in seven places, and could hear the Platoons " regularly firing in various directions. ' What is your " opinion of the remedy for this evil?' said Lord North " to me. ' I should try, my Lord,' answered I, ' to effect " a junction, or to open some communication with " the Heads of Opposition, for the Protection of the " Country.' ' You talk,' replied he, ' as if the thing " could be done; but it is not practicable.' I know " however that a day or two afterwards, notwithstand- " ing the opinion so given by Lord North, he and Mr. " Fox personally met, behind the Scenes at the Opera " House in the Haymarket, at eleven in the forenoon. " They held a conference there; but of the nature of " the conversation which passed between them, I am " wholly ignorant." Such was Sir John Macpherson's account of the circumstances to which he was an eye-witness, at that moment of public calamity.

Lord George Germain, like the first Minister, having assembled some Friends, barricaded the passages and entrance to his house in Pall Mall, which was very susceptible of defence; after which, he coolly waited for the attack of the populace. But, the Rioters were too well informed of the precautions taken, to make any attempt on him. Even the King himself remained on foot, during the far greater part of that memorable night, which he passed between Buckingham House and

the Royal Manege contiguous; into the latter of which Buildings, a detachment of the Horse Guards had been early admitted, who were ready to have sallied out upon the Insurgents. No man who knows the steadiness and firmness which His Majesty has since displayed in the most trying situations, when his person has been exposed to danger, can doubt that he would have given on that occasion, had it been unfortunately necessary, the strongest proofs of courage. He would not have acted the part which Louis the Sixteenth exhibited on the 10th of August, 1792; when, under similar circumstances, surrounded by a savage mob, instead of defending himself to the last extremity, he abandoned the defence of his Palace, and of his Family, to take refuge in the National Assembly. George the Third had embraced the resolution of repelling force by force, in case of necessity, and of perishing in support of the laws, of civil order, and regular government, rather than survive their extinction. But, happily, no attempt was made by the Populace to attack any part of the Queen's House or Offices.

Various were the opinions and assertions hazarded, relative to the numbers that perished in the Riots between the third and the seventh of June, 1780; but as no certain Data can be obtained, beyond the official returns of killed and wounded, the amount must always remain matter of conjecture. Probably, it far exceeded the computation commonly made; and from the concurring testimony of those persons who were most competent to form a sound judgment, I believe it would not be over-rated at seven hundred individuals, killed and wounded. The slaughter was most considerable at the King's Bench, at the Bank, and on Black Friars Bridge. Colonel de Burgh, a Son of the Earl of Clanrickard, commanded one of the Regiments sent to St. George's Fields. All the Troops did their duty, notwithstanding the efforts which the Populace exerted

to seduce them, by calling on them as Protestants, and invoking their aid or their protection. Many of the Soldiers, in reply to these blandishments, exclaimed, that they would not hurt the mob. A great Nobleman, now alive, who, like myself, was a spectator of all the scenes of devastation committed on that night; told me that he felt strong doubts whether De Burgh's Regiment would actually draw the trigger. Impressed with that conviction, he mentioned his apprehensions on the point, to the Colonel; who instantly replied, that he knew his men, and could rely on their prompt obedience. The event justified his confidence: for, no sooner had he given the word of command to fire, than, levelling their firelocks, they soon compelled the Rioters to seek their safety in immediate dispersion. If the "Gardes "Francaises" in 1789, had behaved like our regular troops in 1780, the French Revolution might have been suppressed in its birth; and Europe would not have groaned during fourteen years, under the accumulated calamities inflicted on it by Bonaparte. But, the difference of character between the two Sovereigns of Great Britain and of France, constituted one great cause of the different fate that attended the two Monarchies. George the Third, when attacked, prepared to defend his Throne, his Family, his Country, and the Constitution entrusted to his care. They were in fact saved by his decision. Louis the Sixteenth tamely abandoned all to a ferocious Jacobin Populace, who sent him to the scaffold. No man of courage or of principle could have quitted the former Prince. It was impossible to save, or to rescue, the latter ill-fated, yielding, and passive Monarch.

Many of the Rioters, who fell at Black Friars Bridge, or in its vicinity, where the slaughter was most considerable, were immediately thrown over into the Thames, by their companions. The carnage which took place at the Bank likewise was great, though not of very long

duration; and in order to conceal as much as possible the magnitude of the number, as well as the names of the persons who perished, similar precautions were taken. All the dead bodies being carried away during the night, were precipitated into the River. Even the impressions made by the Musket balls, on the houses opposite to the Bank, were as much as possible erased next morning, and the buildings whitewashed. Government and the Rioters seem to have felt an equal disposition, by drawing a veil over the extent of the calamity, to bury it in profound darkness. To Colonel Holroyd, since deservedly raised to the British Peerage as Lord Sheffield, and to his Regiment of Militia, the country was eminently indebted for repelling the fury of the mob at the Bank; where, during some moments, the conflict seemed doubtful, and the assailants had nearly forced an entrance. Lord Algernon Percy, now Earl of Beverley, marched likewise at the head of the Northumberland Militia, to the same spot. Their arrival, together with the energy, promptitude, and decision which Colonel Holroyd manifested, principally conduced to ensure the safety of that great National Establishment. Numbers concealed their wounds, in order to evade discovery of the part which they had taken in the disorders of the Capital. It is however indisputable, that almost all who perished were of a low and obscure description.

If the mob had been conducted by leaders of system or ability, London must have been fundamentally overturned on that night. The Bank, the India House, and the Shops of the great Bankers, would in that case have been early attacked; instead of throwing away their rage, as they did, on Popish Chapels, private houses, and prisons. When they began, after their first fury had exhausted itself, to direct their blows more systematically and skilfully, the time for action was passed. Government, which was accused with

reason of having appeared supine during the first days of June, awoke early enough to preserve the Metropolis and public credit, from sustaining the last shock of popular violence. In fact, from the instant that the three Bridges over the Thames were occupied by regular troops, the danger was at an end. This awful convulsion, which, on Wednesday, the *seventh* of June, seemed to menace the destruction of every thing; was so completely quelled, and so suddenly extinguished, that on the *eighth*, hardly a spark survived of the popular effervescence. Some few persons in the Borough of Southwark, attempted to repeat the outrages of Wednesday; but they were easily and immediately quelled by the military force. Never was a contrast exhibited more striking, than between those two evenings, in the same city! The patroles of Cavalry, stationed in the Squares and great streets throughout the West End of the Town, gave London the aspect of a Garrison; while the Camp which was immediately afterwards formed in St. James's Park, afforded a picturesque landscape; both sides of the Canal, from the Queen's House down to the vicinity of the Horse Guards, being covered with tents and troops.

The common danger, which united all Parties for the time, extinguished, or at least suspended, in some measure, even the virulence of political enmity. Alarmed at the prospect of impending Destruction, some of the principal Leaders of the Opposition repaired, unasked, to St. James's, under pretence of offering their services to the Administration; nearly as the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle had done in July, 1714, when Queen Anne lay insensible, near her end. The Marquis of Rockingham hearing that a Privy Council was summoned to meet on the morning of the 7th of June, which all who enjoyed seats at that Board, were called or invited to attend, made his appearance in an undress, his hair disordered, and with testimonies

of great consternation. Nor did he, when seated at the Table, where the King was present, spare the Ministers, for having, as he asserted, by their negligence, or want of timely energy, allowed the Assemblage of People to take place in St. George's Fields, which original Meeting led to all the subsequent Outrages. It is nevertheless incontestable, that to the Decision manifested by His Majesty on that occasion, the safety of the Metropolis, and its extrication from all the Calamities that impended over it, was principally, or solely to be ascribed. Elizabeth, or William the Third, could not have displayed more calm and systematic courage in the highest sense of the term, than George the Third exhibited in so trying a moment. Far from throwing himself for support or guidance on his Cabinet, as a Prince of feeble character would have done; he came forward, and exhibited an example of self-devotion to his Ministers. It is well known that at the Council to which I have alluded, the King assisted in person. The great question was there discussed, on which hinged the protection and preservation of the Capital; a question, respecting which, the first legal characters were divided; and on which, Lord Mansfield himself, was with reason accused of never having clearly expressed his opinion up to that time. Doubts existed, whether Persons riotously collected together, and committing Outrages or Infractions of the Peace, however great, might legally be fired on by the military power, without staying previously to read the Riot Act. Mr. Wedderburn, since successively raised to the dignity of a Baron and of an Earl of Great Britain, who was then Attorney-general, having been called in to the Council Table, and ordered by the King to deliver his official opinion on the point; stated in the most precise terms, that any such Assemblage might be dispersed by military force, without waiting for forms, or reading the Riot Act. "Is that your declaration of

"the law, as Attorney-general?" said the King. Wedderburn answering decidedly in the affirmative, "Then so let it be done," rejoined His Majesty. The Attorney-general drew up the Order immediately, on which Lord Amherst acted the same evening, and the complete suppression of the Riots followed in the course of a few hours. Never had any people a greater obligation to the judicious Intrepidity of their Sovereign!

Nor ought we to deny the merit due to Wedderburn, for having with so much decision cut the Gordian knot, which the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, either could not, or would not untie. His inexplicit Declarations on the subject, involuntarily remind us of the accusations levelled against him by "Junius," when, speaking of Lord Mansfield, he says, "Besides his "natural timidity, it makes part of his political plan, "never to be known to recommend violent measures. "When the Guards are called forth to murder their "fellow subjects, it is not by the ostensible advice of "Lord Mansfield." Here we see him in 1780, acting precisely as he had done twelve years earlier, in 1768. Nor is it a less curious and extraordinary Fact, that the very exertion by which the King preserved London in June, 1780, from suffering the utmost extremities of violence and pillage, constitutes, *as a principle*, the subject of "Junius's severest Reflexions upon him, in "March, 1770." "Did His Majesty," says he, "consult "the laws of this Country, when he permitted his "Secretary of State to declare, that whenever the civil "Magistrate is trifled with, a military force must be "sent for, *without the delay of a moment*, and effectually employed?" So true is it, that at every period of his life, the King manifested the same consistency of character, and superiority to personal apprehension. When nevertheless, we reflect that in 1768, a Magistrate of the county of Surry had been

that he had been hurt or wounded on the 7th of June; but it is probable that the report originated altogether in calumny.

Lord George Gordon, the primary author of these outrages, was not taken into custody, till two or three days after they had been suppressed. Ministers were reproached with not having committed him to the Tower on the second of June, when he assembled, harangued, and excited the mob to extort compliance with their demands from the House of Commons. But, the attempt to seize and to send him to prison, at a time when every avenue to the House was thronged with multitudes, when the Lobby overflowed with them, and when the doors of the House itself might have been, every instant, forced in; would have formed an imprudent, not to say a dangerous experiment. It is difficult to find any instance in our Annals, when Parliament received a grosser insult; or when the members composing both Houses incurred a greater risk of falling victims to popular violence. The mobs of 1641, and the following year, under Charles the First, directed their rage against the Sovereign and his principal advisers, not against the Representatives of the Nation. Cromwell, when in 1653 he drove out and dissolved the Rump Parliament, offered no outrage to their persons, but simply broke up the legislative Assembly by a military force. The tumults in 1733, when Sir Robert Walpole first attempted to introduce the Excise Laws, seem to form the nearest approach or similarity to the proceedings in 1780; but, *longo intervallo*.

It cannot be doubted that if the populace had forced their way into the House of Commons, Lord George would not have survived to recount the exploit. Many Members who were there present, justly indignant at his conduct, threatened him with instant death, as soon as any of the rioters should burst open the doors.

The late Earl of Carnarvon, then Mr. Henry Herbert, followed him close, with that avowed determination; and General Murray, uncle to the present Duke of Athol, a man whom I intimately knew, and who, when incensed, was capable of executing the most desperate resolution; held his sword ready to pass it through Lord George's body, on the first irruption of the mob. It will always remain disputable, whether ambition, fanaticism, or alienation of mind, contributed most to the part which he acted, in assembling, and inciting the people to acts of violence. That he was not insensible to the political consideration which he obtained from his personal influence over so vast a multitude, cannot be questioned. To religious enthusiasm or conviction, something may perhaps be fairly attributed; but, more must be laid to the deranged state of his understanding, though nothing in his conduct or deportment could possibly subject him to be considered as insane. He appears in fact to have been perfectly master of himself, and in possession of all his faculties, during every stage of the Riots; nor is it to be imagined that he either foresaw or intended, any of the outrages which were committed after the second of June. But he had put in motion a machine, of which he could not regulate or restrain the movements: and unquestionably, the mob which set fire to London, was of a far more savage, as well as atrocious description, than the original assemblage of people who met in St. George's Fields. The late Lord Rodney, who was then an Officer in the Guards, told me, that having been sent on the night of the 7th of June, to the defence of the Bank of England, at the head of a detachment of his Regiment, he there found Lord George Gordon, who appeared anxiously endeavouring, by expostulation, to induce the populace to retire. As soon as Lord George saw Captain Rodney, he strongly expressed his concern at the acts of violence committed;

adding, that he was ready to take his stand by Captain Rodney's side, and to expose his person to the utmost risk, in order to resist such proceedings. Rodney, who distrusted however his sincerity, and justly considered him as the original cause of all the calamities, declined any communication with him; only exhorting him, if he wished to stop the further effusion of blood, and to prevent the destruction of the Bank, to exert himself in dispersing the crowd. But, whatever might be his inclination, he was altogether destitute of the power. The military force alone saved the Bank from being plundered, and prevented the temporary subversion of the national credit.

I knew Lord George Gordon well, and I once accompanied him from a party where we met, in Lower Grosvenor Street, at the late Lord Elcho's, to Ranelagh, in the summer of 1782, in his own Coach: in his person he was thin, his features regular, and his complexion pale. His manners were gentle, his conversation agreeable, and he had the appearance, as well as the deportment, of a man of quality. There was however something in his cast of countenance and mode of expression, that indicated cunning, or a perverted understanding, or both. His whole income consisted, I believe, in an annuity of six hundred Pounds a year, paid him by the Duke of Gordon, his brother. It forms a singular subject of reflection, that after involving London in all the horrors of insurrection and Anarchy, he should have escaped any punishment for these proceedings, which cost the lives of so many individuals, and the demolition of so many edifices; while he expiated by a rigorous imprisonment to the end of his days, in Newgate, the publication of a libel on the late unfortunate Queen of France, who, herself, perished on the Scaffold. He exhibited the strongest attestation of the sincerity of his conversion to Judaism, by submitting to one of the most painful ceremonies or acts enjoined by the

Mosaic Law. The operation, which was performed at Birmingham, confined him to his chamber, if not to his bed, for a considerable time; and he preserved with great care, the sanguinary proofs of his having undergone the amputation. Few individuals occupy a more conspicuous, or a more unfortunate place in the Annals of their country, under the reign of George the Third. He will rank in History, with Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, the incendiaries of the Plantagenet times; or with Kett, so memorable under Edward the Sixth.

The elements seemed to conspire with all the foreign enemies of Great Britain, at this period; the Hurricane of October, 1780, which took place in the West Indies, being one of the most tremendous in its nature, as well as violent in its effects, commemorated in the course of the eighteenth Century. Though its destructive rage spread devastation in a greater or a less degree, over the whole chain of the Carribee Islands, yet Barbadoes experienced its greatest fury, together with the severest loss of lives and property. A friend of mine, General James Cunningham, was then Governor of the Colony. He has related to me, that after remaining above ground as long as it was practicable with safety, he, accompanied by a number of his family and domestics, took refuge in a small cellar, several feet lower than the level of the Street, at Bridge Town, the Capital of the settlement. Here, indeed, they found themselves secure against being crushed under the ruins of the house which they had just quitted, or from being completely borne off and swept away by the force of the wind. But, they were soon assailed by two new misfortunes, against which they could provide no sufficient remedy. The first inconvenience arose from the severe cold which they endured; the climate having changed, in the course of a few hours, from intense heat, to a contrary extreme. The other evil, which was of a still more alarming nature, threatened their destruction,

from the rain which flowed in upon them in great quantity, as it fell in torrents. While they remained in this deplorable situation, up to the knees in water, doubtful whether to continue in the cellar, where about twenty of them huddled together, were crouded into a very narrow space; or whether to attempt reaching some more secure shelter; a tall athletic Negro of General Cunningham's family, who lay upon him, in a posture which did not admit of his moving, said to the General, "Massa, if I not make water, I die." "Do "it then in God's name," answered he. The Negro had no sooner received this permission, than instantly availing himself of it, he bedewed the General, from the nape of his neck, to his very shoes; much, as we are taught to believe, in the manner of a Hottentot Priest, when celebrating the nuptial ceremony. "But," added Cunningham, when relating the story, "never did I "experience a more grateful sensation than was pro- "duced by this warm libation, which seemed to ani- "mate my frozen frame, and to revivify my body. I "regretted when it stopped, and I derived from it "essential service in the horrors of that indescribable "night."

The situation of the Negro, impelled by a necessity paramount to all respect or restraint, reminds me of a fact somewhat similar, which took place at the palace of Sans Souci. The great Frederic, in a select society, having been one day more elevated and convivial than usual after dinner, was induced by the gaiety of the conversation, to prolong the accustomed limits of the repast, and to detain his guests to a late hour. His Majesty furnished, himself, the chief share of the entertainment, by the brilliancy of his sallies; but he forgot, unfortunately, that his guests were men. One of them, an old General, who was often among the persons invited to the royal table, but whose powers of retention had suffered in the course of twelve Campaigns; antici-

pated with extreme impatience, the moment when the King, by rising, would permit of his quitting the apartment. In this hope and expectation, he long supported with unshaken fortitude, one of the most pressing demands of nature. Overcome at length, and yielding to a power stronger than himself, he suddenly rose from his chair, and exclaiming, "*Sire, Tout est grand dans* "*Votre Majesté, jusqu'a la Vessie meme. Sire, Je me* "*meurs*," ran out of the room. Frederic was charmed with the ingenuity of the compliment, and laughed heartily at the General's distress, which might however have proved fatal to him. Tycho Brahe's death was caused by a precisely similar act of imprudent respect.

Parliament having been dissolved early in September, I was elected one of the Members for Hindon in the county of Wilts; and the new House of Commons meeting towards the end of October, the first Debate turned on the choice of a Speaker. Lord George Germain, not Lord North, commenced the proceedings on that evening, and performed the principal part. It was not intended by Ministers, that Sir Fletcher Norton, who during near eleven years, ever since the resignation of Sir John Cust in January, 1770, had filled the Chair, should re-occupy it in the new Parliament. He had given umbrage during the Session of 1777, both to the Sovereign, and to the Administration, by a memorable Speech, which he addressed to the King, while standing in his official capacity, at the Bar of the House of Peers. And though the admonition or exhortation that he thought proper then to use, had met with the approbation both of the House of Commons, and of the Country, yet it unquestionably produced his eventual exclusion from the employment of Speaker. Lord North having tried the ground at St. James's, found his Majesty determined upon the point. Conscious, nevertheless, that it would be highly unpopular to place his intended dismission on such a basis,

Ministers availed themselves of Sir Fletcher's ill state of health, which had considerably impeded the progress of public business in the preceding Session, as forming a sufficient cause for his removal. While, therefore, they passed high eulogiums on his ability and talents, they lamented that infirmities of body rendered it improper to ask of him, or to accept from him, a continuance of his public services. Sir Fletcher however, rising in his place, and speaking from the Opposition Bench, while he was sustained by that powerful and numerous Phalanx, endeavoured to point out the latent enmity, as well as the obvious nullity, of the Ministerial arguments. He affected, it is true, to disclaim any wish of being again placed in the Speaker's Chair; but he took care to accompany the declaration, by an assertion of his perfect physical capacity to meet its duties and fatigues. His appearance seemed indeed to present the aspect of a man, who, though somewhat declined in years, did not manifest any tokens of decay. All the attacks levelled by Norton's friends, on the Opposition side of the House, at Lord North, personally, could neither induce nor provoke the First Minister to open his lips on the occasion. He remained profoundly silent; but Mr. Rigby, unintimidated by the clamors of Sir Fletcher's adherents, after boldly avowing that he was dismissed for his political trespasses, justified his exclusion from the Chair, on parliamentary or on Ministerial grounds. Cornwall was chosen Speaker, by a very large Majority.

Sir Fletcher Norton, though perhaps justly accused, as a professional man, of preferring profit to conscientious delicacy of principle; and though denominated in the coarse Satires or Caricatures of that day, by the Epithet of "Sir Bullface Doublefee;" yet possessed eminent parliamentary, as well as legal talents. Far from suffering in his capacity of Speaker, by a comparison either with his immediate predecessor

or successor in that high Office, he must be considered as very superior to both. The Chair of the House of Commons, during the whole course of the eighteenth Century, was never filled with less dignity or energy, than by Sir John Cust, whom Wilkes treats in all his letters, with the most contemptuous irony or insult. Cornwall possessed every physical quality requisite to ornament the place; a sonorous voice, a manly, as well as imposing figure, and a commanding deportment: but his best recommendation to the Office, consisted in the connexion subsisting between him and Mr. Charles Jenkinson, then Secretary at War, which the marriage of the former Gentleman, with the sister of the latter, had cemented. After his election, Cornwall gave little satisfaction, and had recourse to the narcotic virtues of Porter, for enabling him to sustain its fatigue: an Auxiliary which sometimes becoming too powerful for the Principal who called in its assistance, produced inconveniences. The "Rolliad," alluding to the Speaker's Chair, as it was filled in 1784, says,

> "There Cornwall sits, and ah! compelled by Fate,
> Must sit for ever through the long Debate;
> Save when compelled by Nature's sovereign will,
> Sometimes to empty, and sometimes to fill."——
> ——"Like sad Prometheus fastened to the Rock,
> In vain he looks for Pity to the Clock;
> In vain the Powers of strengthening Porter tries,
> And nods to *Bellamy* for fresh supplies."

We may here remark, as a curious fact, that Sir Fletcher's dismission from the Office of Speaker, conducted him, within eighteen months to the Dignity of the Peerage; an elevation which he owed solely to the jealousies and rivalities that arose between Lord Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, as soon as they got into Power: whereas, Cornwall, his successful competitor, after presiding more than eight years in the

House of Commons, died without ever entering the House of Lords. It was thus that Dunning reached that Goal, while Wallace missed it. So much has the disposition of events, which in common language we denominate Fortune, to do with the affairs of Men, in defiance of Juvenal's

" Nos te,
" Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, Cæloque locamus."

Little consolation can be derived during this gloomy period of our History, from carrying our view beyond the Metropolis, to the extremities of the Empire, or from considering the operations of the war by sea and land. As Geary had succeeded to the Command of the Channel fleet, by Hardy's death, so Darby took the same Command soon afterwards, in consequence of Geary's resignation. None of these names will be pronounced with enthusiasm by Posterity. Admiral Barrington, by his repulse of D'Estaign at St. Lucie, acquired the only renown gained on the Ocean, from the commencement of Hostilities in July, 1778, till the period when Rodney was sent out to the West Indies. The disgraceful disputes between Keppel and Palliser, which, after convulsing the Navy, and dividing the Kingdom, began insensibly to fall into oblivion; were again revived during the short time that the House of Commons remained sitting before the Christmas Recess. In consequence of Sir Hugh Palliser's appointment to the Government of Greenwich Hospital, the events of the 27th July, 1778, were discussed anew, with all the acrimony of Party. Sir Hugh, in his defence, read at the Table of the House, a paper, the length, dulness, and insipidity of which, put the patience of his auditors, as I well remember, to a severe trial. I have, however, always considered him as an able, meritorious, and calumniated naval Officer, who fell a sacrifice to Ministerial unpopularity. Lord North, with whom,

not to be defeated, constituted a sort of victory; and who generally contented himself with half triumphs; after defending Palliser with his usual ability, and with more than his common animation; having thus rescued him from the fangs of his enemies, aimed at no further advantage, but moved for an Adjournment early in December.

As if to complete the Climax of our national misfortunes at this humiliating period, Holland was added to the number of our enemies; war being declared against the Seven United Provinces, before the close of 1780, notwithstanding the repugnance equally felt at such a rupture, by the King of Great Britain, and by the Stadtholder. More than a Century had then elapsed since we had been engaged in Hostilities with the Dutch, under the profligate reign of Charles the Second. During some portion of the intermediate time, the two countries had been governed by one Prince; and one soul might be said to animate their counsels after the expulsion of James the Second, when directed to stem the current of Louis the Fourteenth's arms in the Netherlands. Even subsequent to King William's decease, the United Provinces made common cause with his successor, under Marlborough: but the disgraceful termination of that great struggle, dissevered England and Holland. After the Peace of Utrecht, no close nor cordial union subsisted between the Cabinets of the Hague and of St. James's. The Dutch were, indeed, prevailed on to join George the Second, as auxiliaries, though not as principals, in the war of 1743, undertaken to preserve Maria Theresa on the throne of her father Charles the Sixth. Unfortunately, the English, Dutch, and Austrian armies, which, while conducted by the great talents of Eugene and Marlborough, had nearly driven Louis the Fourteenth to the last extremities; when led by Konigseck, and by William, Duke of Cumberland, were every where defeated on the

same plains. Marshal Saxe demolished the Barrier that protected Holland against the overwhelming power of France; and only the moderation or indolence of Louis the Fifteenth, which checked his conquests, gave peace to Europe in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle. That Prince, had he been animated by the ambition of his predecessor, or by the spirit of conquest which impelled the French Republic in 1795, might have entered Amsterdam, and have subjected the Zuyder sea to his dominion. Escaped from this imminent peril, the Dutch remained neutral spectators of the Contest which took place between us and France in 1756, when Flanders, which for near a Century had constituted the Palœstra of Europe, became a country of repose; and the House of Austria for the first time joined her inveterate foe, the House of Bourbon. It was reserved for the calamitous Æra of the American war, which familiarized us with disgraces and reverses, to witness Holland openly ranged against Great Britain, under the banners of Louis the Sixteenth and Charles the Third. The Opposition exulted at the Declaration of Hostilities taking place between the two Countries, as setting the seal to Lord North's ministerial embarrassments. Nor could it be denied, that the necessity for blocking the Mouth of the Texel, and probably engaging the Dutch Fleet at the entrance of their own ports, in the depressed, as well as inferior state of the British Navy; augmented the difficulties under which the Administration laboured, while it encreased the unpopularity of the Sovereign.

Yet never did any Government make greater efforts to avert and avoid a rupture, than were exerted by Lord North's Cabinet. Sir Joseph Yorke, who, by long residence in Holland, had become in some measure naturalized at the Hague, exhausted every art of diplomacy, to stem the current of French and American politics. The Stadtholder, no less than the majority of

the people throughout the Seven United Provinces, nourished the warmest partiality towards Great Britain: but the Prince of Orange had lost the public respect which his high Office ought to have excited; and the nation, immersed in narrow speculations of commercial advantage, displayed no spark of that public spirit, which had operated such powerful effects against Philip the Second and Third, during the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. The Pensionary, Van Berkel, acting under the impulse of Maurepas and of Vergennes, precipitated his countrymen on war with England, by signing a treaty with the American Insurgents; precisely as Madison, in the Summer of 1812, commenced hostilities with us, by the suggestions of his Corsican Director. Nor did Fox and Burke arraign more severely the measures of Lord North, as having produced the rupture with Holland; than the Leaders of Opposition in the House of Commons, inveighed against the line of conduct on the part of Ministers, which led to the late contest with America. Both wars arose from a similar cause; the apparently desperate, or highly alarming condition of England. In 1780, we appeared to be rapidly sinking under the combination of European, Asiatic, and American foes. In 1812, Bonaparte, Master of the Continent, from the frontiers of Portugal to those of Russia, prepared to consummate the subjugation of Europe, by a march to Moscow. To Van Berkel, and to Madison, the occasion seemed equally favourable for the developement of their rancourous enmity to the English Government. The measures of the former Minister led, at no distant period of time, in the space of about fifteen years, to the subjugation and subversion of the Republic of Holland. Futurity will shew whether the policy of Madison, if his base subservience to Bonaparte can merit the name, will prove more successful; and how far the American President will justly challenge the future

gratitude of his countrymen, more than the Pensionary of Amsterdam merited the support of the Dutch.

Nearly about the same time, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, expired at Vienna, after a reign of forty years, during which she had exhibited a memorable instance of the vicissitudes of fortune. Like Frederic, King of Prussia, she acceded in 1740, and a great portion of their lives was passed in mutual hostility. The strength of her mind, and the tenacity of her character, sustained her amidst difficulties, which a woman of inferior resolution could not have surmounted. Since the death of Elizabeth, Queen of England, in 1603, Europe had not beheld any female on the Throne, who united so many private virtues, to so many great public endowments. Maria Theresa manifested a masculine mind, blended with feminine qualities calculated to conciliate universal affection. As a Sovereign, she possessed far greater resources, constancy, and energy, than had been exhibited by her father, the Emperor Charles the Sixth. Her caution, experience, and moderation, restrained the pernicious activity of her Son and Successor, Joseph the Second. His accession to the Dominions of the House of Austria, forms an unfortunate Æra in the history of that Family; and was one of the many concurring circumstances which eventually facilitated the progress of the French Arms in the Netherlands, after the Revolution.

Though sinking under the accumulated pressure of advancing age, as well as of disease and infirmity, Maria Theresa retained the possession of all her faculties, nearly to the last moments of her life. Religion and resignation smoothed its close. Two of the Archduchesses, her daughters, Maria and Elizabeth, who remained unmarried, constantly attended about her bed; but I have been assured that they could not prevail on their mother, though they earnestly entreated it, even a short time preceding her dissolution, to bequeath her

blessing to the Archduchess Amelia, their Sister. That Princess, who had been married to Don Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, was supposed to have committed great irregularities of every kind. Only a short time before Maria Theresa breathed her last, having apparently fallen into a sort of insensibility, and her eyes being closed; one of the Ladies near her person, in reply to an enquiry made respecting the state of the Empress, answered that her Majesty seemed to be asleep. "No," replied she, "I could sleep, if I would indulge repose; "but I am sensible of the near approach of death, and "I will not allow myself to be surprized by him in my "sleep. I wish to meet my dissolution, awake." There is nothing transmitted to us by Antiquity, finer than this answer, which is divested of all ostentation. Voltaire himself, Cynic as he was, and always severe upon crowned heads, must have admired it. Even the great Frederic, who survived Maria Theresa near six years, though he met the approach of death with philosophy and fortitude, yet betrayed much reluctance, displayed some peevishness, and perhaps a little affectation or vanity, in the preparations for his departure. Neither Augustus, nor Vespasian, nor Adrian, though each of these Emperors seems to have contemplated death with a steady countenance, and almost with a smiling look; yet manifested more perfect self possession in the last act of life. Maria Theresa was as much superior in virtue to her contemporary, Catherine the Second, as she fell beneath that Princess in brilliancy of talents. In the arts of reigning, in courage, in benignity of disposition, and in solid endowments of understanding, the Austrian may dispute for superiority even with the Russian Empress. Posterity will perhaps confer more admiration on the latter Princess, but must reserve its moral approbation and esteem for the former Sovereign.

END OF PART THE FIRST.

PART THE SECOND.

JANUARY, 1781.

I AM now arrived, in the course of these Memoirs, at the beginning of the year 1781. Before, however, we enter on the political events of that disastrous period, it seems indispensable that we should survey the character of the Sovereign, of the Cabinet Ministers, of the Leaders of Opposition, and the principal persons in both Houses of the new Parliament. Great Britain did not then present the same august, majestic, and interesting spectacle to mankind, which we have since exhibited, even during the most disastrous moments of the late Revolutionary War. The Empire, under Lord North's Administration, was shaken and convulsed in almost every quarter. Domestic faction pervaded all the Departments of Government, infected the Navy, and manifested itself in every Debate of either House of Parliament. The English were discontented; the Scots were sullen; and the Irish had become clamorous for political, as well as for commercial emancipation. A Ministry, the members of which body did not always act in union, and still prosecuting a hopeless contest with America; whatever ability the individuals composing it might separately possess, yet inspired no public confidence in the success of their future measures. National Credit began to droop under the expences of a war carried on across the Atlantic, at an immense

distance: while the commerce of the Country suffered at least in an equal degree, from the depredations of the enemy. Nor had Lord North provided, as Mr. Pitt afterwards did in 1786, any *Sinking Fund* for the gradual extinction of the Taxes which he annually imposed. The Great Continental Powers looked on, either as unconcerned spectators, or as secret enemies. Joseph the Second, Emperor of Germany, who had recently succeeded to the Bohemian and Hungarian Thrones; imitating in this instance his mother's line of policy, and occupied with domestic Reforms of various kinds, took indeed no open part. But, connected as he was with France, by his sister's marriage to Louis the Sixteenth, his inclinations might be supposed to lean towards the House of Bourbon. The great Frederic, sinking in years, as well as under the pressure of diseases and infirmities; satiated with military fame; attentive principally to the improvement of his dominions, and the augmentation of his Revenue; always attached from disposition, to the manners, language, and crown of France; beheld with satisfaction, the augmenting embarrassments of the English Government. He had never forgiven Lord Bute for retaining, when First Minister, the Subsidy claimed by Prussia in 1762; and he nourished a dislike to the Country, which, as he perhaps justly conceived, had broken its faith with him on so important a point. Catherine the Second, ever anxious to throw a veil of glory over the tragical circumstances which placed her on the Russian throne, by aggrandizing the Russian Empire; and availing herself with ability of the distress of England, contending against so many adversaries; set up pretensions to a maritime exemption from the Right of Search, claimed and exercised by Great Britain in time of War. Placing herself at the head of the Baltic Powers, in union with the Courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, which made common Cause with her,

she attempted to emancipate their Navies from any further submission to the British Flag. Lord North, unable to resent, or to oppose the policy of Catherine by open force, temporized, and waited for more propitious times. Portugal alone, amidst the general Hostility or Defection of Europe, ventured to manifest her amicable disposition; and had the generosity to refuse to join the Baltic Confederacy, or to accede to the Armed Neutrality of the Northern States.

The King at this period of his Reign, was far advanced in his forty-third year. Though he came into the world at the term of seven Months; a fact which is indisputable, as the late Duchess of Brunswic, his sister's birth, took place on the 11th of August, 1737; and that of His Majesty, on the 4th of June, 1738; yet nature had conferred on him a sound and vigorous frame of body. He was born in Norfolk House, St. James's Square, where Frederic, Prince of Wales, then resided; who had been peremptorily ordered only a short time before, to quit St. James's Palace, by George the Second. I saw, not much more than a Year ago, the identical Bed in which the Princess of Wales was delivered, now removed to the Duke of Norfolk's seat of Worksop in the County of Nottingham; and it forcibly proves the rapid progress of domestic elegance and taste, within the last Eighty years. Except that the furniture is of green silk, the Bed has nothing splendid about it; and would hardly be esteemed fit for the accommodation of a person of ordinary condition in the present times. A course of systematic abstinence and exercise, had secured to George the Third the enjoyment of almost uninterrupted health, down to the time of which I speak. So little had he been incommoded by sickness, or by indisposition of any kind, from the period of his Accession till his memorable seizure in 1788, that scarcely was he ever compelled to absent himself on that account, from a Levee, a



Walker & Boutall Sc.

George III.

From the portrait by Allan Ramsay

Council, or a Drawing-room, during eight and twenty years. One only exception to this Remark occurred in the Autumn of 1765, when he was attacked by a disorder that confined him for several weeks; relative to the nature and seat of which Malady, though many conjectures and assertions have been hazarded, in conversation, and even in print, no satisfactory information has ever been given to the world.

In the King's countenance, a Physiognomist would have distinguished two principal characteristics; firmness, or as his enemies denominated it, obstinacy; tempered with benignity. The former expression was however indisputably more marked and prominent than the latter sentiment. He seemed to have a tendency to become corpulent, if he had not repressed it by systematic and unremitting temperance. On this subject I shall relate a fact, which was communicated to me by a friend, Sir John Macpherson, who received it from the great Earl of Mansfield, to whom the King himself mentioned it; forcibly demonstrating that strength of mind, renunciation of all excess, and dominion over his appetites, which have characterized George the Third at every period of his life. Conversing with William, Duke of Cumberland, his uncle, not long before that Prince's death in 1764, His Majesty observed that it was with concern he remarked the Duke's augmenting corpulency. "I lament it not less, "Sir," replied he, "but it is constitutional; and I "am much mistaken if Your Majesty will not become "as large as myself, before you attain to my age." "It arises from your not using sufficient exercise," answered the King. "I use, nevertheless," said the Duke, "constant and severe exercise of every kind. "But there is another effort requisite, in order to "repress this tendency, which is much more difficult "to practise; and without which, no exercise, however "violent, will suffice. I mean, great renunciation and

"temperance. Nothing else can prevent Your Majesty "from growing to my size." The King made little reply; but the Duke's words sunk deep, and produced a lasting impression on his mind. From that day he formed the resolution, as he assured Lord Mansfield, of checking his constitutional inclination to corpulency, by unremitting restraint upon his appetite: a determination which he carried into complete effect, in defiance of every temptation.

Perhaps no Sovereign, of whom History, ancient or modern, makes mention in any age of the earth, has exceeded him in the practice of this virtue. It is a fact, that during many years of his life, after coming up from Kew, or from Windsor, often on horseback, and sometimes in heavy rain, to the Queen's House; he has gone in a Chair to St. James's, dressed himself, held a Levee, passed through all the forms of that long and tedious ceremony, for such it was in the way that he performed it; without leaving any individual in the Circle, unnoticed: and has afterwards assisted at a Privy Council, or given Audience to his Cabinet Ministers and others, till five, and even sometimes till six o'clock. After so much fatigue of body and of mind, the only refreshment or sustenance that he usually took, consisted in a few slices of bread and butter and a dish of tea, which he sometimes swallowed as he walked up and down, previous to getting into his Carriage, in order to return into the country. His understanding, solid and sedate, qualified him admirably for business, though it was neither of a brilliant, lively, nor imposing description. But his manner did injustice to the endowments of his intellect: and unfortunately, it was in public that these minute personal defects or imperfections became most conspicuous. Dr. Johnson, indeed, thought otherwise on the Subject: for, after the conversation with which His Majesty was pleased to honor that great literary

character, in the Library at the Queen's House, in February, 1767, he passed the highest Encomiums on the elegant manners of the Sovereign. Boswell, in Johnson's Life, speaking of this Circumstance, adds, "He said to Mr. Barnard, the Librarian, 'Sir, they "may talk of the King as they will, but he is the "finest Gentleman I have ever seen.' And he after-"wards observed to Mr. Langton, 'Sir, his manners "are those of as fine a Gentleman, as we may suppose "Louis the Fourteenth, or Charles the Second.'"

Independant of the effect necessarily produced on Johnson's mind, by so unexpected and flattering a mark of royal condescension, which may well be imagined to have operated most favourably on the opinions of the Moralist; he was perhaps of all men, the least capable of estimating personal elegance of deportment. His vast intellectual powers lay in another line of discrimination. Had Johnson been now living, he might indeed witness the finest model of grace, dignity, ease, and affability, which the world has ever beheld, united in the same person. In *him* are really blended the majesty of Louis the Fourteenth, with the amenity of Charles the Second. But George the Third was altogether destitute of these ornamental and adventitious endowments. The oscillations of his body, the precipitation of his questions, none of which, it was said, would wait for an answer; and the hurry of his articulation, afforded on the contrary, to little minds, or to malicious observers, who only saw him at a Drawing room, occasion for calling in question the soundness of his judgment, or the strength of his faculties. None of his Ministers, however, and Mr. Fox, if possible, less than any other, entertained such an opinion. His whole Reign forms indeed, the best answer to the imputation. That he committed many errors, nourished many prejudices, formed many erroneous estimates, and frequently adhered too per-

tinaciously to his Determinations, where he conceived, perhaps falsely, that they were founded in reason, or in justice;—all these Allegations may be admitted. Nor can the injurious effects to himself, and to his people, necessarily flowing in various instances, from such defects of Character and of Administration, be altogether denied. But these Infirmities, from which no man is exempt, cannot impugn his right to the affectionate veneration of posterity, for the inflexible uprightness of his public conduct. And as little can they deprive him of the suffrages of the wise and good of every Age, who will bear testimony to the expansion of his mind, and the invariable rectitude of his intentions.

It would, indeed, be difficult for History to produce an instance of any Prince who has united and displayed on the Throne, during near half a Century, so many personal and private virtues. In the flower of youth, unmarried, endowed with a vigorous constitution, and surrounded with temptations to pleasure or indulgence of every kind, when he succeeded to the Crown, he never yielded to these seductions. Not less affectionately attached to the Queen, than Charles the First was to his Consort Henrietta Maria, he remained nevertheless altogether exempt from the uxoriousness which characterized his unfortunate predecessor, and which operated so fatally in the course of his Reign.

Wilkes, in the papers of the "North Briton," and "Junius" always affected, by drawing comparisons between the two Kings, to demonstrate the moral resemblance that existed between them: but, the pretended similarity was only external, in matters of mere deportment, not of solid character. It must be apparent to every impartial man, who studies their respective reigns and line of political action, how superior was George the Third to Charles, on the three great points that constitute the essential difference

between men. The first of these qualities was *Firmness of Mind*. To his weakness, not even to give it a severer Epithet, in abandoning Lord Strafford to the rage of his enemies, we may trace all the misfortunes that accompanied Charles from that Time to the close of life; misfortunes aggravated by the reproaches of his own conscience, for delivering up his Minister a victim to popular violence. His present Majesty neither deserted Lord Bute, when most unpopular, in 1763; nor the Duke of Grafton, amidst the Tumults of March, 1769; nor Lord North in the more awful Riots of June, 1780. As little did he turn his back on Lord George Germain, after the defeats of Saratoga, or of York Town, amidst the disasters of the American war. Far from recurring for support to his Ministers, he constantly extended it to them; and never shrunk from personal risk, responsibility, or odium. His conduct on the memorable seventh of June, 1780, both at the Council Table, and during the course of that calamitous night which followed, will best exemplify the assertion. Charles, though personally brave in the field, and perfectly composed on the Scaffold, was deficient in political courage, steadiness of temper, and tenacity of determination. These qualities, formed the distinguishing characteristics of George the Third, who seems, when assailed by misfortunes, to have taken as his Motto, the sentiment of the Roman Poet:

"Tu ne cede Malis; sed contra, audentior ito."

Nor does the balance incline less in his favour, when compared with his predecessor of the Stuart line, on the article of *Judgment*. If any act of His present Majesty's Reign or Government, may seem to bear an analogy to the intemperate, vindictive, and pernicious attempt of Charles, to seize on the five Members of the House of Commons; it was the order issued by a

General Warrant, to take Wilkes into custody. Nor shall I undertake the defence of that proceeding, which I have always considered as the least justifiable measure embraced since the King's accession to the Throne. But, when he authorized it, in April, 1763, he had not completed his twenty-fifth year. Charles the First was above forty, at the time of his committing the rash act in question. That George the Third, if he had ever been reduced to take up arms against his subjects, might, from the partialities of parental affection, have committed an error similar to that of Charles when he entrusted the command of his forces to Prince Rupert; I will even admit to be probable, reasoning from the campaigns of 1793, 1794, and 1799. But, no man who has followed the whole chain of events from 1760 down to 1810, can hesitate in pronouncing, that under circumstances the most appalling to the human mind, demanding equal fortitude and intellectual resources, he has displayed a degree of ability that we would vainly seek in the Stuart King's unfortunate Administration, terminated by the Scaffold.

It is however in *moral Principle* and *good Faith*, that the superiority of the one Sovereign over the other, becomes most irresistible, and forces the completest conviction. "Charles the First," says *Junius*, "lived and "died a Hypocrite." However severe we may esteem this sentence, we cannot contest that his insincerity formed a prominent feature of his character, and eminently conduced to his destruction. It was proved by a variety of facts, and it unquestionably deterred Cromwell, as well as others of the Republican leaders, from exhibiting or anticipating the conduct of Monk. Unable to trust his most solemn assurances, they found no security for themselves, except in bringing him to the Block. But, George the Third exhibited a model of unshaken fidelity to his engagements; even those most repugnant to his own feelings, and most contrary

to his own judgment. I could adduce many proofs of the fact. How magnanimous was his reception and treatment of Adams, in 1783; a man personally obnoxious; when presented to him at his Levee, as Envoy from the American States! In terms the most conciliating, yet nobly frank, he avowed to that Minister, with what reluctance he had consented to the separation of the Trans-Atlantic British Colonies from his Dominion; "But," added he, "their Independance being "now consummated, I shall be the last man in my "Kingdom to encourage its violation." He acted in a similar manner, when the Preliminaries of Peace were signed in 1801, with France. No Measure of State in the Power of Ministers to adopt, could have been, under the existing circumstances, less consonant to his ideas of safety, policy, and wisdom: a fact of which the Cabinet was so perfectly aware, that Lord Hawkesbury affixed his signature to the Articles, not only without the King's consent or approbation, but without his knowledge. It took place, as is well known, on the first of October, just as he was about to return from Weymouth to Windsor. The Cabinet instantly sent off a Messenger, with the intelligence, who met the King at Andover; and the Pacquet was brought to him as he stood in the Drawing Room of the Inn, engaged in conversation with the late Earl of Cardigan, and two other Noblemen. His Majesty, wholly unsuspicious of the fact, and not expecting to receive any news of importance, ordered them not to leave the Apartment, as they were preparing to do, in order that he might have time to peruse the Dispatch. But, on inspecting its contents, he betrayed so much surprize, both in his looks and gesture, that they were again about to quit his presence. The King then addressed them, and holding the Letter open in his hand, "I have received "surprizing news," said he, "but it is no secret. "Preliminaries of Peace are signed with France. I

"knew nothing of it whatever; but since it is made, "I sincerely wish it may prove a lasting Peace."

Louis the Twelfth, King of France, surnamed in History, "the Father of his people," is said to have observed, that "if good faith were banished from among men, it should be found in the bosoms of Princes." This sublime maxim or sentiment, seems to have been inherent in the intellectual formation of George the Third. His Coronation Oath was ever present to his mind; and he dreaded the slightest infraction of that solemn Compact made with his people, to which the Diety had been invoked as a party, far more than the loss of his Crown or life. When Mr. Pitt, sustained by four of the Cabinet Ministers, made the experiment of forcing him to violate it, on the 29th of January, 1801, relative to the Question of "Catholic Emancipation in Ireland;" they instantly found themselves out of Office. They unquestionably did not intend to resign: but, having compelled the King no less than four times, in the course of a few years, to give way, where the Majority of his Cabinet differed from him; they erroneously assumed, that he would act in the same manner, where his Conscience was concerned. Sustained however by his principles, he did not hesitate a moment in accepting their Resignation, though he accompanied the Acceptance with the most flattering testimonies under his Hand, of esteem and personal attachment. Uninstructed by such a warning, Lord Grenville, who had been one of the five Cabinet Members alluded to above, aided by Lord Grey, repeated the Attempt six years later, after Fox's decease, with similar success. Charles the First did not manifest the same religious respect for the sanctity of his Oaths and Engagements. If his enemies in Parliament, and in the Field, could have reposed the unlimited confidence in him, which George the Third challenged from his Opponents, that unhappy Prince might have died in his Bed at Whitehall.

I will subjoin only one Anecdote more, on a point so interesting, which vitally characterizes the present King. Towards the end of the month of January, 1805, at a time when he was much occupied in preparations for the Installation of the Knights of the *Garter*, destined to take place on the approaching Twenty-third of April; and while conversing on the subject with some persons of high rank, at Windsor; one of them, a Nobleman deservedly distinguished by his favour, said, "Sir, are not the new Knights, now meant "to be installed, obliged to take the Sacrament before "the ceremony?" Nothing could assuredly have been further from his idea or intention, than to have asked the Question, in a manner capable of implying any levity or irreverence. Nevertheless, His Majesty instantly changed countenance; and assuming a severe look, after a moment or two of pause, "No," replied he, "that religious Institution is not to be mixed with our "profane ceremonies. Even at the time of my Coro-"nation, I was very unwilling to take the Sacrament. "But, when they told me that it was indispensable, and "that I must receive it; before I approached the "Communion Table, I took off the Bauble from my "head. The Sacrament, my Lord, is not to be profaned "by our Gothic Institutions."—The severity of the King's manner while he pronounced these words, impressed all present, and suspended for a short time, the conversation. Never was any Prince more religiously tenacious of his Engagements or Promises. Even the temporary privation of his intellect, did not affect his regard to the Assurances that he had given previous to such alienation of mind; nor, which is still more wonderful, obliterate them from his Recollection. I know, that on his Recovery from the severest Visitations under which he has laboured, he has said to his Minister, in the first moments of his Convalescence; "Previous to "my attack of Illness, I made such and such Promises;

"they must be effectuated." How deep a sense of honour, and how strong a moral principle must have animated such a Prince!

The education of George the Third had not been conducted or superintended in many respects, with as much care, as his birth, and the great prospects to which he was heir, should seem to have claimed from his Predecessor. He was only between twelve and thirteen years of age, when he lost his father; and the late King did not extend any very enlightened or affectionate attention to that important national object. Even his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, appears to have been deeply sensible to the inefficiency of the various Preceptors successively employed about her son. Other charges, of a still more serious nature, were preferred against some of the individuals entrusted with the formation of his Principles, or who had constant access to him; as if they endeavoured to imbue him with arbitrary notions, and to put into his hands Authors known to have inculcated tyrannical Maxims of Government. These accusations, destitute of proof, and denied in the most peremptory manner at the time when they were made in 1752 or 1753, by the Princess Dowager, rest on no solid Foundations. If we wish to contemplate a portrait of the young Prince of Wales at seventeen years of age, drawn by his own mother in August, 1755, and communicated confidentially to a friend, we have it in Dodington's "Diary." She said, that "he was shy and backward; not a wild, dissipated "boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious "cast upon the whole: that those about him, knew him "no more than if they had never seen him. That he "was not quick; but, with those he was acquainted, "applicable and intelligent. His education had given "her much pain. His book-learning she was no judge "of, though she supposed it small or useless: but she "hoped he might have been instructed in the general

"understanding of things." It is impossible to doubt the accuracy and fidelity of this Picture, many features of which, continued indelible throughout his whole Reign.

In modern History he was tolerably well instructed; particularly in the Annals of England and of France, as well as of Germany: but in classical knowledge, and all the compositions of Antiquity, either of Greece or of Rome, historical, as well as poetic, he was little conversant. So slight or imperfect was his acquaintance with Latin, that at Forty, it may be doubted if he could have construed a page of Cicero, or of Ovid. He never delighted indeed in those branches of study, nor ever passed much of his time in sedentary occupations, calculated to improve his mind, after his Accession to the Crown. A newspaper, which he commonly took up after dinner, and over which, however interesting its contents might be, he usually fell asleep in less than half an hour, constituted the ordinary extent of his application. Nor ought we to wonder at this circumstance, if we consider how numerous were his Avocations; and how little leisure the necessary perusal of public Papers, Dispatches, and Letters, could have left him for literary Research. If, however, he did not possess a very cultivated understanding, he might nevertheless be justly considered as not deficient in Accomplishments befitting his high station. He conversed with almost equal fluency, as all those who frequented the Levee or the Drawing-Room, could attest, in the English, French, and German languages; nor was he ignorant of Italian. He wrote with brevity, perspicuity, and facility. I have had opportunities to see or hear various of his confidential Notes, addressed, during the Period of the American War, to a Nobleman high in Office, some of which were written under very delicate circumstances. In all of them, good sense, firmness, principle, consistency, and self-possession, were

strongly marked through every line. In Mechanics of all kinds, he delighted and indulged himself; a relaxation which seems, somewhat unjustly, to have excited much animadversion, and still more ridicule. But it cannot be denied, that during this period of his Reign, and down to a later stage of it, the English people,—for I will not say the Scotch,—viewed all the failings of their Sovereign with a microscopic eye, while they did injustice to his numerous excellencies. They have, however, made him full amends since 1783, for their preceding severity.

For Painting and Architecture he shewed a taste, the more admired, as his two immediate predecessors on the Throne, altogether destitute of such a quality, extended neither favor nor protection to Polite Letters. Since Charles the First, no Prince had expended such sums in the purchase of productions of Art, or so liberally patronized Artists of every kind. Music always constituted one of his favorite recreations; and towards this time of his life he began to take a pleasure in hunting, for which diversion he had not manifested in his youth so much partiality. But, another occupation or passion, which, from its beneficial tendency and results, as well as from the tranquil enjoyments annexed to it, might seem peculiarly analogous to his character and disposition, employed much of his thoughts, and no inconsiderable portion of his leisure. I mean Farming, and Agricultural pursuits. He may be said to have shewn the way, and to have set the example, which has since been imitated by the late Duke of Bedford, Mr. Coke, Lord Somerville, Sir John Sinclair, and so many other distinguished persons. Even this inclination, however beneficial and laudable, in all its results, yet exposed him to satirical reflexions, which malignity or party spirit embodied in the form of caricatures.

Satisfied with the legitimate Power entrusted to him by the British Constitution, and deeply impressed with

the sanctity as well as inviolability of the Oath administered to him at his Coronation; George the Third did not desire to pass the limits of his rightful Prerogative. But, equally tenacious of his just pretensions, and firm in resisting popular violence or innovation, he never receded from any point, or abandoned any measure, under the impulse of personal apprehension. His courage was calm, temperate, and steady. It was constitutional and hereditary; but it was always sustained by conviction, sense of public duty, and Religion. These sentiments inspired, accompanied, and upheld him, in the most distressing moments of his Reign. Though he had not, like George the First, commanded Armies, and made Campaigns, in Hungary, or on the Rhine; nor had he proved his valor in the field, like George the Second, who fought at Oudenarde in his youth, and at Dettingen in his age; yet he possessed no less bravery than his Ancestors: while he joined to personal steadiness, a quality still more rare, political resolution. After the attempt made to assassinate him in 1787, by Margaret Nicholson; an attempt which only failed from the knife being worn so thin about the middle of the blade, that it bent with the resistance of the King's waistcoat, instead of entering his body, as it would otherwise have done; he immediately held his Levee, with the most perfect composure. No person who was present on that day at St. James's, could have supposed that he had just escaped from so imminent a danger.

In November, 1795, when the Pebble was thrown or discharged into the Coach, in which he was proceeding to Westminster, to open the Session of Parliament; while surrounded by a most ferocious mob, who manifested a truly Jacobinical spirit, he exhibited a calmness and self possession, prepared for every event. Few of his subjects would have shewn the presence of mind, and attention to every thing except himself, which pervaded his

whole conduct, on the evening of the 15th of May, 1800, at the time that Hadfield discharged a Pistol over his head, in the Theatre, loaded with two Slugs. His whole anxiety was directed towards the Queen, who not having entered the Box, might, he apprehended, on hearing of the event, be overcome by her surprize or emotions. The Dramatic piece which was about to be represented, commenced in a short space of time, precisely as if no accident had interrupted its performance; and so little were his nerves shaken, or his internal tranquillity disturbed by it, that he took his accustomed doze of three or four minutes, between the conclusion of the Play, and the commencement of the Farce, precisely as he would have done on any other night. This circumstance, which so strongly indicated his serenity, did not escape the notice of his Attendants.

He received during the course of his Reign, innumerable anonymous letters, threatening his life, all which he treated with uniform indifference. A Nobleman, who is now no more, and who during many years was frequently about his person, as well as much in his confidence; assured me that he had seen several of them, which His Majesty shewed him, particularly when at Weymouth. While residing there during successive seasons, he was warned in the ambiguous manner already mentioned, not to ride out on particular days, on certain roads, if he valued his safety: but the King never failed to mount his Horse, and to take the very road indicated in the letter. Speaking on the subject to that Nobleman, he said, "I very well know that any man who "chooses to sacrifice his own life, may, whenever he "pleases, take away mine; riding out, as I do continu-"ally, with a single Equerry and a Footman. I only "hope that whoever may attempt it, will not do it in a "barbarous or brutal manner." When we reflect on his conduct under these circumstances, as well as during the Tumults of March, 1769, and the Riots of June, 1780;

—and if we contrast it with the weak or pusillanimous deportment of Louis the Sixteenth, in July, 1789, when the French Monarchy was virtually overturned; in October of the same year, at the time of his being carried Prisoner from Versailles to Paris; or, on the 10th of August, 1792, when he abandoned the Tuilleries, to seek refuge in the National Assembly;—we shall perceive the leading cause of the Preservation of England, and of the Destruction of France. To George the Third, considered in his Kingly capacity, might well be applied the assertion,

——"Tis the last Key stone
"That makes the Arch."——

He seemed as if raised up by Providence, in its bounty to mankind, like an impregnable mound, to arrest the fury of Revolution and Jacobinism. How can we wonder that such a Prince should prefer Pitt, notwithstanding the inflexibilities of his character, and the intractability of his natural disposition, for First Minister; rather than Fox, who was the Eulogist of Washington, of Laurens, of La Fayette, of Condorcet, and all the Saints or Martyrs of French and American insurrection!

That George the Third did not display those great energies of mind, those arts of condescending popularity, and that assemblage of extraordinary endowments, which met in Elizabeth; and which rendered her at once the terror of Europe, and the Idol of her own subjects, must be admitted. That he could not, like Charles the Second, balance the errors or the vices of his Government, by the seduction of his manners; and induce his people, like that Prince, to love his person, though they condemned his conduct; we shall as readily confess. That he had not the advantage of being brought up amidst privations and mortifications of every kind, like William the Third; nor was, like

William, compelled, at his first entrance on public life, to extricate his country by Arms, from a powerful foreign invader:—that he did not nourish the profound ambition, or develope the deep policy and active military spirit of that illustrious Sovereign; cannot be disputed. But, if he was less distinguished by Talents than William, he exhibited greater virtues. He resembled, indeed, in the leading features of his character, more the Antonines, than Trajan or Augustus; and excited greater respect, than he awakened admiration. But, Ages may probably elapse, before we shall again behold on the Throne a Prince more qualified on the whole to dispense happiness, and more justly an object of universal affection, blended with esteem.

If we compare him, as it is natural to do, either in his public capacity, or in his private conduct, with his two immediate predecessors, who may nevertheless justly be considered, on a fair review of their characters, as amiable and excellent Sovereigns; the comparison is highly flattering to George the Third. He possessed indeed some advantages not enjoyed by either of those Princes. His birth, which took place in this island, and that complete assimilation with the people of England, which can only result from the joint effect of habits, language, and education, gave him a superiority over them, and placed him upon higher ground. The two preceding Kings were Foreigners, who acceded, or were called to the Throne, at an advanced period of life. George the First had attained his fifty-third, and George the Second his forty-fourth year, at their respective accession. They naturally and necessarily considered Hanover as their native country, though fortune had transported them to another soil. Even their policy, their treaties, their wars, and all their measures, were warped by foreign predilections, to which they sacrificed the interests of Great Britain. From these prejudices, the King, who had never visited his Electoral

dominions, nor knew Germany except by description, was exempt in a great degree. Less impetuous and irascible than his grandfather, he possessed likewise a more capacious mind, more command of temper, and better talents for government. In moderation, judgment, and vigour of intellect, he at least equalled George the First: while in every other quality of the heart, or of the understanding, he exceeded that monarch. In his private life as a husband, a father, and a man, he was superior to either. The conduct of George the First in these relations, will not, indeed, bear a severe inspection. His treatment of the unfortunate Sophia of Zell, his wife, whom he immured during the greater part of her life, in a solitary Hanoverian Castle, cannot be easily reconciled to the feelings of justice, or even of humanity. As little did he consult decorum, or public opinion and morals, in bringing over with him from Hanover to this country, his two German Mistresses, Sophia, Baroness Kilmanseck, and Melesina, Princess of Eberstein, whom he respectively created, the one, Countess of Darlington, and the other, Duchess of Kendal. We may see in Mr. Walpole's "Reminiscences," how openly they were received here in that character. Charles the Second could not have observed less secrecy, with respect to Lady Castlemaine, or the Duchess of Portsmouth; nor have manifested less scruple about raising them to the dignity of the British peerage. Even at sixty-seven years of age, George the First, it appears, was about to have formed a new connection of the same nature, with Miss Brett, when he was carried off by an apoplectic stroke.

His Son and successor displayed indeed the utmost affection for his Queen, with whom he not only lived on terms of conjugal union, but, whose loss he deplored with tears, and cherished the warmest respect for her memory. Yet he did not on that account, restrain his inclinations for other women. Mrs. Howard, who

became afterwards Countess of Suffolk; and Madame de Walmoden, better known as Countess of Yarmouth; the one previous, and the other subsequent to Queen Caroline's decease; were both avowedly distinguished by the strongest marks of royal favour. The latter is accused by popular report, of having made on more than one occasion, a most unjustifiable use, or rather abuse, of her interest with the King. Even Peerages were said to be sold and distributed for her pecuniary benefit: a charge that has been revived from the Treasury Bench, in our time. George the Third exhibited a model of self-command and of continence, at twenty-two, than which antiquity, Greek or Roman, can produce nothing more admirable, in the persons of Alexander or of Scipio. It is well known that before his marriage he distinguished by his partiality Lady Sarah Lenox, then one of the most beautiful young women of high rank in the kingdom. Edward the Fourth, or Henry the Eighth, in his situation, regardless of consequences, would have married her, and placed her on the Throne. Charles the Second, more licentious, would have endeavoured to seduce her. But, the King, who, though he admired her, neither desired to make her his wife nor his mistress, subdued his passion by the strength of his reason, his principles, and his sense of public duty. When we reflect on these circumstances, we may say with Horace, addressing ourselves to the British Nation,

"Quando ullum inveniet Parem?"

After having thus faithfully pourtrayed, though in the seeming language of panegyric, the Character of George the Third, it is impossible, nevertheless, without violating truth to deny, that at this time, far from being popular, he was not even an object of general affection. We may justly question whether Charles the Second, though one of the most unprincipled, pro-

fligate, and licentious Sovereigns who ever reigned in this country; destitute of morals; sunk in dissolute pleasures; who tamely beheld his fleet burned by the Dutch, in his own harbours; a pensioner of France; insensible to national glory; and regardless of the subjection of the Continent to Louis the Fourteenth;—yet was ever so unpopular at any period of his reign. In order to explain this seeming Paradox, and to shew how a Prince, who, apparently, from his many private virtues, should have possessed the attachment of his subjects; was nevertheless considered by a very large proportion of them, with contrary sentiments; we must review the principal features of his Government. That retrospect will fully account for the circumstance, while it elucidates the events which followed the commencement of the year 1781.

To the confined plan of education, and sequestered mode of life which the King led, subsequent to the death of his father, before his own accession to the Crown, may be justly traced and attributed, at least in part, many of the errors, as well as the misfortunes, that mark the portion of the British Annals, from 1760 down to the close of the American War. During near ten years which elapsed between the death of his father, early in 1751, and the decease of his grandfather; a period when the human mind is susceptible of such deep impressions; he remained in a state of almost absolute seclusion from his future people, and from the world. Constantly resident at Leicester House, or at Carlton House, when he was in London; immured at Kew, whenever he went to the country; perpetually under the eye of his Mother and of Lord Bute, who acted in the closest unity of design; he saw comparatively few other persons: and those, only chosen individuals of both sexes. They naturally obtained, and long preserved, a very firm Ascendant over him. When he ascended the Throne, though already arrived

at manhood, his very person was hardly known, and his character was still less understood, beyond a narrow Circle. Precautions, it is well ascertained, were even adopted by the Princess Dowager, to preclude as much as possible, access to him: precautions which, to the extent of her ability, were redoubled after he became King. It will scarcely be believed, but it is nevertheless true, that, in order to prevent his conversing with any persons, or receiving any written intimations, anonymous or otherwise, between the Drawing Room and the Door of Carlton House, when he was returning from thence to St. James's, or to Buckingham House, after his evening visits to his mother, she never failed to accompany him till he got into his Sedan chair. "*Junius*," in May, 1770, after invidiously comparing Edward the Second and Richard the Second, two of the weakest Princes who ever reigned in this Country, with George the Third; adds, when summing up the leading features of his character, "Secluded from the world, attached "from his infancy to one set of persons, and one set of "ideas, he can neither open his heart to new con-"nections, nor his mind to better information. A "character of this sort, is the soil fittest to produce "that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion, which "begins with a meritorious sacrifice of the understand-"ing, and finally conducts the Monarch and the Martyr "to the Block."

A Prince who had been endowed by nature with great energies of mind, would, no doubt, have soon liberated himself from such fetters. Yet we may remember that Louis the Fourteenth, who surely must be considered as a Sovereign of very superior intellectual Attainments; remained under the tutelage of his Mother and his Minister, of Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, till even a later period of life than twenty-two. Nor did he then emancipate himself. It was Death, that by carrying off the Cardinal, allowed

the King to display those qualities, which have rendered so celebrated his name and reign. A Prince, on the other hand, of a gay, social, dissipated, or convivial turn, would equally have burst through these impediments. But, Pleasure of every kind, in the common acceptation of the term, as meaning Dissipation, presented scarcely any attractions for him, even previous to his marriage. Stories were indeed generally circulated, of his attachment to a young woman, a Quaker, about this time of his life; just as Scandal, many years afterwards, whispered that he distinguished Lady Bridget Tollemache by his particular attentions. The former report was probably well founded; and the latter Assertion was unquestionably true: but those persons who have enjoyed most opportunities of studying the King's character, will most incline to believe, that in neither instance did he pass the limits of innocent Gallantry, or occasional familiarity. As little was he to be seduced by the gratifications of the table, of wine, or of festivity. To all these allurements he seemed disinclined from natural constitution, moral, and physical. His brother Edward, Duke of York, plunged on the contrary very early, into every sort of excess. But the example, however calculated to operate it might seem, produced no effect on a Prince, modest, reserved, continent, capable of great self-command, and seeking almost all his amusements within a narrow domestic circle.

Before he succeeded to the Crown, Lord Bute constituted in fact almost his only constant companion and confident. To him alone the Heir Apparent unbosomed his thoughts: with him the Prince rode, walked, read, and conversed. They were on horseback together, upon the 25th of October, 1760, not far from Kew, when the intelligence of George the Second's sudden death reached him; confirmed immediately afterwards by Mr. Pitt in person, who then presided at the head of His Majesty's Counsels, or formed at least the Soul of the Cabinet.

On receiving the information, they returned to the Palace, where the new King remained during the whole day, and passed that night, not coming up to St. James's till the ensuing morning. Mr. Pitt having presented him a Paper, containing a few sentences, which he suggested, it might be proper to pronounce on meeting the Privy Council; the King, after thanking him, replied, that he had already considered the subject, and had drawn up his intended Address, to be delivered at the Council Table. The Minister, who perceived that Lord Bute had anticipated him, made the unavoidable inference. It was indeed sufficiently obvious, that however his Administration might nominally continue for some time, yet his influence and authority were eclipsed or superceded.

Lord Bute, though in his private character, if not irreproachable in all respects, yet at least decorous and correct; nor by any means deficient in abilities; appears to have been nevertheless a very unfit Governor for such a Prince. There exists even no doubt that George the Second opposed and disapproved his Appointment to that important Office; but the partiality and perseverance of the Princess Dowager, prevailed over the old King's repugnance. The circumstance of Lord Bute's being a native of Scotland, exposed him necessarily to malevolent attacks of many kinds; a fact at which, we who live in the present Century, ought not to wonder, when we reflect how few years had then elapsed since the Rebellion of 1745. Wilkes and Churchill, the one in prose, the other in poetry, always levelled their keenest shafts against the Mother and the Minister of the young Sovereign. His very virtues became matter of reproach, of ridicule, or of Satire. "Junius," some years later, improving upon these first Attempts to degrade him in the estimation of his subjects, condensed all the powers of Declamation in his memorable "Letter to the King." Yet, the Nation at large,

candid and just, appreciated him fairly on his own merits. During the most gloomy periods of his Reign, while they lamented or reprobated the Measures of his various Administrations, from Lord Bute down to Lord North, with little variation or exception; yet admitted his personal virtues to form no slender extenuation of his public errors or demerits. His exemplary discharge of every private Duty, balanced in their estimate, the misfortunes which his pertinacity, inflexibility, or injudicious selection of his confidental servants, had entailed upon the Country, and upon the Empire.

It is well known that George the Second and his son, Frederic, Prince of Wales, during several years previous to the Decease of the latter, lived on terms of complete alienation, or rather of hostility. Scarcely, indeed, were any measures observed, or was any veil drawn, before their mutual recriminations. The Prince expired suddenly, in the beginning of 1751, at Leicester House, in the arms of Desnoyèrs, the celebrated Dancing-Master; who being near his bed side, engaged in playing on the Violin for His Royal Highness's amusement, supported him in his last moments. His end was ultimately caused by an internal Abscess, that had long been forming, in consequence of a blow which he received in the side from a Cricket Ball, while he was engaged in playing at that game, on the lawn at Cliefden House in Buckinghamshire, where he then principally resided. It did not take place, however, for several Months subsequent to the accident. A collection of matter having been produced, which burst in his throat, the discharge instantly suffocated him. The King, his father, though he never went once to visit him during the whole progress of his illness, sent however constantly to make inquiries; and received accounts every two hours, of his state and condition. But he was so far from desiring Frederic's recovery, that on

the contrary, he considered such an event, if it should take place, as an object of the utmost regret. He did not even conceal his sentiments on the point: for, I know from good authority, that the King being one day engaged in conversation with the Countess of Yarmouth, when the Page entered, announcing that the Prince was better, "There now," said His Majesty, turning to her, "I told you that he would not die." On the evening of his Decease, the 20th of March, George the Second had repaired, according to his usual custom, to Lady Yarmouth's Apartments, situated on the ground floor in St. James's Palace, where a party of persons of distinction of both sexes, generally assembled for the purpose. His Majesty had just sat down to Play, and was engaged at Cards, when a Page, dispatched from Leicester House, arrived, bringing information that the Prince was no more. He received the intelligence without testifying either emotion or surprize. Then rising, he crossed the room to Lady Yarmouth's table, who was likewise occupied at Play; and leaning over her chair, said to her in a low tone of voice, in German, "Fritz is dode." Freddy is dead. Having communicated it to her, he instantly withdrew. She followed him, the company broke up, and the News became public. These particulars were related to me by the late Lord Sackville, who made one of Lady Yarmouth's party, and heard the King announce to her his son's Decease.

Frederic seems never to have enjoyed from his early youth, a distinguished place in the affection of his father, whose partiality was reserved for his youngest son, William, Duke of Cumberland. During the last twelve years of Frederic's life, we know that he passed much of his time in anticipations of his future Sovereignty, and in forming Administrations, which, like his own Reign, were destined never to be realized. Among the Noblemen and Gentlemen who occupied

a high place in his favour or friendship, were Charles, Duke of Queensberry, the patron of Gay, who died in 1778; Mr. Spencer, brother to the second Duke of Marlborough, and commonly called Jack Spencer; Charles, Earl of Middlesex, afterwards Duke of Dorset, and his brother Lord John Sackville, together with Francis, Earl of Guilford. The personal resemblance that existed between Lord North, (son of the last mentioned Peer, who was subsequently First Minister) and Prince George, was thought so striking, as to excite much remark and pleasantry on the Part of Frederic himself, who often jested on the subject with Lord Guilford; observing, that the world would think one of their wives had played her husband false, though it might be doubtful, which of them lay under the Imputation. Persons who may be disposed to refine upon the Prince's observation, will perhaps likewise be struck with other points of physical similarity between George the Third and Lord North; in particular with the loss of sight, a privation common to both in the decline of life. Lady Archibald Hamilton formed during many years, the object of Frederic's avowed and particular attachment. In order to be near him, she resided in Pall-Mall, close to Carlton House; the Prince having allowed her to construct a Drawing-Room, the windows of which commanded over the Gardens of that Palace, and the House itself communicated with them. Towards men of Genius, His Royal Highness always affected to extend his protection. *Glover*, the Writer of "Leonidas," enjoyed his confidence; though we may justly doubt how much of it was given to him as a Member of Parliament, the Friend of Pulteney and Pitt; how much, as a Poet. The Prince shewed uncommon deference for *Pope*, whom he visited at Twickenham, a circumstance to which that Author alludes with natural pride, when, after enumerating the great or illustrious Persons who

honoted him with their regard and friendship, he subjoins,

> " And if yet higher the proud List should end,
> " Still let me add, no Follower, but a Friend."

In force of character, steadiness, vigor of mind, and the Qualities that fit Men for Government, even his Friends considered the Prince to be deficient. Nor was Economy among the virtues that he displayed; he having before his Decease contracted numerous Debts to a large amount, which were never discharged. Even through the medium of Dodington's Description, who was partial to Frederic's Character and Memory, we cannot conceive any very elevated idea of him. His Court seems to have been the center of Cabal, torn by contending Candidates for the Guidance of his future imaginary Reign. The Earl of Egmont, and Dodington himself, were avowedly at the head of two great hostile Parties. In November, 1749, we find his Royal Highness, in a secret Conclave held at Carlton House, making all the financial Dispositions proper to be adopted on the Demise of the King, his Father; and framing a new Civil List. At the close of these mock Deliberations, he binds the three Assistants to abide by, and support his Plans; giving them his hand, and making them take hands with each other. The Transaction, as narrated by Dodington who was himself one of the Party, reminds the Reader of a similar Convocation commemorated by Sallust, and is not unlike one of the Scenes in "Venice Preserved." It was performed, however, after dinner, which may perhaps form its best Apology. The diversions of the Prince's Court appear to us equally puerile. Three times, within thirteen Months preceding his Decease, Dodington accompanied him and the Princess of Wales, to Fortune-tellers; the last of which Frolicks took place scarcely nine Weeks before his Death. After one

of these magical Consultations, apparently dictated by anxiety to penetrate his future destiny, the Party supped with Mrs. Cannon, the Princess's Midwife. Frederic used to go, disguised, to Hockley-in-the-Hole, to witness Bull-baiting. Either Lord Middlesex, or Lord John Sackville, Father to the late Duke of Dorset, were commonly his Companions on such Expeditions. As far as we are authorized from these Premises, to form a Conclusion, his premature Death before he ascended the Throne, ought not to excite any great national Regret.

George the Second, who survived the Prince near ten years, died at last not less suddenly than his Son, though at the advanced age of Seventy-seven; a period attained by no Sovereign in modern History, except Louis the Fourteenth. A rupture in some of the vessels, or in the Membrane of the Heart, carried him off in a few minutes. During his whole life, but particularly for a number of years before his decease, he had been subject to such constant palpitations about the region of the Heart, especially after Dinner, that he always took off his cloaths, and reposed himself for an hour in bed, of an afternoon. In order to accommodate himself to this habit or infirmity, Mr. Pitt, when, as Secretary of State, he was sometimes necessitated to transact Business with the King during the time that he lay down, always knelt on a cushion by the bedside; a mark of respect which contributed to render him not a little acceptable to His Majesty. At his rising, George the Second dressed himself completely a second time, and commonly passed the evening at Cards, with Lady Yarmouth, in a select party. His sight had greatly failed him, for some time preceding his Decease. I have heard Mr. Fraser say, who was, during many years, Under Secretary of State, that in 1760, a few months before the King died, having occasion to present a Paper to him for his signature, at Kensington, George

the Second took the pen in his hand; and having as he conceived, affixed his name to it, returned it to Fraser. But, so defective was his vision, that he had neither dipped his pen in the ink, nor did he perceive that of course he had only drawn it over the Paper, without making any impression. Fraser, aware of the King's blindness, yet, unwilling to let His Majesty perceive that he discovered it, said, "Sir, I have given you so "bad a pen, that it will not write. Allow me to "present you a better for the Purpose." Then dipping it himself in the ink, he returned it to the King, who, without making any remark, instantly signed the Paper.

He was unquestionably an honest, well-intentioned, and good Prince; of very moderate, but not mean talents; frugal in his expences, from natural character; more inclined to Avarice than any King of England since Henry the Seventh; irascible and hasty, but not vindictive in his temper. Imbued with a strong enmity to France, and as warm a predilection for Germany, he never enjoyed such felicity as when at Herenhausen, surrounded with his Hanoverian Courtiers and subjects. William the Third in like manner, seemed to taste much more happiness, while hunting at Loo in the sterile Sands of Guelderland, than at Whitehall, or at Hampton Court. At the Battle of Dettingen, in 1743, it is well known that George the Second's horse, which was unruly, ran away with him to a considerable distance. General Cyrus Trapaud, then an Ensign, by seizing the horse's bridle, enabled His Majesty to dismount in safety. "Now that I am once on my "legs," said he, "I am sure I shall not run away." Having enquired Trapaud's name, the King always distinguished him afterwards in military promotions. When incensed either with his Ministers, or with his Attendants, he was sometimes not Master of his Actions, nor attentive to preserve his dignity. On these occasions, his Hat, and it is asserted, even his Wig,

became frequently the Objects on which he expended his anger. Queen Caroline, by her address, her judicious compliances, and her activity of character, maintained down to the time of her Decease in 1737, a great Ascendant over him. She formed the chief conducting wire between the Sovereign and his First Minister. It is a fact, that Sir Robert Walpole and Her Majesty managed Matters with so much Art, as to keep up a secret understanding by Watch-words, even in the Drawing Room, when and where George the Second was present. According to the King's temper, frame of mind, or practicability on the Points which Sir Robert wished to carry, the Queen signified to him whether to proceed, or to desist, on that particular day. This communication was so well preconcerted, and so delicately executed. as to be imperceptible by the Bystanders. Sir Robert lost a most able and vigilant Ally, when Queen Caroline died. Her decease was indeed a Misfortune to her husband, to her children, and to the Nation. She sacrificed her life to the desire of concealing her Complaint; a rupture of the Bowels, which might have been easily reduced, if she had not delayed the disclosure of it till a Mortification took place. We have not possessed since Elizabeth's death, a Queen of more Talent, Capacity, and Strength of Understanding, than Caroline of Brandenburgh Anspach. Mary, wife of William the Third, approached the nearest, but did not equal her in these Endowments.

At the time of his Decease, George the Second certainly enjoyed great and universal Popularity: but to Mr. Pitt, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, he was eminently indebted for this gratifying Distinction at the close of life, when Victory was said to have erected her Altar between his aged knees. The Misfortunes and Disgraces which preceded Pitt's entrance into Office, had in fact forced him upon the King; who, notwithstanding that Minister's recognized Talents,

did not employ him without the utmost reluctance. The inglorious Naval Engagement in the Mediterranean, between Byng and La Galissoniere, for which the former of those Admirals suffered; the consequent loss of Minorca; the defeat of Braddock in Carolina; the Repulse sustained before Ticonderago; the ignominious Capitulation of William, Duke of Cumberland, at Closter-Seven; and the disgraceful Expedition against Rochfort;—these ill-concerted, or ill-executed Measures, at the commencement of the War of 1756, had not only brought the Administration into contempt, but had much diminished the National Affection borne towards the Sovereign. From the period of Pitt's Nomination to a Place in the Cabinet, Success almost uniformly attended on the British Arms. Though only occupying the Post of Secretary of State, he directed, or rather he dictated the Operations, at Home and Abroad. The Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office, all obeyed his Orders with prompt and implicit submission. Lord Anson and the Duke of Newcastle, sometimes, it is true, remonstrated, and often complained; but always finished by Compliance. In the full Career of Pitt's ministerial Triumphs, George the Second died; an Event, which it is impossible not to consider as having been a great national Misfortune, when we reflect on the Peace which took place little more than two years afterwards, in November, 1762. Mr. Pitt, we may be assured, would have dictated far different terms to the two Branches of the House of Bourbon. The new King did not indeed immediately dismiss so able and popular a Statesman; but it was soon suspected that his Administration, though it might languish, or continue for a few Months, would not prove of long duration. Lord Bute had already secured the exclusive Regard and Favor of the young Monarch.

The late Mrs. Boscawen, widow of the Admiral of

that Name, so distinguished in our Naval Annals, whose Connexions enabled her to collect many curious Facts in the course of a long life; has often assured me, that Lord Bute's first personal introduction to the Prince of Wales, originated in a very singular Accident. That Nobleman, as is well known, married the only daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, by whom he had a very numerous Family. She brought him eventually likewise a large landed Property: but, as her father, Mr. Wortley, did not die till the year 1761; and as her brother, the eccentric Edward Wortley Montagu, lived to a much later period, I believe, down to 1777; Lord Bute, encumbered with a number of Children, found his patrimonial Fortune very unequal to maintain the figure befitting his rank in life. After passing some years in profound Retirement, on his estate in the Isle of Bute, he revisited England, and took a house on the Banks of the Thames. During his residence there, he was induced to visit Egham Races, about the year 1747. But, as he either did not at that Time keep a Carriage, or did not use it to convey him to the Race Ground, he condescended to accompany a medical Acquaintance; in other words, the Apothecary that attended His Lordship's family, who carried him there in his own Chariot. Frederic, Prince of Wales, who then resided at Cliefden, honored the Races on that day with his presence; where a tent was pitched for his accommodation, and that of the Princess, his Consort. The weather proving rainy, it was proposed, in order to amuse his Royal Highness before his return home, to make a party at Cards: but a difficulty occurred about finding persons of sufficient rank to sit down at the same table with him. While they remained under this embarrassment, somebody observed that Lord Bute had been seen on the Race Ground; who, as being an Earl, would be peculiarly proper to make one of the Prince's party. He was soon

found, informed of the Occasion which demanded his Attendance, brought to the Tent, and presented to Frederic. When the Company broke up, Lord Bute thought of returning back to his own House: but his Friend the Apothecary had disappeared; and with him had disappeared the Chariot in which his Lordship had been brought to Egham Races. The Prince was no sooner made acquainted with the Circumstance, than he insisted on Lord Bute's accompanying him to Cliefden, and there passing the night. He complied, rendered himself extremely acceptable to their Royal Highnesses, and thus laid the Foundation, under a succeeding Reign, of his political elevation, which flowed originally in some measure from this strange contingency.

Lord Bute, when young, possessed a very handsome person, of which advantage he was not insensible; and he used to pass many hours every day, as his enemies asserted, occupied in contemplating the symmetry of his own legs, during his solitary walks by the side of the Thames. Even after he became an inmate at Cliefden, and at Leicester House, he frequently played the part of "Lothario," in the private Theatricals exhibited for the amusement of their Royal Highnesses, by the late Duchess of Queensberry; a fact to which Wilkes alludes with malignant pleasantry, in more than one of his publications. To these external accomplishments, he added a cultivated mind, illuminated by a taste for many branches of the Fine Arts and Letters. For the study of Botany he nourished a decided passion, which he gratified to the utmost; and in the indulgence of which predilection, he manifested on some occasions, a princely liberality. Of a disposition naturally retired and severe, he was not formed for an extensive commerce with mankind, or endowed by Nature with talents for managing popular assemblies. Even in his family he was austere, harsh, difficult of access, and sometimes totally inaccessible to his own children. In the House

of Lords he neither displayed eloquence nor graciousness of manners. But he proved himself likewise deficient in a quality still more essential for a First Minister, firmness of character. Yet, with these political defects of mind, and of personal deportment, he undertook to displace, and he aspired to succeed Mr. Pitt, at a moment when that Minister had carried the glory of the British Arms to an unexampled height, by sea and land.

After an Administration of about two years, passed either in the Post of Secretary of State, or as First Lord of the Treasury; during which time he brought the war with France and Spain to a conclusion; Lord Bute abandoning his royal master, quitted his situation, and again withdrew to privacy. No testimonies of national regret, or of national esteem, accompanied him at his departure from Office. His magnificent residence in Berkley Square, exposed him to very malignant comments, respecting the means by which he had reared so expensive a pile. His enemies asserted that he could not possibly have possessed the ability, either from his patrimonial fortune, or in consequence of his marriage, to erect such a structure. As little could he be supposed to have amassed wherewithal, during his very short Administration, to suffice for its construction. The only satisfactory solution of the difficulty therefore lay in imagining that he had either received presents from France, or had made large purchases in the public Funds, previous to the signature of the Preliminaries. "Junius," addressing the Duke of Bedford, who signed that Peace, in his Letter of the "19th September, 1769," written within seven years afterwards; charges the Duke, in the most unequivocal terms, with betraying and selling his country. "Your Patrons," says he, "wanted an Embassador who would submit to make "concessions, without daring to insist upon any honor-"able condition for his Sovereign. Their business

"required a man, who had as little feeling for his own "dignity, as for the welfare of his Country; and they "found him in the first Rank of the Nobility. Belle-"isle, Goree, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the "Fishery, and the Havannah, are glorious monuments "of your Grace's talents for Negociation. My Lord, "we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary "character, to think it possible that so many public "sacrifices should have been made, without some "private compensations. Your conduct carries with "it an internal evidence, beyond all the legal proofs "of a Court of Justice." No answer was ever made to this charge, either by the Duke, or by any of his Friends, if we except Sir William Draper's vague and unauthorized Letter of the "7th of October, 1769."

Dr. Musgrave, an English Physician, who practised Medicine at Paris in 1763, and whose name has been known in the Republic of Letters, by the publication of some Tragedies of Euripides; did not scruple to assert publicly, that the Princess Dowager of Wales and Lord Bute received money from the French Court, for aiding to effect the Peace. I am acquainted with the individuals, Gentlemen of the highest honor and most unimpeached veracity, to whom Dr. Musgrave himself related the circumstance at Paris, in 1764, almost immediately after the Treaty of Fontainbleau. And if I do not name them, it is only because they are still alive. Dr. Musgrave did not retract his accusation, when he was examined at the Bar of the House of Commons, some years afterwards, in the Month of January, 1770, upon the same point. He maintained on the contrary, his original assertion, which he supported by facts or circumstances calculated to authenticate its truth, though the House thought proper to declare it "Frivolous, and unworthy of Credit." "Junius," writing in the Month of May, 1770, says, "Through the whole proceedings of the House of

"Commons in this Session, there is an apparent, a "palpable consciousness of guilt, which has prevented "their daring to assert their own dignity, where it has "been immediately and grossly attacked. In the "course of Dr. Musgrave's Examination, he said every "thing that can be conceived mortifying to individuals, "or offensive to the House. They voted his informa- "tion Frivolous, but they were awed by his firmness "and integrity, and sunk under it." Dr. Musgrave resided in this country during the last years of his life; and died, I believe, at Exeter, in the Summer of the year 1780.

Similar reflexions indeed, at different periods of our History, have been thrown not only upon Ministers, but even upon Kings. Lord Clarendon, when Chancellor, under Charles the Second, having, like Lord Bute, undertaken to build a magnificent house in London, soon after the sale of Dunkirk to Louis the Fourteenth, about 1664; it was named by the people "Dunkirk House," on the supposition of its having been raised by French money. No person can doubt of Charles the Second himself having received large sums from the Court of Versailles, for purposes inimical to the interests of his people. So did his successor, James the Second. Bribes were even confidently said and believed to have been given to various of the Courtiers or favourites of William the Third, from the East-India Company and other Corporate Bodies, in order to procure the consent or approbation of the Sovereign to the renewal of their Charters. The Duchess of Kendal, Mistress of George the First; as well as Craggs, father of the Secretary of State of the same name, and himself at the time, Post-Master General; together with other individuals about the court or person of that Monarch, were either known or supposed to have been implicated in the transactions of the memorable South Sea Year, 1720, when such immense sums

were gained and lost in that ruinous speculation. Malignity did not spare the King himself, who, it was asserted, became a sharer in the acquisitions. Lord Bute, at the distance of half a Century, is still believed to have rendered the Treaty of Fontainbleau subservient to his private emolument: a supposition which was again renewed twenty years later, at the conclusion of the Peace of 1783, against Lord Shelburne, with greater virulence, and with bolder affirmations! Such were the unfortunate results of the Earl of Bute's Ministry, which must be considered as having given the first blow to the popularity, enjoyed by the King at his Accession to the Throne.

It is an indisputable fact, that Lord Bute, terrified or disgusted at the indications of resentment shewn by the nation, forsook his Master; and that he was not dismissed or abandoned by the Sovereign. He was the first, though not the last Minister, who in the course of the present reign, exhibited that example of timidity, or weariness, or desertion. But, his ostensible relinquishment of office, by no means restored to the King, the confidence or the affections of his subjects. Even when nominally divested of power, Lord Bute was still supposed to direct unseen, the wheels of Government. However false and unfounded might be this imputation, and such I have ever considered it, yet it operated with irresistible force. A cry of Secret Influence arose, more pernicious in its effects on the Country at large, than even the open accusations lately levelled against the incapacity or venality of the first Minister. The Grenville Administration, which succeeded, was stigmatized as being only a machine, the puppets of which were agitated by concealed wires. It is obvious, that no imputation in the power of malevolence to invent and circulate, could be more calculated to prejudice the King in the estimation of his people. But it became further augmented by another topic of abuse and

declamation, founded on the extraordinary degree of favour enjoyed by Lord Bute at Carlton House, and the predilection with which he was known to be regarded by the Princess Dowager of Wales. Satirical prints, generally dispersed throughout the kingdom, in which Her Royal Highness was not at all spared, inflamed the public mind. Comparisons, drawn from English History, particularly from the reign of Edward the Third, when the Queen Dowager Isabella, and Mortimer her favourite, were known or supposed to have lived in a criminal union; these allusions, which were disseminated in all the periodical works of the Time, and particularly in the "North Briton," made a deep impression.

Even the filial deference and respect, manifested by His Majesty after his accession, down to the last moment of her life, towards his Mother, was converted into a subject not only of Censure, but of Accusation, as originating in unworthy Motives. It cannot, however, be denied that Lord Bute enjoyed a higher place in that Princess's favor, if not in her affection, than seemed compatible with strict propriety. His visits to Carlton House, which were always performed in the evening; and the precautions taken to conceal his arrival; though they might perhaps have been dictated more by an apprehension of insult from the populace, to whom he was obnoxious, than from any improper Reasons; yet awakened suspicion. He commonly made use on these occasions, of the Chair and the Chairmen of Miss Vansittart, a Lady who held a distinguished place in Her Royal Highness's family. In order more effectually to elude notice, the curtains of the Chair were close drawn. The repartee of Miss Chudleigh, afterwards better known as Duchess of Kingston, at that time a Maid of Honour at Carlton House; when reproached by her royal Mistress, for the irregularities of her conduct, obtained likewise much publicity.

"*Votre Altesse Royale sait*," replied she, "*que chacune a son But.*" As the King was accustomed to repair frequently of Evenings to Carlton House, and there to pass a considerable time, the world supposed that the Sovereign, his Mother, and the Ex-Minister met, in order to concert, and to compare their ideas; thus forming a sort of interior Cabinet, which controuled and directed the ostensible Administration.

That after having so precipitately thrown up the ministerial reins in 1763, Lord Bute felt desirous of again resuming his political power, I know from good authority. And that he was aided in the attempt by the Princess, with all her influence, is equally matter of fact; but their joint efforts proved unavailing to effect the object. A Nobleman, who was accustomed at that time to form one of the Party which met at Carlton House, and who usually remained there while His Majesty stayed; assured me that every measure had been concerted between her Royal Highness and Lord Bute, for the purpose of bringing him again into Ministry. As the first necessary step towards its accomplishment, they agreed that he should endeavour to obtain permission to see the Dispatches, which were often sent to the King from the Secretary of State, while he continued with his mother. On those occasions, when the green Box, containing letters or papers, arrived, he always withdrew into another room, in order to peruse them with more attention. Lord Bute, as had been pre-arranged, upon the messenger bringing a Dispatch, immediately took up two candles, and proceeded before the King to the closet; expecting that His Majesty, when they were alone together, would communicate to him its nature; and that he should thus begin again to transact business. But the King, unquestionably aware of the intention, and probably disgusted at the want of firmness which his Minister had formerly shewn, or from other unascer-

tained causes, extinguished at once the hopes entertained from this project. When he came to the door of the room, he stopped, took the candles out of Lord Bute's hand, and then dismissing him, shut the door; after which he proceeded to examine the Dispatches, alone. Lord Bute returned to the company, and the experiment was never repeated.

If the selection of that Nobleman for the office of First Minister, and the dismission of Mr Pitt, deprived the King of the affections of many loyal subjects; the terms upon which the Treaty of Fontainbleau were concluded, early in 1763, by Lord Bute, excited the strongest sensations of general disapprobation throughout the country. I am old enough to remember the expressions of that condemnation, which it is impossible not to admit were well founded. When we reflect that the Navy of France had been nearly annihilated, as early as 1759, by Sir Edward Hawke, in the action at Quiberon; that Spain could make little or no opposition to us on the Ocean; and that we were masters of Quebec, Montreal, together with all Canada; Cape Breton, Pondicherry, Goree, Belleisle, the Havannah, and a large part of Cuba; besides the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe; not to mention the capture of Manilla, which was not then known: while, on the other hand, the enemy, though they probably would have effected the conquest or reduction of Portugal, in the course of the ensuing Campaign, yet had taken nothing from us, which they had retained, except Minorca;—when we consider these facts, what shall we say to a Peace, which restored to the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, every possession above enumerated, except Canada?—for, as to Cape Breton, when dismantled, it became only an useless desart; accepting, in exchange for so many valuable Colonies or Settlements in every quarter of the globe, the cession of the two Floridas from Spain, together

with the restitution of Minorca by France. At the distance of more than half a Century, when the passions and prejudices of the hour have ceased, we cannot consider such a Treaty without astonishment and concern. Scarcely indeed does the Peace of Utrecht justly awaken warmer feelings of indignation; for concluding which, its authors were impeached, imprisoned, or compelled to fly their country. If Lord Bute escaped the fate of Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, he has not been more exempt than were those Ministers, from the censures of his contemporaries and of posterity. Nor did Queen Anne perhaps sustain a greater loss of reputation and popularity, by signing the Treaty of Utrecht, than George the Third suffered by concluding that of Fontainbleau. Its impolicy appears not less glaring, nor less obvious, than its defects of every other kind. The expulsion of the French from Canada, and of the Spaniards from Florida, by liberating the American Colonies from all apprehension of foreign enemies, laid the inevitable foundation of their rebellion; and effected their subsequent emancipation from Great Britain, within the space of twenty years. This necessary result of such measures, perfectly foreseen at the time, was pointed out by Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, as well as by others. The House of Bourbon, soon recovering from the wounds inflicted by Pitt, contested anew, with better success, for the empire of the Sea. Neither the Havannah, Belleisle, nor Manilla, have ever passed a second time under the power of the English. If we weigh these circumstances, we shall not wonder that motives unworthy of an upright Minister, or of an able Statesman, were attributed to Lord Bute. Nor shall we be surprized, that the incapacity or errors of the Administration, diminished in no small degree the respect justly inspired by the private virtues of the Sovereign.

The injudicious persecution of Wilkes completed the

unpopularity, which Lord Bute's person and measures had begun to produce throughout the nation. Whatever might have been the misconduct of Wilkes; and however deficient he might have appeared in those moral qualities which entitle to public respect, or even to individual approbation; yet, from the instant that he became an object of Royal or Ministerial resentment, on account of his attachment to the cause of Freedom, he found protectors in the public. Neither his wit, his talents, nor his courage, could have raised him to political eminence, if he had not been singled out for severe, not to say unconstitutional, prosecution. The two Secretaries of State, and the Lord Steward of the Household, had they been hired by his worst enemies, to injure their Royal Master in the esteem of his people; and to throw, as it were, upon *him*, the Odium of *their* violence, or incapacity, or ignorance; could not have done it more effectually, than by the line of action which they adopted. Lord Talbot is consigned to eternal ridicule, (as Pope says that Cromwell is "Damned to everlasting Fame;") in that incomparable Letter written by Wilkes to the late Earl Temple, descriptive of the entertaining Duel fought at Bagshot, where the Lord Steward appears in the most contemptible point of view. The Earls of Egremont and Halifax, by issuing a general Warrant for the seizure of Wilkes, and taking his person into Custody; while they compromised the Majesty of the Crown, trampled on the Liberties of the Subject, and violated the essence of the English Constitution. Men who commented with severity on these measures of impolitic resentment, arraigned them as more characteristic of the vindictive Administration of James the Second, than becoming the mild Government of George the Third. Wilkes, nevertheless, wounded in a Duel, repeatedly menaced with assassination, pursued by the House of Commons, and outlawed by the Court of King's Bench, withdrew

into France, where he insensibly sunk into oblivion. His very name, and his public merits, as well as his private sufferings, seemed to be equally forgotten by the Nation, during two or three years.

But the Duke of Grafton, who had become first Minister, after the extinction of the feeble Administration of Lord Rockingham, appeared as if desirous to improve upon the errors, and to renew the most unpopular acts of his predecessor, Lord Bute. Instead of wisely extending the pardon of the Crown to Mr. Wilkes, or treating him with magnanimous contempt, when he returned from Paris; the Duke, in defiance of their past intimacy and familiarity, put in force the penalties of his sentence of outlawry; thus rendering him a second time, the object of general compassion and protection. Rejected as a Candidate to represent the City of London, he was elected Member for the County of Middlesex. Assemblies of the people in St. George's Fields, whom it was esteemed necessary to repress by a military force, and in performing which service some individuals were killed or wounded, exasperated the Nation against the author of such severities. The House of Commons adopting the principles, as well as the enmities of the Administration, expelled Wilkes from his Seat, declared him ineligible to sit among them, and placed Colonel Luttrell in his room. While the Pardon of the Crown was extended to persons convicted of the most sanguinary outrages and riots, during the Election at Brentford; by measures of consummate incapacity, a popular individual was singled out for the whole vengeance of the Government and the Legislature. The tumults of London, in March, 1769, which menaced with insult or attack, even the Palace of the Sovereign, bore no feeble resemblance to the riotous disorders that preceded the Civil Wars, under Charles the First. A Hearse, followed by the mob, was driven into the Court

Yard at St. James's, decorated with Insignia of the most humiliating or indecent description. I have always understood that the late Lord Mountmorris, then a very young man, was the person who on that occasion personated the Executioner, holding an Axe in his hands, and his face covered with a crape. The King's firmness did not however forsake him, in the midst of these trying ebullitions of Democratic rage. He remained calm and unmoved in the Drawing-Room, while the streets surrounding his residence, echoed with the shouts of an enraged multitude, who seemed disposed to proceed to the greatest extremities. But, the Duke of Grafton did not manifest equal constancy, nor display the same resolution as his master. It seemed to be the fate of George the Third to be served by Ministers, as much his inferiors in personal and political courage, as in every other moral or estimable quality.

Another opponent, still more formidable than Mr. Wilkes, had arisen amidst these convulsions of the Capital and the Country; who, from the place of his concealment, inflicted the severest wounds, and who seems to have eluded all discovery, down to the present hour. It is obvious that I mean "Junius." This celebrated writer, whom the obtrusive and imprudent vanity of Sir William Draper, even more than his own matchless powers of Composition, originally forced upon the notice of the Public, appeared in January, 1769. His first Letter, addressed to the Printer of the "Public "Advertizer," then a popular Newspaper, depictures in the severest colours, the situation of the Country; dishonoured, as he asserts, in the eyes of foreign nations; disunited, oppressed, and ill-administered at home. Like Satan, when invoking his stupified and fallen Associates, he seems to exclaim, while endeavouring to rouse the English Nation from their political Apathy,

"Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!"

The conclusion of his opening Address, operated with amazing effect, and can hardly be exceeded in Energy. "If," says he, "by the immediate inter-"position of Providence, it were possible for us to "escape a Crisis so full of Terror and Despair, Poster-"ity will not believe the History of the present Times. "—They will not believe it possible, that their "Ancestors could have survived or recovered from so "desperate a Condition, while a Duke of Grafton was "Prime Minister; a Lord North, Chancellor of the "Exchequer; a Weymouth, and a Hillsborough, "Secretaries of State; a Granby, Commander in Chief: "and Mansfield, Chief Criminal Judge of the Kingdom." After transfixing with his keenest shafts, the Commander in Chief of the Forces, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Duke of Bedford, he fastened, like a vulture, on the First Minister. With an acrimony and ability that have perhaps never been equalled by any political Writer, he endeavoured to point the public Indignation equally against the Person and the Measures of the Duke of Grafton. Superior in beauty of Diction, and all the elegance of Composition, to Lord Bolingbroke; not inferior to Swift, in closeness, as well as correctness of Style, and in force of Satire; the Letters of "Junius" will be read as long as the English Language endures. Nor did his Pen, after exposing the want of spirit and energy in the Government, respect even the Majesty of the Throne. In his memorable "Letter to the King," which cannot be perused without a mixture of Admiration and Indignation, he too successfully labours to render even the virtues of the Sovereign, suspicious and odious; while he attempts to degrade the royal character, in the opinions of his Subjects. The avidity with which these Publications were then sought after and perused, is difficult to be conceived at the present time, and never was exceeded at any period of our History. "Junius" may, indeed, justly be reckoned

among the leading Causes which drove the Duke of Grafton from the helm.

I have been assured by persons of honor and veracity, who were in the habits of continually seeing Mr. Bradshaw, then Secretary of the Treasury, and of knowing his private sentiments; that he made no secret to them, of the agony into which the Duke of Grafton was thrown by these Productions. Such was their Effect and Operation on his mind, as sometimes utterly to incapacitate him during whole Days, for the ministerial duties of his Office. There are nevertheless, many who believe and assert, that his sudden Resignation was not so much produced by the Attacks of "Junius," as it originated from another quarter. It has been pretended that the Princess Dowager of Wales, highly indignant at the mention made of her Name, in the Examination and Depositions of Dr. Musgrave at the Bar of the House of Commons; remonstrated strongly with the King, on the Supineness of his first Minister, in permitting, or rather in not suppressing such Enquiries. However the Fact may be, it is certain that at a Moment when such an Event was least expected, in January, 1770, he resigned his Office; giving, as Lord Bute had done before, another instance of Ministerial Dereliction, but not the last of the kind which has occurred in the course of the present Reign. Lord North, who succeeded to his Place, inherited likewise a considerable portion of his Unpopularity.

Having mentioned the subject, and the productions of "Junius," it seems impossible to dismiss them without making some Allusion to their Author. I have always considered that Secret, as the best kept of any in our Time. It was, indeed, on many Accounts, and for many reasons, a Secret of the most perilous nature. For, the Offences given, and the Wounds inflicted by his Pen, were too deep, and too severe, to

admit of Forgiveness, when we reflect that Sovereigns and Ministers were the Objects selected for his Attack. I have been assured, that the King riding out in the Year 1772, accompanied by General Desaguliers, said to him in Conversation, "We know who "Junius" is, "and he will write no more." The General, who was too good a Courtier to congratulate upon such a piece of Intelligence, contented himself with bowing, and the Discourse proceeded no further. Mrs. Shuttleworth, who was General Desaguliers's Daughter, believed in the Accuracy of this Fact. If, however, the King had penetrated to the Secret, I do not believe that the Duke of Grafton, or the first Lord Mansfield, had arrived at any Certitude on the Point, though their Suspicions might be strongly directed towards some one Individual. It is certain that Sir William Draper died in ignorance of his Antagonist; and that he continued to express, down to a very short Time before his Decease, which took place at Bath, his concern at the Prospect of going out of Life, uninformed on the Subject. Lord North either did not know, or professed not to know his Name. The late Lord Temple protested the same Ignorance. He must, nevertheless, have lain within a very narrow Circle; for, every Evidence, internal and external, proves him to have been a Person of pre-eminent Parts, admirable Information, high Connexions, living almost constantly in the Metropolis, and in good Company; ignorant of nothing which was done at St. James's, in the two Houses of Parliament, in the War Office, or in the Courts of Law; and personally acquainted with many Anecdotes or Facts, only to be attained by Men moving in the first Ranks of Society. I do not speak of his classical Attainments; because those might have been found among mere Men of Letters. "Junius" was a Man of the World. Henry Sampson Woodfall, who printed the Letters themselves, was ignorant of the Name or Quality of the

Writer, and remained so during his whole life. Who then, we repeat, was He?

Many Individuals have become successively Objects of Suspicion, or of Accusation. Lord *George Germain*, father of the present Duke of Dorset, was named among others. I knew him very intimately, and have frequently conversed with him on the subject. He always declared his ignorance of the Author, but he appeared to be gratified and flattered by the Belief or Imputation lighting on himself. As far, however, as my opinion can have any weight, though I thought highly of Lord George's Talents, I considered them as altogether unequal to such Productions. And I possessed the best Means, as well as Opportunities of forming my judgment, from his Conversation and Correspondence, both which I enjoyed for several Years. Indeed, I apprehend it is unnecessary to waste much Time in attempting to disprove such a Supposition, which has few Advocates or Supporters. Those persons who originally suggested, or who continue to maintain it, found the Opinion principally on the Attack of Lord Granby, in "Junius's" first Letter. But, if we examine that Production, we shall see that the Marquis is by no means singled out for Animadversion. He only attracts his portion of Satire, as a Member of the Cabinet; and it was Sir William Draper's officious Vanity which rendered him unfortunately more conspicuous than the Duke of Grafton, or Lord Mansfield. "It is you, Sir William "Draper," says Junius, "who have taken care to "represent your Friend in the character of a drunken "Landlord, who deals out his Promises as liberally as "his Liquor, and will suffer no Man to leave his Table "either sorrowful or sober." And in a subsequent Letter he observes, "I should justly be suspected of "acting upon Motives of more than common Enmity "to Lord Granby, if I continued to give you fresh

"Materials, or Occasion for writing in his Defence." If Lord George Germain was "Junius," his powers of Composition had suffered a Diminution between 1770 and 1780, and no longer continued as powerful at the latter Period, as they had been ten Years earlier in Life. But no Man preserved at near Seventy, the Freshness and Strength of his Faculties in every Branch, more perfect or undiminished than that Nobleman.

As little do I conceive *Wilkes* to have been the man. I knew him likewise well, though not with the same intimacy as I did the last named Nobleman. It must be owned that Wilkes possessed a classic Pen, keen, rapid, cutting, and capable, as we have seen in the "North Briton," no less than in other political productions, of powerfully animating, or inflaming the public mind. His injuries were great; his feelings, acute; his spirit, undaunted; and his compositions, full of talent. But it was not "Junius." Wilkes's two Letters, the one addressed to Lord Temple, in October, 1762, from Bagshot, after his Duel with Lord Talbot; and the other, written from his house, in Great George Street, on the 19th December, 1763, to Dr. Brocklesby, immediately after his Duel with Martin; may vie in wit, pleasantry, and powers of ridicule, with any compositions in the English language. His Letter, dated from "Paris, 22d October, 1764," appealing to the Electors of Aylesbury, against the treatment which he met with from both Houses of Parliament, and from Lord Mansfield, challenges equal admiration. Lastly, his Address to the Duke of Grafton, written likewise from "Paris, on the 12th December, 1766," containing the animated relation of his Arrest, followed by his interview with the Earls of Egremont and Halifax, at the House of the former Nobleman in Piccadilly; can hardly be exceeded in energy, severity, and powers of reasoning. They charm, as much as the writings of "Junius;" but, the difference between the two produc-

tions cannot be mistaken by any man who allows his reason fair play. Wilkes himself, who instead of shrinking from the avowal, on the contrary would have gladly assumed the fame attending on it, at whatever personal risk, disclaimed any title to such a distinction. "*Utinam scripsissem!*" Would to Heaven I could have written them! was his reply, when charged with being the Author.

Hugh Macauley Boyd, a Gentleman who accompanied or followed Lord Macartney to Madras, in 1781, where he died a few years afterwards; has been named, and his pretensions have been strongly maintained in print, as well as in private society. It has been attempted, both in his case, and in that of Wilkes, to prove from facts of various kinds, and Anecdotes, either true or imaginary, their respective right to the works of "Junius." But, I never could discover in the avowed writings of Boyd, any similarity, and still less any Equality, with the Letters of the unknown and immortal person in question. Nor would it seem, as far as we are able to judge, that Boyd had, or could have, Access to the Information, profusely exhibited through almost every page of "Junius," and which very few Individuals were competent to attain. Boyd did not live in the Circle where alone such Materials were to be found, or to be collected.

I have heard the Reverend *Philip Rosenhagen* pointed out as "Junius." But the Opinion never, I believe, had many Supporters, nor did I ever regard it as entitled to serious Refutation. I knew him as an Acquaintance, between 1782 and 1785. He appeared to me to be a plausible, well informed man, imposing in his manner, of a classic mind, and agreeable conversation; living much in the world, received on the most intimate footing at Shelburne House, and possessing very considerable talents. There is, however, a wide interval between such abilities, however eminent, and those displayed by the writer under examination.

A more probable, or at least, a better concerted story, confidently circulated at the time, and which has been lately revived, was, that Mr. William Greatrakes, a native of Ireland, who lived with the Earl of Shelburne, and acted as his private Secretary, composed the Letters. The Materials were said to have been furnished by Lord Shelburne, and worked up by his Secretary. It was added, that he died in August, 1781, at Hungerford in Berkshire, not very far from that Nobleman's Seat, of Bow Wood; and lies buried in Hungerford Church-yard, with a plain Stone over his Remains, together with a short Inscription terminated by the three Latin Words,

"Stat Nominis Umbra;"

The Motto usually, or always prefixed to Junius's Letters. I have never considered this Narration, however plausible it appears, as worthy of credit, or as meriting attention.

It has been recently attempted to prove that *Glover*, the distinguished Author of "Leonidas," was "Junius;" and the confirmation of the assertion has been sought, in the "Memoirs of a celebrated Literary and Political "Character," lately published. But, though every line of those "Memoirs" bespeaks the writer to be a man of equal ability and integrity, living in a high Circle, himself a Member of the House of Commons during many years; though the same ardent spirit of Freedom, which animates *Glover* as a Poet, is diffused over this production; and though various passages in it may seem to bear a degree of resemblance or Analogy to the animated Apostrophes of "Junius;"—yet, no person who has perused attentively the work in question, can for an instant persuade himself of the identity of the two men. If, however, these grounds of belief, drawn from the internal evidence contained in the respective Compositions, should fail in producing a decided opinion, I can

adduce better proof. Mr. Glover, son of the Author of "Leonidas," and whom to name, is sufficient to stamp the authenticity of all that he asserts; assured me only a short time ago, in answer to my enquiries on the subject, that "he had not the slightest reason to sup-"pose, or to believe, that his father composed the "Letters of Junius:" an admission far outweighing any real or fancied similarity between those writers. Still more recent Attempts have been made in favour of a Foreigner, *De Lolme*, but, however speciously supported on some Points, they rest on no solid Foundation.

During many years of my life, notwithstanding the severity with which *Wedderburn* is treated by "Junius," I nourished a strong belief, approaching to conviction, that the late Earl of Rosslyn, then *Mr. Wedderburn*, was himself the Author of those Letters. His abilities were eminent, his opportunities of information, great; and his political connexions between January, 1769, and January, 1772, the two extreme periods of the appearance of the Compositions in question, favor the conjecture. Though Churchill calls Wedderburn,

"A pert, prim Prater of the Northern Race,"

his talents of every kind entitled him to great admiration; and he particularly possessed the Legal, Jurisprudential, as well as Parliamentary knowledge, lavishly exhibited in various parts of "Junius." I have heard men assert, who were entitled to respect and credit, that they had seen several of the Originals, in the possession of Woodfall; and that they recognized the hand-writing to be that of Mrs. Wedderburn, his first wife, with which character they were perfectly acquainted. If this fact indeed were to be admitted, it might seem decisive: but such assertions, however apparently well sustained, are frequently made on erroneous or mistaken foundations.

All circumstances fully weighed, my own conviction

is, that the Letters of "Junius" were written by the Right Honorable *William Gerard Hamilton*, commonly designated by the Nick Name of "Single Speech "Hamilton," from the report generally, though falsely circulated, that he never opened his mouth more than once in the English Parliament. He was during many years, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, and likewise a Member of the House of Commons, while I sat in it: but I had not the honor of his acquaintance; and my opinion is founded on the general prevailing sentiment of those persons, who, from their situation, rank, and means of information, are entitled to almost implicit belief. Throughout the various companies, in which, from 1775, down to the present time, I have heard this mysterious Question agitated, the great majority concurred in giving to *Hamilton*, the merit of the Letters under examination. Various Noblemen or Gentlemen, who lived on terms of intimate friendship, and of almost daily intercourse with him, during the period of their appearance or publication, in particular the late Earl of Clermont; have protested in my hearing, that they traced or recollected in "Junius's" Letters, the "*ipsissima Verba*," the precise words and expressions of Hamilton, which had recently fallen from his lips in conversation. His pen is universally admitted to have been most elegant, classical, correct, and nervous. This opinion, nevertheless, by no means, amounts to demonstration, or approaches to certainty; and it is possible, that as the secret has not been divulged from authority, during the lapse of so many Years, Posterity may never attain to any absolute proof upon the Subject, and must rest satisfied with Conjecture.

If "Junius" could be supposed still alive, obvious Motives for his concealing himself, will suggest themselves to every Man's mind. But it is very difficult to imagine, that he was under Forty years of Age, at the

Time when he wrote, as he expressly asserts, that he could "remember the great Walpolean Battles." Now, Sir Robert Walpole went out of Office, early in 1742. If therefore "Junius" still survive among us, he must have considerably passed his Eightieth Year. Yet, if on the other Hand, he be no more, what Reasons sufficiently powerful can be produced, to account for the voluntary Renunciation of that posthumous Fame, which after his Decease might have been reclaimed, without Apprehension of any injurious Consequences to himself? This Argument or Consideration, long induced me to suppose that "Junius" must be living; and that his Death, whenever it took place, would infallibly remove the Veil which conceals his Name. On more mature Reflexion, nevertheless, very strong Causes for continuing to preserve his Incognito beyond the Grave, may present themselves. If he left behind him lineal Representatives, he might dread exposing them to the hereditary Animosity of some "of the worst, and "the most powerful Men in this Country." Even should he have left no Descendants, it is possible that he might dislike the Comparison between his Actions and his Writings, which must have been made by Mankind. If, for instance, it would have been proved that he accepted an Office, a Pension, or a Peerage, from the Sovereign and the Minister whom he had recently accused as Enemies to their Country, or as having betrayed its Interests;—would not the moral Aversion or Contempt excited towards his Memory by such a Disclosure, have overbalanced the Meed of literary Fame obtained from the Labours of his Pen? Should we admit the Validity of this Reasoning, we shall be led to infer, that "Junius" may remain as unknown to Posterity a Century hence, as he continues to be now in 1815.

There is still another Circumstance applicable to the present Times, which did not exist when *Burnet*, or

for the ransom of Manilla. Never, perhaps, was any object in itself less valuable, nor less worthy of public consideration, than the Falkland Islands: yet the manner in which Spain acted on the occasion, displayed so much arrogance, as to compromize the honour of the British Crown, and to demand a Reparation no less public than the Affront. The Islands in question, situated in a most inclement Latitude, in the other Hemisphere, not far removed from Cape Horn; could scarcely merit from their intrinsic Consequence, commercial or political, that any Blood should be spilt in order to acquire, or to retain, their Possession. But, the jealous policy with which the old Spanish Government always beheld even the slightest Approach of any foreign Power towards that vast Continent of South America, over which, though they could neither colonize, nor subject it, they nevertheless claimed a Dominion; impelled the Court of Madrid to commence its Operations, in a manner no less hostile than insulting to us. An English frigate was detained in the Harbour of Port Egmont, by force. It must be owned, that the Vigor, or rather Audacity of such a Proceeding, could scarcely have been exceeded by Cardinal Alberoni himself, when he presided in the Spanish Counsels, under Philip the Fifth. The Act was indeed only committed ostensibly by an Individual, Buccarelli, who commanded the Forces of Charles the Third in that Quarter of the Globe: but the Government avowed, justified, and supported him.

Lord North, on whom had recently devolved the first Place in Administration; while he appeared deeply to feel the Indignity offered to his Sovereign, manifested a Disposition to resent it in the most effectual Manner. But, neither the State of the English Navy, nor the Preparations made in our Ports for the immediate Equipment of a powerful Fleet, were said to be such as the Exigency obviously demanded,

and the public Honor unquestionably required. A mitigated Compromise, by which Spain, though she consented to cede the *Possession* of Falkland Islands to Great Britain, yet refused to admit or recognize our *Right* to them; was, after long Discussions, accepted by Ministers. It prevented a War, but it gave no general Satisfaction; more especially, as any Mention of the Manilla Ransom was studiously omitted in the Convention. Assuredly, the Moment seemed favorable to have imposed almost any Conditions on the Spanish Crown. Louis the Fifteenth, sinking in Years, and still more sunk in the general Estimation of his Subjects; disgusted at the ill Success of the former War, and determined not to engage again in Hostilities against England; having dismissed the Duke de Choiseul from Office, and lost to every Sense of public Duty, or national Glory; would, it was well known, have disregarded "the Family Compact," and would have abandoned the other Branch of the House of Bourbon in the Contest.

But, Lord North, who preferred pacific measures, even had recourse to expedients not usually adopted, in order to avert a Rupture. The late Sir William Gordon, whom I well knew, and who at that time filled the post of British Envoy at the Court of Brussels, was selected by Ministers, to undertake the Commission of preventing a War. For this purpose he received private Instructions to repair in the most secret, but expeditious manner, to Paris; and to use every possible exertion for prevailing on Louis the Fifteenth, and the new First Minister, the Duke d'Aiguillon, to compel the Spanish Court to accommodate the points in dispute. Gordon, who found in the French Sovereign and his Ministers, the warmest disposition to preserve Peace, succeeded completely in the object of his Mission. He told me, that as a recompense for his service, he received from Lord North, a Pension of Three Hundred Pounds

a year; and from His Majesty, the further sum of One Thousand Pounds, as a Present, but, the Convention by which Peace was made, excited universal disapprobation; and afforded to the pen of "Junius" an occasion which he did not lose, of pointing the public censure with inconceivable severity against the King himself personally, no less than against the Administration.

Even after the interval of four years, which elapsed between the termination of this dispute, and the commencement of the American Rebellion; though the Nation enjoyed profound Peace, together with all the advantages of Commerce, augmenting Opulence, and progressive Prosperity, yet the Sovereign was by no means popular. New sources of discontent, and imaginary or doubtful subjects of complaint, were ingeniously discovered. Lord Bute had, indeed, disappeared from the theatre of public life; and the Princess Dowager of Wales, whose supposed influence over her Son, rendered her always an object of attack, was no more. She expired in 1772, of a most painful Disease, which she supported with uncommon firmness. But, other names and figures succeeded to their pretended influence behind the Curtain of State. *Bradshaw*, surnamed "the cream-coloured Parasite," and *Dyson*, gave place to the superior ascendancy of *Jenkinson*, who was accused of directing, unseen, the Resolutions of the Cabinet, and of possessing the interior Secret, as well as Confidence, of the Crown. A Prince, distinguished by almost every domestic virtue, animated by the noblest intentions, and by the warmest affection for his people; was represented as despotic, inflexible, vindictive, and disposed to govern by unconstitutional Means or Engines. His very Pleasures, his Tastes, and his private Recreations, were traduced or satirized, as bearing the same Stamp and Impression. Poetry lent her aid to expose these personal Weaknesses, if such they were, to public

Animadversion or Ridicule. The "Heroic Epistle to "Sir William Chambers," (attributed to one of the finest poetic Writers of the Period, Mason;) rivalled "Junius" in Delicacy of Invective, in its insulting Irony, and in the severity of its Imputations. Such appeared to be the State of public Opinion, and such the Prejudices generally entertained against the King, throughout the Nation, at the Period when, in the Summer of 1775, Hostilities began on the American Continent.

That George the Third, from a very early Period of his Reign, had imbibed a deeply-rooted Opinion of the Right inherent in the Mother Country to tax her American Colonies; and of the Practicability, or rather the Facility, of the Attempt, if made, no well-informed Man can entertain a Doubt. As early as 1764, His Majesty, conversing with Mr. George Grenville, then First Minister, on the subject of the Finances, which, after the close of the triumphant "Seven Years' War," demanded Economy, no less than Ability to re-establish; mentioned to him as one great Resource, the Measure of taxing America. Mr. Grenville replied, that he had frequently revolved, and thoroughly considered the Proposition, which he believed to be not only difficult, but impracticable; and pregnant, if undertaken, with the most alarming Consequences to the Sovereign himself. These Apprehensions, far however from intimidating or discouraging the King, made no Impression on his Mind; and in a subsequent Conversation with the same Minister, His Majesty gave him plainly to understand, that if he wanted either Nerves or Inclination to make the Attempt, others could be found who were ready to undertake it. The Words produced their full effect upon the Person to whom they were addressed; and Mr. Grenville preferred endeavouring to realize the experiment, however hazardous he might esteem it, rather than allow it to

be committed to other hands. It failed at that time, but was revived ten years later, with more serious national results, under Lord North's Administration.

I have always considered the *Principle* upon which that war commenced, and peculiarly as affecting the King, to have been not only defensible, but meritorious. Nor have I ever esteemed the political and military Conductors of the American Revolution, as other than successful Rebels of unquestionable courage, constancy, and ability; whatever Eulogiums were conferred on them in Parliament, by Fox and Burke. I well know that the names of Franklin and of Washington, have been consecrated by a very numerous part of the Inhabitants of Great Britain. The former, if considered as a natural Philosopher, a Philanthropist, and a man of Genius, doubtless may lay claim to universal esteem. Nor are the abstract pretensions of Washington less conspicuous, as a General, and a Citizen of America. In both capacities he may rank with Cincinnatus, or with the younger Cato. But, in the estimation of all who regard the Supremacy of the Mother Country over Colonies which had been not merely planted, but likewise preserved by the expenditure of British Blood and Treasure, as constituting an immutable Principle; a Sovereign who would not have maintained that Supremacy, must have been unworthy of the Sceptre.

The whole life of William the Third, from his attainment of manhood, down to the last moments of his existence, was passed in a continual struggle to preserve the Liberties of his own Country, or those of England, against arbitrary power. His name will ever be connected with Constitutional Freedom, and as such is cherished in our remembrance. But, does any person suppose that if William had reigned over the British Isles, at the period of the American Rebellion; whatever love of civil Liberty might animate him as a man, he

would on that account have relinquished the Rights of his Crown: or have tamely acquiesced in the refusal of his American Subjects, to contribute by indirect Taxation, to the general wants of the Empire? Those who venture to form such a conclusion, must, as it appears to me, have very imperfectly studied the Character, or appreciated the Actions of that illustrious Prince.

The *Wisdom* and *Policy* of the American War, may perhaps appear more doubtful. The attempt in the first instance to tax, and afterwards to reduce by force, a vast Continent, separated from Great Britain by an immense Ocean, inhabited by a people who were individually indebted many Millions to the Mother Country, ardent for Emancipation, and sufficiently unanimous in their resistance to the Parent State, to be able to call out into action nearly all the persons capable of bearing Arms;—such an experiment, even if speculatively considered, would doubtless have impressed any wise Statesman, as hazardous in itself, and of very uncertain issue. In the case before us, all these impediments acquired additional strength, from other concurring circumstances. A large proportion of society here at home, regarded the American Rebellion with favorable eyes, and secretly wished success to the Cause; because they dreaded lest the British Constitution itself would not long survive the encrease of Power and Influence, that the Crown must necessarily derive from the Subjugation of the Colonies beyond the Atlantic. In both Houses of Parliament, a numerous, active, and encreasing Party openly maintained and justified the Insurrection, rejoiced in their triumphs, and reprobated in Theory, no less than in practice, the attempt to subjugate the Revolted States. Even those who did not approve such political principles, yet saw in the war, if it should prove unsuccessful, a means of overturning the Administration. The inability of Great Britain to send a military force sufficiently numerous

for reducing to obedience so many Provinces, extending from the Frontiers of Canada, to the Borders of Florida; compelled the Government to obtain additional troops, by application to various of the German Powers. From the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel in particular, many thousands were procured. These Stipendiaries, though perhaps not more justly objects of moral or political condemnation, than were the Swiss and Grison Regiments retained in the service of France, or the Scotch Corps serving in the Pay of Holland, yet encreased the popular cry, and furnished subjects of Obloquy, or of Declamation. That France must, sooner or later, interfere in favor of the Americans, was likewise obvious; because the French Ministry, listening only to the narrow suggestions of national rivality, did not, or would not perceive, that it could never be the wise Policy of a despotic Government, to aid the cause of Revolt, by sending forces out of the Country, to imbibe principles of Freedom and Resistance among Rebels. It is an unquestionable fact, that the late unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth possessed enlargement of mind, and sound discernment, sufficient to feel this truth. He even objected strongly to the policy of detaching French Troops to the assistance of Washington; and he was only overruled in his opposition to the Measure, by his deference for the Counsels of Maurepas and Vergennes. France has since dearly paid, under Robespierre and Bonaparte, for her deviation from the dictates of wisdom, as well as of magnanimity, in thus supporting Insurrection.

It is however in the *Conduct* of that unfortunate Contest, that we must principally seek for the cause of its ill success. Near three years elapsed from the time of its commencement, before the Court of Versailles ventured openly to interpose as an Enemy. But, the *Howes* appear to have been either lukewarm, or remiss, or negligent, or incapable. Lord North's selection of

those two Commanders, excited at the time, just condemnation; however brave, able, or meritorious, they might individually be esteemed. Their ardor in the Cause itself was doubted; and still more questionable was their attachment to the Administration. Never, perhaps, in the history of modern war, has an Army, or a Fleet, been more profusely supplied with every requisite for brilliant and efficient service, than were the Troops and Ships sent out by Lord North's Cabinet in 1776, across the Atlantic. But, the efforts abroad, did not correspond with the exertions made at home. The energy and activity of a *Wellington* never animated that torpid mass. Neither vigilance, enterprize, nor co-operation, characterized the Campaigns of 1776, and 1777. Dissipation, Play, and Relaxation of Discipline, found their way into the British Camp. New York became another *Capua*. The defeat at Trenton, which was critically unfortunate, rescued the Congress from the lowest state of Depression. After Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga, little rational probability of success remained; and when Clinton succeeded to the Command of the Army at New York, by the recall of Sir William Howe, the French were on the point of declaring in favor of the Americans. The loyalty and courage of Sir Henry Clinton were besides more distinguished, than were his military Talents. Even the British Troops, engaged in a species of Civil War, did not manifest the same eagerness or alacrity, as when opposed to a foreign Enemy, though they displayed in every Engagement, their accustomed steadiness and valor. The service itself, from the nature of the Country, became severe, painful, and discouraging. Lakes, Swamps, Morasses, and almost impenetrable Forests, presented at every step, obstacles not easily overcome by the bravest Soldiers. And though the scene of Hostilities was successively shifted from Boston to New York; thence to the Banks of the Chesapeake

and the Delaware; finally, to the Southern and Central Provinces; yet the results, however promising they might be at the commencement, proved always ultimately abortive.

At home, a gradual and encreasing Discontent overspread the Kingdom, pervaded all classes, and seemed to menace the Administration with the effects of popular, or national resentment. The Navy, divided into parties, no longer blocked the Enemy's ports, or carried victory wherever it appeared, as it had done in the commencement of His Majesty's Reign. Our distant Possessions, unprotected, fell into the hands of France or Spain. Even our Commerce was intercepted, captured, and greatly diminished. Each year seemed to produce new foreign Adversaries, and to augment the public embarrassments or distress. Ministers who were neither vigorous, nor fortunate, nor popular, holding even their Offices by a precarious tenure, inspired no confidence. The Opposition, though diminished by the exertions which Government had made to secure a Majority in the Lower House, on the Convocation of a new Parliament; was numerous, confident, able, and indefatigable. They saw, or believed they saw, the object of their grasp, at no great distance. Futurity presented to all men, a most discouraging prospect; and Peace appeared to be not only distant, but unattainable, except by such sacrifices of National Revenue, Territory, and Honor, as could not be contemplated without a degree of dismay. America might be considered as lost; while our Possessions in the East Indies seemed to be menaced with total subversion. Those who remember the Period to which I allude, will not think the colors of this Description, either heightened, or overcharged. At no moment of the Revolutionary War which we almost unintermittingly sustained against the French, from 1793 to 1814; neither in 1797, during the Mutiny in the Navy; nor in 1799, after the unsuccess-

ful Expedition to the Helder; nor in 1805, subsequent to the Battle of Austerlitz; nor in 1806, when the Prussian Monarchy fell at Auerstadt; nor in 1807, at the Peace of Tilsit; nor when Sir John Moore was compelled, early in 1809, to re-embark at Corunna, and the whole Pyrenean Peninsula seemed to lie at the feet of its Corsican Master;—though each of these Æras unquestionably presents images of great National Depression, did a deeper Despondency prevail among all ranks of society, than towards the close of the American Contest, as the Administration of Lord North drew to its termination.

In the midst of so universal a dejection, the King remained altogether unmoved. Neither Defeats, nor Difficulties, nor the number of his foreign Enemies, nor domestic Opposition, unhinged his mind, or shook his resolution. Convinced that he could not abandon the struggle in which he was engaged, however arduous or doubtful might be the result, without renouncing his own Birth-right, the Interests of his Crown, and the best Portion of the British Empire; he never vacillated, nor shewed for a moment, any disposition to dismiss his Ministers. Whatever irresolution, difference of opinion, or apprehension, might pervade the Cabinet itself at certain moments, none of these sentiments agitated the Sovereign. He only desired to abide the Issue, and to maintain the Contest. It is, perhaps, for Posterity to decide on the degree of approbation or of blame, political and moral, which such a character and conduct, under such circumstances, may justly challenge: but even if we should incline to censure, or to condemn, we cannot help in some measure admiring it. As however, His Majesty's opinions and wishes were universally known or understood; a proportionate degree of unpopularity fell personally on him; and he was regarded as the vital principle which animated, sustained, and propelled the Administration. When we consider this

fact, in addition to all the preceding statements given of his Measures since he acceded to the Thone; we shall no longer wonder, that in defiance of so many claims to the affectionate veneration of his People, he was nevertheless, at this period of his reign, by no means an object of general partiality or attachment.

Lord North, who had already occupied the Posts of first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, during eleven Years, was then in the full Vigor of his Faculties, having nearly accomplished the Forty-ninth Year of his Age. In his Person he was of the middle size, heavy, large, and much inclined to Corpulency. There appeared in the cast and formation of his Countenance, nay even in his Manner, so strong a resemblance to the Royal Family, that it was difficult not to perceive it. Like them, he had a fair Complexion, regular Features, light Hair, with bushy Eyebrows, and grey Eyes, rather prominent in his Head. His Face might be indeed esteemed a Caricature of the King; and those who remembered the Intimacy which subsisted between Frederic, the late Prince of Wales, and the Earl, as well as Countess of Guildford, Lord North's Father and Mother, to which, Allusion has already been made; found no difficulty in accounting, though perhaps very unjustly, for that similarity. He possessed an Advantage, considered in his ministerial Capacity, which neither of his two immediate Predecessors, the Marquis of Rockingham, or the Duke of Grafton, could boast; and in which, his three immediate Successors in Office, Lord Rockingham, Lord Shelburne, and the Duke of Portland, were equally deficient. I mean, that being not a Peer, but a Commoner, he had attained in the course of Years, that intimate Knowledge of the House of Commons, its formation, and the Modes of conducting or influencing it as a Body, which nothing can confer, except long Habits of Debate, and of personal Attendance.

His natural Affability rendered him, besides, so accessible, and the communicativeness of his Temper inclined him so much to Conversation, that every Member of the House found a facility in becoming known to him. Never indeed was a First Minister less intrenched within the forms of his official Situation. He seemed on the contrary, always happy to throw aside his public Character, and to relapse into an Individual.

His Tongue being too large for his Mouth, rendered his Articulation somewhat thick, though not at all indistinct. It is to this Peculiarity or Defect in his Enunciation, that "Junius" alludes in one of his Letters, written in January, 1770, when he says, after mentioning the Duke of Grafton's Resignation, "The "palm of Ministerial Firmness is now transferred to "Lord North. He tells us so, himself, with the "Plenitude of the *Ore rotundo*." He did not however bedew his Hearers while addressing them, as Burnet tells us, the Duke of Lauderdale, so well known under Charles the Second's Reign, always did, in consequence of the faulty Conformation of his Tongue. In Parliament, the Deficiency of Lord North's Sight, was productive to him of many Inconveniences. For, even at the distance of a few Feet, he saw very imperfectly; and across the House, he was unable to distinguish Persons with any degree of Accuracy. In speaking, walking, and every Motion, it is not enough to say that he wanted Grace: he was to the last degree awkward. It can hardly obtain Belief, that in a full House of Commons, he took off on the point of his Sword, the Wig of Mr. Welbore Ellis, and carried it a considerable Way across the Floor, without ever suspecting, or perceiving it. The Fact happened in this Manner. Mr. Ellis, who was then Treasurer of the Navy, and well advanced towards his Seventieth Year, always sat at the lowest Corner of the Treasury Bench, a few Feet

removed from Lord North. The latter having occasion to go down the House, previously laid his Hand on his Sword, holding the Chafe of the Scabbard forward, nearly in a horizontal Direction. Mr. Ellis stooping at the same Instant that the First Minister rose, the point of the Scabbard came exactly in contact with the Treasurer of the Navy's Wig, which it completely took off, and bore away. The Accident, however ludicrous, was wholly unseen by Lord North, who received the first intimation of it, from the involuntary bursts of Laughter that it occasioned in every quarter of the House. Mr. Ellis, however, without altering a Muscle of his Countenance, and preserving the most perfect Gravity in the midst of the general Convulsion, having received back his Wig, re-adjusted it to his Head, and waited patiently till the House had recovered from the effect of so extraordinary, as well as ridiculous an Occurrence.

In addition to his defect of Sight, Lord North was subject likewise to a constitutional Somnolency, which neither the animated Declamations of Fox, nor the pathetic Invocations of Burke, nor the hoarse Menaces of Barré, could always prevent. It attacked him even on the Treasury Bench, sometimes with irresistible Force. Nor was he altogether exempt from its influence in private society. Having called on a Lady of Condition, one Evening, the Charms of whose Person and Conversation were universally acknowledged at the Time of which I am writing, he found her engaged in a violent Altercation with her Sister-in-law. Lord North, with his characteristic good Humour, attempted to interpose his Mediation, and to accommodate the Quarrel: but they were not to be pacified without recurring to legal Assistance. He consented therefore to wait till the Lady of the House should return from her Solicitor's Chambers in Lincoln's Inn, which she promised to do without delay. Seating himself in an

Arm-chair before the Fire, he soon fell into a profound Sleep, from which he was not awakened by the entrance of one of the Maid servants; who seeing a corpulent Man, with a blue Riband across his Breast, asleep in her Mistress's Drawing Room, and being unacquainted with the First Minister's person, ran down into the Kitchen, to give the Alarm. Yet, in defiance of all these physical Infirmities, whenever he rose to reply in the House of Commons, he displayed no want of Recollection, Presence of Mind, or Accuracy. He seldom, or never, took Notes; trusting to his Memory for retaining the Facts which occurred during the preceding discussion. Sir Grey Cooper, however, who commonly sat on his left hand, supplied, on particular Occasions, that Deficiency.

Lord North was powerful, able, and fluent in Debate; sometimes repelling the Charges made against him, with solid Argument; but still more frequently eluding or blunting the Weapons of his Antagonists, by the force of Wit and Humour. He rarely rose however to Sublimity, though he possessed vast Facility and Command of Language. When necessary, he could speak for a long Time, apparently with great Pathos, and yet disclose no Fact, nor reveal any Secret. An unalterable Suavity and Equality of Temper, which was natural to him, enabled him to sustain, unmoved, the bitter Sarcasms and severe Accusations, levelled at him from the Opposition Benches. They always seemed to sink into him, like a Cannon Ball into a Wool Sack. Sometimes, the coarse Invectives of Alderman Sawbridge, or the fiery Sallies of George Byng, roused him from his seeming Apathy; and effected the Object, which the delicate Irony, or laboured Attacks of more able Adversaries, had failed to produce. Once, and only once, during the Time that I sat in Parliament, I witnessed his rising to a Pitch of the most generous Indignation. Barré attracted this Storm on himself, by

the Reproaches which he made on the First Minister for oppressing the People with Taxes: Reproaches equally uncalled for by the Occasion, as they were delivered with insulting Asperity of Language. It happened after the Close of that memorable Debate, when General Conway, on the 22d of February, 1782, may be said to have terminated the American War; Administration only carrying the Question by a single Vote. Lord North alluding to this recent Triumph of the Opposition, said in Reply to Barré, that "he "presumed the Division of that evening, had inflamed "the Colonel's Valour to such intemperate Abuse," which he qualified with the Epithets of "insolent and "brutal." The Speaker interposing, mutual Apologies were offered. Pitt and Tierney met on Putney Common in 1798, and exchanged Shots for less Provocation: but, a Duel between Lord North and Barré, would have excited a sort of Ridicule; the former seeing very imperfectly with both Eyes, and the latter having only one defective Eye. Besides, Anger and Resentment appeared to be foreign to Lord North's Nature, and as if only put on occasionally to serve a particular purpose. He was indeed incapable of lasting enmity, though he felt, and sometimes expressed Contempt for those, who abandoned him from mean and mercenary Motives.

Baited, harassed, and worried as he always was in Parliament, during the latter years of his Administration, he never manifested any impatience for the termination of the Session: on the contrary, doubts were entertained among those who knew him best, whether he did not derive a gratification from keeping the House of Commons sitting. That Assembly presented in fact a Theatre on which he acted the first Personage, where he attracted almost all attention, and where his abilities rendered him hardly less conspicuous than his Ministerial situation. In opening *the Budget*,

he was esteemed peculiarly lucid, clear, and able. On that account it constituted a day of triumph to his friends and supporters, who exulted in the talent which he displayed, whenever he exhibited the state of the National Finances, or imposed new pecuniary burthens. I was twice present at his performance of this arduous task; first, in 1781, and afterwards, in the following year, when he executed it for the last time. Each performance appeared to me, very deserving of the Encomiums lavished on it; and if compared with the incapable manner in which *the Budget* was opened by his successor, Lord John Cavendish, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1783, I still continue of the same opinion. But, Lord North could sustain no competition with the late Mr. Pitt, who on those, as on all other occasions, manifested a perspicuity, eloquence, and talent, altogether wonderful; which carried the Audience along with him in every Arithmetical statement, left no calculation obscure or ambiguous, and impressed the House at its close, with tumultuous Admiration.

Lord North could descend without effort, I might say, with ease and dignity, from the highest Offices of his public situation in the House of Commons, to the lowest duties of a private Member. In the Spring of the year 1781, when "the Secret Committee for enquir-" ing into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic," was appointed by Ballot, I was named one of the Scrutineers, to examine the names of the Persons chosen to compose it. The House being about to break up, we were standing round the Table, when some voices called out the name of Lord North for a Scrutineer. Far from declining to engage in such an Occupation, which he might easily have done, on account of his Official business and employments, he instantly repaired with the Members nominated, to one of the Committee Rooms. We sat till a late hour before the Scrutiny

was finished, and dined together up stairs. And if he made the worst Scrutineer, he was certainly the pleasantest and best Companion, during the whole time. He possessed a classic mind, full of information, and always enlivened by wit, as well as sweetened by good humour. When young, he had travelled over a considerable part of Europe, and he knew the Continent well: he spoke French with facility, and was equally versed in the great writings of Antiquity. It was impossible to experience dullness in his society. Even during the last years of his life, when nearly or totally blind, and labouring under many infirmities, his equanimity of temper never forsook him, nor even his gaiety, and powers of conversation. I have frequently seen him display the utmost chearfulness under those circumstances so trying to human nature.

As a Statesman, his enemies charged him with irresolution: but he might rather be taxed with indolence and procrastination, than with want of decision. He naturally loved to postpone, though when it became necessary to resolve, he could abide firmly by his Determination. Never had any Minister purer hands, nor manifested less rapacity. In fact, he amassed no wealth, after an Administration of twelve years. When he quitted Office, his circumstances were by no means opulent, and he had a numerous family. His Adversaries reproached him likewise, that though incapable of personally descending to unworthy means of enriching himself, he allowed peculations or abuses to be practised by those employed under him. Sawbridge, when speaking in his place, as a Member, alluding to this accusation, exclaimed with Cato, "Curse on his "virtues, they've undone his Country!" A similar charge was made against the late Mr. Pitt, who, after having been First Minister during almost his whole life, left only Debts behind him. But it never entered into any man's mind, however inimical, to accuse either

Lord North or Mr. Pitt, of making undue purchases in the public Funds, or of turning their Ministerial information to private purposes of pecuniary emolument. They were known to be upright and disinterested. The great defect of Lord North's Government arose from the easiness of his natural temper, which sometimes perhaps induced him to adopt, or to defend Measures, that had not always the sanction of his judgment. Another, and perhaps a greater evil, arising from his facility and want of energy, was, that he did not, like the great Earl of Chatham, sufficiently coerce the other Members of the Cabinet; each of whom, under Lord North, might be said to form a sort of independant Department. They were in fact, rather his co-equals, than his subordinates, as they ought to have been; and the public Service often suffered from their want of union, or from their clashing interests, and private animosities.

The want of political courage cannot be justly attributed to him. If we reflect that his Administration equalled in length of time, the aggregate of the five preceding Ministers, namely, the first Mr. Pitt's, Lord Bute's, Mr. Grenville's, Lord Rockingham's, and the Duke of Grafton's; and if we consider how critical, as well as perilous, were the Times, particularly during the reverses of the American War, and in the Riots of June, 1780, which last convulsions might have appalled the stoutest mind; we shall not refuse him a just claim to the praise of Ministerial firmness. Even his ultimate resignation in 1782, I am convinced, arose more from disgust and weariness, added to despair, than from personal fear, or from any defect of nerves. Though not unguarded in private Conversation, or in Debate, he was careless in many respects, to a degree hardly credible. I have heard a Member of his Cabinet say, that it was dangerous to trust him with State papers, which he perpetually mislaid or forgot. A Letter of

the first political importance, addressed to him by the King, which he had lost, after a long search, was found lying wide open in the water-closet. A strong and mutual affection subsisted between His Majesty and him, as was natural, after the many heavy storms that they had weathered together, for so many years. This attachment on the part of the former, though shaken and interrupted when Lord North joined Mr. Fox in 1783, yet revived in the Royal bosom at a subsequent period, on Lord North becoming blind; a circumstance at which, when made known to him, His Majesty expressed the deepest concern and sympathy. He did not then probably foresee that he should himself be visited with the same affliction; a point of similarity between them, which is not a little remarkable.

Besides his Ministerial Offices, Lord North was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Lady North enjoyed the Rangership of Bushy Park. It was there, that, surrounded by his family, he appeared peculiarly an object of esteem and of attachment, divested of all form or ostentation, diffusing gaiety and good humour round him. Even those who opposed the *Minister*, loved the *Man*. I have had the honor to witness, and to participate of the scene that I here describe; and may say as Pope does of Sir Robert Walpole,

> "Seen him I have, but in the social hour
> "Of private *Converse*, ill exchanged for Power."

The Earl of Guildford, Lord North's father, attained to a very advanced age: I believe, to eighty-six, and had nearly survived his son, only dying about two years before him. So that Lord North, like his predecessor, Sir Robert Walpole, remained a Member of the House of Commons, during almost his whole life. Lord Guildford had been three times married; Dr. North, the present Bishop of Winchester, being his son by the second wife. Lord North sprung from his first

marriage. The Minister secured the Reversion, if I may so term it, of the Bishoprick of Winchester, for his Brother, by a piece of Address. For, the Archiepiscopal See of York having become vacant on the Decease of Dr. Drummond; Lord North, who knew that the King had destined that high Ecclesiastical promotion for Dr. Markham, then Bishop of Chester, determined nevertheless to ask it for Dr. North, Bishop of Worcester. Conscious that he should meet with a refusal, for which he was prepared, he ably made it subservient to the attainment of his real object, Winchester: a Mitre that might be reasonably expected soon to drop, from the age and infirmities of its possessor, Dr. Thomas. When Lord North preferred his request, the King replied, that it was impossible to gratify him, as the Archbishoprick of York must be conferred on the Bishop of Chester. The First Minister insisted: but the Sovereign remained firm, recapitulated the obligations which he owed to Dr. Markham, for his care of the Prince of Wales's Education, and left no prospect of effecting any change in his resolution. "Your Majesty then," said Lord North, "will, I hope, have no objection to give my "Brother, the See of Winchester, whenever it may "become vacant?" "Oh, by all means," answered the King. "You may rely on it;" a Promise, which soon afterwards received its Accomplishment.

I will conclude the Subject of Lord North, on which I dwell with Complacency, by observing, that though he cannot be esteemed a great Statesman, in the most comprehensive Sense, like the first or the second Mr. Pitt; though he was even a very unfortunate, as well as a most unpopular Minister, during the far greater part, or the whole course of his Administration; yet he possessed distinguished Claims to national Esteem. The American War formed the Weight which dragged him down: a Load that would have sunk the great

Lord Chatham himself, if he had attempted to lift it, notwithstanding his Talents and popular Favor. In the Year 1758, when that eminent Statesman was called to the Direction of public Affairs, not by the Sovereign, but by the Nation, he had only to conduct and point the Energies of the Country against France. His son, in 1793, beheld himself placed, as the Champion of Order, Morals, Religion, and Monarchical Government, in opposition to the most sanguinary and detestable Republic, if it could be with Justice entitled to that Denomination, which ever arose among Men. Both Ministers were in some Measure sustained and impelled by the very Contest. But Lord North, who derived little Support from his Countrymen, and none from the Nature of the War, could only look to the Crown for Protection against public Clamor, in and out of Parliament. In the Distribution of Honors and Dignities, he was far more sparing than his Successor; a Fact of which we shall be convinced, if we compare the List of Peerages created between 1770 and 1782, with those made by Mr. Pitt, when First Minister, within the same Portion of Time, during any Period of his Administration. Nor was Lord North equally profuse of the Public Money, as Mr. Pitt, whatever Severity of Censure he underwent for his Extravagance or Negligence, in the Management and Expenditure of the Finances. No Impeachment of any subordinate Minister, or of any Member of his Cabinet, ever took place, for Defalcation, or Misapplication of Sums which passed through his Hands, as we witnessed in 1806. Yet the Opposition in the Lower House of Parliament, during the whole Progress of the American War, exceeded in Numbers, and at least equalled in Virulence, the Minority which impeached Lord Melville.

As a Man, considered in every private Relation, even in his very Weaknesses, Lord North was most amiable: in that point of View, his Character will rise on a

Comparison with any First Minister of Great Britain, during the Course of the Eighteenth Century; not excepting Lord Godolphin, Mr. Pelham, or the Marquis of Rockingham. The two former were justly accused of a passion for Play, which accompanied them through Life: a Vice from which Lord North was wholly exempt. *Burnet*, who recounts the Fact relative to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, says, "he loved Gaming "the most of any Man of Business I ever knew; and "gave one Reason for it; because it delivered him from "the Obligation to talk much." Dodington, when relating Mr. Pelham's Attachment to the same Gratification, adds, that he studiously concealed it with the utmost Care. Lord North possessed better intellectual Resources in himself. He possessed likewise the highest Sources of Enjoyment in his Family, surrounded by his Children. The Marquis of Rockingham was childless; and Lord Bute's Fire-side was not characterized by the same Expansion of the Heart, the same Emancipation from all Severity of Form, or the same Ebullitions of Fancy and Intellect. His immediate Predecessor, the Duke of Grafton, respecting whom "Junius" observes, when speaking of his domestic qualities, "Your Grace "has now made the complete Revolution of the political "Zodiac, from the *Scorpion* in which you stung Lord "Chatham, to the hopes of a *Virgin* in the House of "Bloomsbury;"—the Duke could stand no Competition with Lord North, in the endearing Charities of Life, where the Minister becomes merged in the Father, the Husband, and the Individual. If we would try to find his Equal in these Endowments and Virtues, we must remount to Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, or to Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.—Every Beholder, while contemplating the Monument where rest the Remains of the great Earl of Chatham, or of the Second Mr. Pitt, must be penetrated with Emotions of Admiration and Respect: but all those who personally knew Lord

North, or had ever mixed with him in Society, while regarding his Tomb, would involuntarily find their Eyes suffused in Tears.

The post of Secretary of State for the *Northern* Department, was at that Time filled by Lord Stormont; a Nobleman who having passed great Part of his Life in a diplomatic Capacity, on the Continent, principally at the Courts of Dresden and Vienna, necessarily possessed a considerable Knowledge of the Interests and Politics of Europe. He had nevertheless manifested no great Vigilance, nor displayed any superior Penetration, during his recent Embassy at Paris; where, it was commonly believed, he had been deceived by the Protestations, or duped by the Artifices, of Maurepas and of Vergennes, previous to the open Interference of France in the Affairs of America. His near Alliance to the Earl of Mansfield, of whom he was the Nephew and collateral Heir, if it conferred no Claim to popular Favor, unquestionably conduced to render him more acceptable at St. James's. Even his Enemies admitted him to possess Application; and whenever he rose in the House of Peers, he displayed a thorough Acquaintance with the Subject on which he spoke, together with great Precision of Language, and force of Argument.

The Earl of Hillsborough, who held the *Southern* Department, wanted neither Ability nor Attention to public Business: but his natural Endowments, however solid, did not rise above mediocrity. He seemed to have owed his political, as well as personal Elevation in Life, more to his good Sense, Penetration, and Address, than to any intellectual Superiority. I have seen him much embarrassed and disconcerted in the Session of 1781, when called on officially in the House of Lords, to explain, or to justify, the Measures adopted in Bengal: an Embarrassment which arose from his Ignorance of Names, Places, and Circumstances in that Quarter of the Globe, with which, as Secretary of State

for the East Indies, he ought to have been acquainted. We must however recollect, that very few Persons, except such as were locally connected with India, had then attained any accurate Information respecting the Company's Affairs. Of this assertion I could adduce many proofs. In February, 1782, when Lord Shelburne speaking in the House of Peers, made Allusion to "a "King, or Supreme Rajah of the Mharattas," he felt himself compelled to explain to their Lordships, the Nature and narrow Limits of that nominal Sovereignty; with which, as well as with the Office of "Peshwa," or efficient Ruler, of the Mharatta Empire, nine-tenths of his Audience were utterly unacquainted. I recollect the Astonishment, not unmixed with some degree of Ridicule, excited in the House of Commons, on Governor Johnstone's first Mention and Description of the Harbour of Trincomalé in the Island of Ceylon; a Bay, which probably, till that Occasion, had never been heard of by the greater part of the County Members. Though the Irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic in 1780, powerfully awakened the national Attention to the Subject; it was Fox's memorable Bill, followed at a short Interval, by Hastings's Trial, that diffused over the whole Kingdom an Eagerness for Oriental Knowledge.

But, Lord George Germain, who presided over the American Department, attracted from a variety of Causes, far more public Consideration, while he presented a fairer Mark for parliamentary Attack, or for popular Declamation, than either of the other Secretaries of State. His Abilities, the Circumstance of his being a Member of the House of Commons, even the Events of his former Life, and above all, the Object of the War in which we were engaged; a War, that at the Commencement of 1781, still professed to be the Subjugation of the revolted Colonies; — these united Circumstances rendered him, after Lord North, the

most prominent Person in Administration. As I had the Honor to enjoy a place in his Friendship, and to live with him during the latter Years of his Life, on terms of great Intimacy, I may pretend to have known him well. Nor will I deny that I am partial to his Memory: but, that Partiality will never induce me to pervert, or to misrepresent any Fact; though I am aware that it may unintentionally bias my Opinions. He had completed his Sixty-fifth Year at this Time; but a frame of Body naturally robust, and a vigorous Constitution, secured him almost uninterrupted Health, together with the Enjoyment of all his Faculties. In his Person, which rose to near six feet, he was muscular, and capable of enduring much bodily, as well as mental, Fatigue. His Countenance indicated Intellect, particularly his Eye, the Motions of which were quick and piercing. On first Acquaintance, his Manner and Air impressed with an idea of proud Reserve: but no Man, in private Society, unbent himself more, or manifested less Self-importance. In the midst of his Family;—for he rarely dined from home; and in the Company of a few select Friends, he soon forgot the Toils annexed to public Life, the Asperities of Debate, and the Vexations of Office. Even after the latest Nights in the House of Commons, he always sat down to Table, drank a pint of Claret, and passed in Review the Incidents of the preceding Evening. It was then that his Conversation became most entertaining; seasoned with curious Anecdotes collected during the course of a long Life, passed in the highest Circles, amidst the greatest Affairs, in England, Ireland, Scotland, and on the Continent, where he had served; embracing the Secret History of the present, and of the two late Reigns.

Though Lord George Germain was so highly born, his Education did not altogether correspond with his Extraction, and he owed far more to Nature, than to

Cultivation. He had, indeed, been brought up in the College of Dublin; but he possessed little Information derived from Books, nor had he improved his Mind by extensive Reading, in subsequent Years. Even after his Retreat from public Employment, in the decline of Life, when at Drayton, where he had a fine Library, he rarely opened an Author, except for a short Time on his Return from coursing, shooting, riding, or other favourite Exercises. He had visited Paris, when young, with his Father the Duke of Dorset; and the French language was familiar to him; but with Horace, Tacitus, or Cicero, he had formed little Acquaintance. His initiation into public Life, Politics, and Parliament, took place too early, to admit of storing his Mind with classic Images or Ideas. Though he was versed in English History since the Time of Elizabeth, during which Period of near two Centuries, some one of his immediate Ancestors had almost always sat, and sometimes presided, in the Councils of the Sovereign, he was not conversant in our Annals of an earlier Date. But, on the other hand, he had witnessed much with his own Eyes, he had heard still more from others, he seized with Ease on whatever was submitted to his Understanding, and he forgot nothing.

In Business he was rapid, yet clear and accurate; rather negligent in his Style, which was that of a Gentleman and a Man of the World, unstudied and frequently careless, even in his official Dispatches. But, there was no Obscurity or Ambiguity in his Compositions. Capable of Application, he nevertheless passed little Time at the Desk, or in the Closet: and while Secretary of State, under critical, as well as perilous Circumstances, when every Courier brought, or might bring, Accounts the most disastrous; no Man who saw him at Table, or of an Evening in his Drawing Room, would have suspected from his Deportment and Conversation, that the Responsibility of the American War

reposed principally on his Shoulders. More than one Member of the Cabinet was supposed to enjoy a greater degree of personal Acceptability with the King; but none exercised the Privilege of speaking with more freedom to him. Lord George seldom hazarded to ask Favours; but when he undertook any Cause, he never receded till he had obtained the Object. Dr. Eliot, who then practised Physic with some Celebrity, and of whose medical Skill Lord George entertained a high Opinion; induced him to exert his Interest at Court, for procuring the Doctor to be created a Baronet. The King, who disliked Eliot personally, and regarded his professional Talents with as little Partiality, displayed much Repugnance to grant the Request. Yielding however at last, "Well, my Lord," said he, "since you desire it, let it be: but remember, He shall "not be my Physician." "No, Sir," answered Lord George, bowing, "He shall be your Majesty's Baronet, "and my Physician." The King laughed, and Eliot was raised to the Baronetage.

In the House of Commons, down to the last Hour that Lord George remained a Member of that Assembly, he was constantly the Object of the severest, and most pointed Attacks of the Opposition; who always hoped to force from his Irritability, the Secret or the Fact, which they had vainly attempted to extort from the Apathy and Tranquillity of Lord North. In this Endeavour they frequently succeeded: for, Lord George, goaded by Reproaches, often fictitious, frequently unjust, generally started up sooner or later; repelled the Charges advanced; and in so doing, sometimes put the Adversary in possession of the very Matter which they sought to discover. He spoke, as he wrote, without much Premeditation, from the impulse of the Occasion; in animated, rather than in correct Language; with Vehemence, but, not without Dignity. His Voice was powerful, and his Figure commanding; though he did

not always thoroughly possess himself, nor display the Coolness demanded by so trying a Situation as that of American Secretary. His Opponents, who well knew, availed themselves of this Defect in his formation of Mind. On the other Hand, the Keenness of his Sight gave him a prodigious Advantage over Lord North, when in the House of Commons. Lord George Germain had no sooner taken his Seat, than he pervaded with a Glance of his Eye, the Opposition Benches; saw who attended, as well as who were absent; and formed his Conclusions accordingly on the Business of the Day. He used to say, that for those who were enabled to exercise this Faculty, every Thing was to be *seen* in the House; where, on the contrary, nothing except Declamation, was to be gained by the *Ear*. No Man better understood the Management of Parliament; the Prolongation or Acceleration of a Debate, according to the Temper or the Number of the Members present; and every Detail of official Dexterity or Address, requisite in conducting Affairs submitted to a popular Assembly. To all these Arts of Government, he had served two long and severe Apprenticeships in Ireland, as Secretary to his Father, the Duke of Dorset, when successively Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. In political courage and firmness he was not deficient. I have seen him in circumstances which sufficiently put those qualities to the proof, towards the close of the American war, when intelligence arrived of Lord Cornwallis's surrender at York Town: a Disaster of the most irreparable nature, the load of which fell almost exclusively on himself.

While summing up Lord George's Character, it is so impossible not to think of the business at Minden, and consequently not to allude to it, that my silence on the subject, would seem to imply my conviction of the Justice of the Sentence passed on him by the Court Martial. On the other hand, I feel how delicate and

invidious a matter it is, on which to touch, even at the distance of more than half a Century. Yet, as *personal*, and *political* Courage, though altogether dissimilar, are commonly considered to have an intimate connexion; as we are even with difficulty induced to allow, or duly to estimate any virtues, however eminent, in a man whom we suppose to have been deficient in the former of those essential qualities; as general prejudice is certainly in Lord George's disfavor, and as I may lay claim to some information on the subject; I shall enter briefly into the Disquisition.

I lay no stress on Lord George Germain's illustrious Extraction, since we all know that the greatest Houses have produced the most degenerate descendants; instances of which in point have occurred in our own Times. Pope justly exclaims,

"What can ennoble Slaves, or Sots, or Cowards?
"Alas! Not all the Blood of all the Howards!"

It is, nevertheless, an incentive to noble Achievements, when we descend from those who have performed such actions. The memorable *Letter* of *Edward*, Earl of Dorset, describing his Duel with Lord Bruce, under the reign of James the First, commemorated in the "Guardian;" and the celebrated *Song*, beginning,

"To all you Ladies now on Land,
"We Men at Sea indite,"

which was composed by *Charles*, Earl of Dorset, Lord George's Grandfather, as we are assured, on the Night before the Engagement between the English fleet, and that of Holland, commanded by Opdam, under Charles the Second's reign:—these two Productions, which are as universally known as the Language in which they are written, sufficiently attest that he drew his Lineage from men of Courage. His maternal Grandfather,

Marshal Colyear, Brother of the first Earl of Portmore, and Governor of Namur, with whom Lord George passed much time in his youth; had grown grey in all the Sieges and Battles of the Low Countries, under William the Third. As soon as England took a part in the War occasioned by the Accession of Maria Theresa in 1743, Lord George was sent to the Continent; where he served, if not with marked distinction, certainly without the slightest reproach, under the Command of Lord Stair, and of His late Britannic Majesty. In 1745, at the Battle of Fontenoy, where a number of our Officers fell, he received a musket-ball in the breast, and was thrown upon a waggon, with many others. He had preserved the Uniform that he wore on that day, which I have seen and examined; bearing on it the mark of the Ball, corresponding to the place where he was struck, and other Holes in the Skirts of the Coat, perforated by Bullets. During the domestic Rebellion that followed the Defeat of Fontenoy, being recalled to his own country, he accompanied William, Duke of Cumberland, from the Commencement, to the Close, of the Insurrection in Scotland; where great commendation was bestowed on his Services.

Among the Dorset Papers, which I have seen, were preserved a Series of Letters, addressed by him to the Duke his father, containing many interesting incidents of the years 1745 and 1746, while he was serving in the Highlands, against the Rebels. On the breaking out of the war in 1756, he accompanied the late Duke of Marlborough, on those desultory Expeditions to the Coast of Normandy and Brittany, when we bombarded St. Malo, and demolished Cherburgh. After the Demise of the Duke, which took place at Munster, towards the close of 1758, it is well known that Lord George commanded the British Forces during the ensuing Campaign, and in particular at the Battle of

Minden. That he did not advance at the head of the Cavalry, on that Occasion, with the Celerity that might have been wished; and that his Delay is ever to be regretted on a *national* Account, because, if he had so advanced, the Defeat of the Enemy would have been much more complete; that consequently he became a just Subject of Blame or of Censure, if we judge by *the Result*, and not by *the Motive*;—all these Points must be conceded to his Accusers. But, the Question is, whether he manifested any such Backwardness to lead on the Horse, after he received Prince Ferdinand's Orders for that Purpose, as justly rendered him liable to the Suspicion of Reluctance, or to the Imputation of Cowardice?

The Depositions of Lieutenant Colonels Ligonier, Sloper, and Fitzroy, would certainly seem to affix on him, either one or the other of these Charges. But, the Evidence of Lieutenant Colonel Hotham, as well as the positive Testimony of Captains Lloyd and Smith, two of Lord George's Aid-du-Camps, appear as completely to exculpate him. There were even negative, if not positive Doubts, stated by Hotham and Smith, relative to the Accuracy, not to say the Truth or Existence, of the asserted Conversation held by Colonels Fitzroy and Ligonier with Lord George, when they successively delivered him Prince Ferdinand's Orders. Captain Smith, Sir Sidney Smith's Father, I very intimately knew; who was himself a Man of distinguished personal Courage, strictly conscientious, and incapable of asserting any Thing that he disbelieved. He never entertained an Idea that Lord George was withheld by unbecoming personal Motives, from advancing at Minden. The Fact plainly appeared to be, even on the Testimony of Fitzroy, Sloper, and Ligonier, that either Prince Ferdinand's Orders were in themselves contradictory, or were misunderstood by the Aid-du-Camps, or were imperfectly delivered by

them. Lord George displayed evident Irresolution under those Circumstances. He first halted, and afterwards did not cause the Cavalry to advance with the Rapidity that would have ensured the Enemy's entire Defeat. Probably, similar Accidents happen in almost every great Engagement. But, the World, which pardons the Excesses of intemperate Courage, never forgives the slightest Appearance of Backwardness in the Field. Prince Rupert, who three Times ruined the Affairs of Charles the First; who by his impetuous Valour, lost him the three Battles of Edge Hill, of Marston Moor, and of Naseby, is pardoned by Posterity: while Admiral Byng and Lord George Sackville remain under Imputation. Such will ever be the Lot of military Men who venture to hold back, when they might go forward in Action.

It must nevertheless excite no small Surprize, that Prince Ferdinand, though he alludes in the General Orders issued on the Day following the Battle, to Lord George's supposed Misconduct; yet, in the first Dispatches sent to this Country, containing the Account of the Victory, made no public Mention whatever of it; and some Days elapsed, before the Prince preferred any formal Accusation against him. I have seen among the Dorset Papers, a Series of Lord George's Letters to his Father, written from the Allied Army, during that Campaign, extending to within very few Days of the Action at Minden. And I have likewise perused the Notes addressed to Lionel, Duke of Dorset, from the Foreign Office of the Secretary of State here, on the Arrival of the official Intelligence of the Engagement; felicitating the Duke on the Result of a Battle so glorious to this Country, and in which He must necessarily feel so deep a personal Interest. Not a Word, nor a Hint, appears in these Notes, of Lord George's supposed want of Alacrity. How are we to explain this line of Conduct in the

Prince? It would seem as if the Charge should have instantly followed the Act.

George the Second, it must be remembered, was at this Time near Seventy-six Years old; strongly prejudiced, as we well know, in favour of his Relative and Countryman, Prince Ferdinand; and naturally chagrined at an Event, which, even though it should have been publicly recognized as the mere effect of Misconception or Mistake in the Orders sent, yet equally afforded Subject for Regret, on account of its injurious consequences. Under these Circumstances the Court Martial took place, and the King's sentiments respecting Lord George's Culpability, were universally known throughout the Country. It is a fact, that His late Majesty sent him a Message, acquainting him of his own Determination to put into Execution the Sentence of the Court, whatever it might be, without Mitigation. Lord George was tried in March, 1760. Had the late King died in October, 1759, instead of October, 1760, might not the Result in all probability, have been far less severe under a new Reign, when the Clamour of the Hour had subsided?

In 1759 and 1760, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, occupied a high Place in the admiration of the English Public, by whom he was considered as only inferior in the Field, to *the Protestant Hero*, as he was then absurdly denominated, Frederic, King of Prussia. But his Popularity, I mean, Prince Ferdinand's, proved of very short duration. As early as January, 1761, we may see in "Dodington's Diary," how low the Prince had fallen in general Estimation, and what serious Accusations were brought against him. Dodington, relating the particulars of a Conversation which he had at that Time with the Earl of Bute, says, I told him, "that I thought Prince Ferdinand was become as "unpopular in the Army, as he was once popular: that

" he was accused of three great Heads of Malversation. " The first was, that he had exacted complete Pay for " uncomplete Corps: the second, that not One Shilling " of all those devastating Contributions, had been " carried to the Public Account: the third, that he " had received good Money, and had paid the Troops " in bad, to a very great Amount, and at a great Dis- " count." These Charges do not appear to have ever been refuted. The precedent of Admiral Byng, shot very unjustly, on an Accusation of Cowardice, was recent. If the Members of the Military Tribunal who tried Lord George, believed that he had committed the same Crime as the one imputed to that unfortunate naval Commander, why did they not pass on him the same Sentence? There can be only one Answer. The Evidence brought forward, fell short of Proof; and under those Circumstances, they doubtless were not convinced that he merited Death. But, still, as the Prejudices, or prevailing Opinions of the Time, hardly admitted on the other Hand, of his Acquittal, they cashiered him. It is for Posterity to revise, perhaps to reverse, that Sentence. I have endeavoured fairly to state the leading Facts, on which they may found a Judgment.

Lord George's Duel with Governor Johnstone, is well known. On that Occasion, even by his Adversary's admission, he exhibited perfect Self-possession; presenting so fair and erect a Mark, while he calmly waited for the Governor's fire, that it extorted from him an involuntary Testimony to Lord George's courage. The late Lord Sydney, then Mr. Townsend, who was his Second, equally witnessed and attested his coolness. How can we believe or conceive, that such a Man, on such a Field as Minden, before so many Spectators, would, from personal Fear, have at once covered himself with Ignominy? As little is it proved, whatever we may suspect, that Motives of personal Animosity

to Prince Ferdinand, with whom we know he was on bad terms, operated on Lord George's Mind, and impelled him to delay moving forward with the Cavalry, to complete the Victory. It is evident, on the calmest and most dispassionate Review of the Transaction, which has obtained such a melancholy celebrity in our Military Annals under George the Second; that an Ambiguity in Prince Ferdinand's Orders to Lord George, or a Contradiction in them, produced the whole Misfortune. We may indeed assert, or believe, that the British Commander intentionally misunderstood them. But, where was the Proof adduced of that Fact? Captain Ligonier brings an Order for *the whole* Cavalry to advance. Colonel Fitzroy, almost in the same Moment, orders only the *British* Cavalry to advance. On receiving these opposite Messages, Lord George halts the Cavalry, while he gallops up to Prince Ferdinand, in order to receive his personal Instructions. There might be error in this Delay, and public Injury might accrue from it, as Prince Ferdinand asserts did actually ensue, when in his "General Orders" above alluded to, he says, that if "the Marquis of Granby had been at the Head of the "Cavalry of the Right Wing, he is persuaded, the "Decision of that Day would have been more com-"plete and more brilliant." Still, there is no proof of Lord George's voluntary Misconstruction of the Orders, or of his Reluctance to execute them; and the Error might have originated in Mistake, as well as in Volition. How easily would the whole Misfortune have been rendered impossible, if Prince Ferdinand had, like Prince Eugene of Savoy, whom he might have copied on this Point; only sent *one* of his successive Orders *in Pencil?* Prince Eugene expressly says in his "Memoirs," "I derived much Benefit from always "carrying in my Pocket a Pencil, to write in the "Officer's Memorandum Book, the Order which I gave

" him to carry." Such was the constant Practice of that illustrious Commander, when in the Field; a Practice peculiarly demanded in the Instance before us, if Prince Ferdinand thought that he had any reason to doubt Lord George's prompt and ready Obedience. I return from this Digression.

The Earl of Sandwich, who had presided during ten Years at the Head of the Admiralty, was universally admitted to possess eminent Talents, great application to the Duties of his Office, and long Acquaintance with public Business. A distinguished votary of Wit, Conviviality, and Pleasure; he had nevertheless been early initiated into political Life, and was sent by Mr. Pelham, then First Minister, as one of the Plenipotentiaries in 1748, at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In all his official Functions he displayed Perspicuity, as well as Dispatch. No naval Officer who stated his Demand to the First Lord of the Admiralty, with becoming brevity, ever waited for an Answer; and he was accustomed to say, " If any Man will draw up his " Case, and put his Name at the foot of the first Page, " I will give him an immediate Reply. Where he " compels me to turn over the sheet, he must wait my " Leisure." How laconically, yet forcibly he could write, with what Conciseness and Severity blended, he exhibited in his memorable Note to Mr. Eden, afterwards created Lord Auckland. That Gentleman, when he quitted his political Friends in 1786, in order to join Mr. Pitt, who sent him over to Paris, for the purpose of negociating the Commercial Treaty; addressed a circular Letter to them, endeavouring to explain and to justify his Line of Conduct. Lord Sandwich, in answer to the Letter that he received on the Occasion, instantly wrote back these Words. " Sir, " your letter is before me, and it will presently be " behind me. I remain, Sir, your most humble Ser- " vant." Polite, accessible, and endowed with great

natural Capacity, it might have been expected that he would acquire the public Favour, in no less a degree than he enjoyed the Confidence of his Sovereign. But, many Causes conduced to render him an object of popular Dislike or Disapprobation; some of which were personal, others political. At an early period of His Majesty's Reign, Wilkes and Churchill combined their Powers, in order to expose his Character to universal Condemnation. The former, in his "Letter to the Electors of Aylesbury," written from Paris, in October, 1764, designates Lord Sandwich, as "the most "abandoned man of the Age:" while Churchill, in his Poem of the "Candidate," speaking of him, says,

"Search Earth, search Hell, the Devil cannot find,
"An Agent like *Lothario* to his Mind."

However unjust or exaggerated might be these accusations; yet we must own that the part he took in denouncing the "Essay on Woman," to the House of Peers, laid him open to the charge of breach of confidence; and attracted towards him the severest Animadversions of the Author, whose pen inflicted the most incurable wounds. Though he had already attained his sixty-second year, his licentious mode of life seemed more befitting a Minister of Charles the Second, than a confidential Servant of George the Third. His Fortune, which did not altogether correspond with his high rank, and habits of gratification or expence, was supposed to lay him open to seduction; or at least to render him capable of listening to propositions, that a more independent man might have disdained. His enemies, who were numerous and violent, maintained that even Official Appointments were sometimes conferred under conditions not honorable to the First Lord of the Admiralty. Naval Commanders, sent to important Stations, on which great Emoluments might be naturally expected to

arise from Captures, were asserted to have a fellow feeling with their Patron, and even to divide with him a certain Proportion of their Acquisitions. However improbable or unproved were these assertions, which doubtless originated in party malevolence; yet, as Names and minute Particulars were added or invented, they obtained general credit, and made a deep impression. All the eloquence of Fox in one House of Parliament, and all the laborious pertinacity of the Duke of Richmond in the other, had been employed during successive Sessions, not without effect, in impressing the public mind with unfavourable sentiments towards him. Palliser was represented as the object of his partiality; Keppel, as the victim of his persecution. During the Riots of the preceding Summer, in June, 1780, he had been marked out by the Mob, as a sacrifice, and narrowly escaped the effects of their blind animosity.

With consummate ability Lord Sandwich had constructed a species of Citadel within the Ministerial Trenches, which acknowledged hardly any other Commander or Comptroller than himself. The India House constituted this Fortress, of which he was supposed to possess the secret Keys. Many of the leading Directors, among whom were the two Chairmen, looked for Orders, as it was commonly believed, not so much to Lord North, as to the First Lord of the Admiralty. The influence conferred by such a source of power, at a time when the East India Board of Controul had no existence, cannot easily be estimated. He was not wanting in endeavours to sustain it by every possible means; and well aware of its importance, he contrived to distribute among his chief Adherents in Leadenhall Street, some of the minor Honours of the Crown. On all great occasions, when the concealed Springs of that complicated Machine, denominated the East India Company, were necessary to be touched,

application was made to Lord Sandwich. Even the intimations sent from the Treasury, often remained inefficient, till confirmed by him; and when the First Minister, towards the close of the year 1780, was prevailed on to recommend Lord Macartney for Governor of Madras, as Successor to Rumbold, he found that no serious attention was paid to his wishes, before the Admiralty lent its co-operation. So vast a field of exclusive patronage and favour, rendered its possessor not only independent of his Colleagues in the Cabinet, but formidable to them; and he might justly be accounted one of the most powerful, as he was certainly one of the most able, Members of the Administration.

With Lord Amherst I was well acquainted. In his person he was tall and thin, with an aquiline nose, and an intelligent countenance. As Commander-in-Chief, or to speak more accurately, as commanding-in-Chief the Forces, he enjoyed a place in the Cabinet. To Lionel, Duke of Dorset, he owed his first entrance into the Army. From the situation of a private Gentleman, descended of a good Kentish family, but of very slender fortune; his military talents, and his success in America, had deservedly elevated him to the British Peerage. Selected by the discerning eye of the Earl of Chatham, he had been sent out as the Companion of *Wolfe*, whose brilliant Conquest of Quebec, was confirmed by Amherst's subsequent Reduction of Montreal and Upper Canada. Under the Shade of these Laurels, so honourably earned, which had likewise been remunerated with the Order of *the Bath*, he seemed to challenge the National esteem, not to say their gratitude. Individually, he possessed both: but, in his Official character, at the Head of the Army, he did not escape censure on various points, materially affecting the Discipline and the Honour of the Service. Not that I would be understood to say of Lord

Amherst, what "Junius" asserts of the Marquis of Granby, in his first memorable Letter, dated 21st January, 1769: a Letter, which, fortunately for "Junius," induced Sir William Draper to become Lord Granby's Defender, and thus attracted public notice towards the Production. He there charges that Nobleman with "degrading the Office of Commander-"in-Chief, into a Broker of Commissions." But, though Lord Amherst was not liable to such an imputation, yet, neither he, nor any subject, except one nearly allied to the Throne, is raised by Birth and Situation, sufficiently above the Crowd of Petitioners who assail him in his Military capacity, to set at defiance private clamour, menaces, and importunity.

As a Member of the Administration, no ability, however recognized or transcendent, and no past services, however eminent, could have secured the public favour, to Lord Amherst, in the midst of a War such as that carried on against America, marked by ill success, and now become almost hopeless in its prospective objects. The constitutional tranquillity of his temper, secured him however from being ruffled at any indications of popular dissatisfaction. I have scarcely ever known a man who possessed more stoical Apathy, or command over himself. Naturally taciturn and reserved, he rarely disclosed his sentiments on any subject of a political nature. Even at the Cabinet Dinners, which were held weekly, I have heard Lord Sackville say, that though he usually gave his decided affirmative or negative to the specific Measure proposed, yet he always did it in few words, often by a Monosyllable: but never could without great difficulty be induced to assign the reasons, or to state the grounds of his opinion. His judgment was sound, and his understanding solid; but, neither cultivated by Education, nor expanded by elegant knowledge. From the sense entertained of his early Services beyond the Atlantic,

thought, with the severe Studies and Profession of the Law. To these Irregularities, the Duchess of Kingston imprudently ventured to allude, while on her trial at the Bar of the House of Lords, when Thurlow was Attorney General. Like Henley, Earl of Northington, his Predecessor in the high office of Chancellor, Thurlow mingled Oaths and Execrations with his common Discourse. In the afternoon of life, conviviality, wine, and society, unbent his mind. It was with Mr. Rigby, Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth, Mr. Dundas, and a few other select friends, that he threw off his Constitutional severity. At the Pay Office in Whitehall, where Rigby then resided, Lord Thurlow forgot the double toils annexed to his situation, as Head of the Law, and as Minister of State. Possessed of faculties so transcendent, however mingled with human weakness and infirmity, he must always be considered as one of the most distinguished individuals who has sat in the Councils of George the Third, at any period of his reign.

We descend now to the less efficient Members of the Cabinet. Lord Bathurst, who had been at this time President of the Council, ever since the Resignation of Lord Gower, in the Autumn of 1779, was son to the celebrated Allen Bathurst, created a Peer by Queen Anne, in 1711; and who might, at the time of his decease, be considered as the last of the great Knot of Wits and Men of Genius, that rendered in some measure illustrious, the short, as well as inglorious Ministry, of Oxford and Bolingbroke. It is to him that Pope addresses the "Third Epistle of his Moral Essays;" to him, in Conjunction with Lord Burlington, the famous Architect, that he alludes, when he says,

"Who then shall grace, or who improve the Soil?
"Who plants like *Bathurst*, or who builds like *Boyle*?"

He lived to an almost patriarchal age, in the possession of nearly all the faculties of his body and mind;

passing the greater part of the evening of his life, amidst those Woods, and in those Shades which he had reared, immortalized by *Pope*, at Oakley Grove in Glocestershire; enjoying the rare felicity to see his son hold the Great Seal of England. I believe he died in 1775; having by a singular destiny which perhaps has no parallel in our History, outlived more than sixty years, the Princess who raised him to the Peerage.

His son may probably be considered as the least able Lawyer to whom the Great Seal of this Country was confided, in the course of the eighteenth Century. For Lord King, who became Chancellor under George the First, though he survived his faculties, and is said to have drivelled on the Bench, originally displayed eminent parts; which deservedly raised him from an obscure origin, his father having been a Bookseller at Exeter, to that great legal Dignity. Yet, Lord Bathurst held his Office during seven or eight years; and I have been assured that his Decrees, while at the Head of the Court of Chancery, were in general regarded by the Bar, as wise, just, and unexceptionable. He was, of all the Members of the Cabinet, the most advanced in age; nor could he, like his father, boast of exemption from the infirmities usually attendant on that period of life. A degree of Caducity was visible in his frame, and even his mind did not appear to be wholly exempt from Decay. In Parliament, his Talents were rarely exerted; but his unsullied Character, and moral Qualities, entitled him to universal Respect.

The Earl of Dartmouth, as Lord Privy Seal, in right of his Office filled a Seat in the Cabinet. His near Affinity to Lord North, and that circumstance alone, placed him ostensibly in Administration; Lord Dartmouth's Mother having married, after her first husband's Decease, the Earl of Guildford. In his public Character, whether in or out of Parliament, he excited little or no share of general Attention.

The Secretary at War, on the contrary, though possessing no place in the Cabinet, constituted an Object of universal Consideration, and attracted all Eyes towards him. Mr. Charles Jenkinson, since created Earl of Liverpool occupied in 1781, that Employment. Few persons in the course of this long and eventful Reign, have played so important a Part behind the Curtain of State. Still fewer Individuals have attained to such Eminence, personal as well as political, unaided by the advantages of high Birth, or of natural Connexions. Descended from a very respectable Family, that had been raised to the Baronetage by Charles the Second in 1661, his paternal Fortune was nevertheless of the most limited Description, when he commenced his career. But, his Talents soon dispersed the Clouds that attended the morning of his Life. They recommended him to Lord Bute, then at the Head of the Treasury, who made Mr. Jenkinson his private Secretary; and through that Nobleman he became personally known to the Sovereign. When Lord Bute withdrew in 1763, from the post of First Minister, Mr. Jenkinson still continued to occupy the same confidential employment under his Successor, George Grenville; nor was he displaced till Lord Rockingham came into power, when Burke succeeded him in that situation. Those who supposed, or asserted, that a secret Communication was still maintained between Lord Bute and the King; as well as all those who chose to consider Lord Bute as the efficient, though concealed, Mover of the machine of Government; accused Mr. Jenkinson of forming the confidential Medium, through which that Intercourse was principally maintained. So delicate a Trust, if we assume its Existence, necessarily exposed him to popular Clamour, as being equally unconstitutional in itself, and dangerous to the liberties of the British People. But, in proportion to the Obloquy that

such an Imputation excited, was the respect that it attracted.

As Lord Bute gradually retired into the shade of private Life, and became insensibly forgotten, Mr. Jenkinson proportionably came forward in his own person, and on his own proper Merits. Throughout the whole period of Lord North's Administration, from 1770 down to 1782, his Intercourse with the King, and even his Influence over the Royal Mind, were assumed to be constant, progressive, commensurate with, and sometimes paramount to, or subversive of, the Measures proposed by the First Minister. However difficult of proof such Assertions were, and however contrary, as I believe, they were to Truth or Fact, they did not operate the less forcibly on the Bulk of the Nation, and were not less eagerly credited by Men of all Parties. No Denials on the part of Persons in power, could erase the impression, which Newspapers and Pamphlets industriously circulated through the Kingdom. In the House of Commons, where their Operation was widely felt; the Speakers in Opposition continually affected to consider Lord North, together with the whole Cabinet, as played on by unseen Agents, who alone possessed the Secret of State, and the real confidence of the Crown. They did not scruple even to designate Mr. Jenkinson as the Depositary of this mysterious and undefined influence; if not exclusively, yet in an eminent Degree. Of course, whenever he rose to speak, all Attention was absorbed by him, as being the supposed Oracle who knew, and might promulgate, those hidden Truths of State, in which Ministers themselves, it was pretended, were not always allowed to participate, and of which he constituted the only certain channel.

At this Time he was about Fifty-four Years of age, and in his person he rose above the common height. The expression of his Countenance, I find it difficult to

describe, as without having in his Face any Lines strongly marked, it was not destitute of deep intelligence. Reflection and Caution seemed to be stamped on every feature; while his Eyes were usually, even in Conversation, directed downwards towards the earth. Something impervious and inscrutable seemed to accompany and to characterize his demeanour, which awakened Curiosity, while it repressed Enquiry. His Enemies asserted, that he resembled a dark Lanthorn; and as much as the human figure or physiognomy can ever be supposed to offer such a strange Similarity, unquestionably it existed in him. Even the twinkling Motion of his Eyelids, which he half closed from time to time in speaking, made the Allusion, however fanciful, more close and striking. His manners were polite, calm, and unassuming; grave, if not cold; but not distant, without any mixture of Pride or Affectation. In society, though reserved, he was not silent; and though guarded on certain Topics, communicative on ordinary Subjects. He always appeared as if desirous to disclaim, and to reject the Consideration, which he involuntarily attracted. It was not difficult, on a short Acquaintance, to discover that he had read Men, more than Books; and that his Education had been of an inferior, as well as limited kind. He neither manifested the elegant Information acquired by visiting foreign Countries, nor the classic Ideas and Images, derived from a Familiarity with the Productions of Antiquity. Even his knowledge of modern History, was rather financial and commercial, than general or critical. But, in Recompence for these Deficiencies, he possessed more useful and solid Attainments, calculated to raise their Possessor in Life.

No Man in official situation, was supposed to understand better the principles of Trade, Navigation, Manufactures, and Revenue. He had written and published on those Subjects, in a Manner that suffi-

ciently proved his profound Acquaintance with them. Supple, patient, mild, laborious, persevering, attentive to improve the favourable Occasions which presented themselves, and always cool, he never lost the Ground that he had once gained. As a Speaker in the House of Commons, he rose seldom, unless called out by particular Circumstances; nor, when on his legs, did he ever weary the Patience of his Auditors. No ray of Wit, Humour, or Levity, pervaded his Speeches. He neither introduced into them Metaphors, Digressions, nor Citations. All was Fact and Business. His language had nothing in it animated or elevated. Scarcely was it, indeed, always correct, or exempt from some little Inelegances of Diction. But it never was defective in the Essentials of Perspicuity, Brevity, and thorough Information. He used to remind me of a Man crossing a Torrent on Stones; and so carefully did he place his Foot at every Step, as never once to wet his Shoe. I have seen him, before a crowded House, acquit himself with wonderful Dexterity, while Secretary at War, when officially addressing Parliament. Such Qualifications, even independent of the supposed Favor of the Sovereign, necessarily rendered him an Object of Respect and of Attention to every Party.

Rigby, sole Paymaster of the Forces, occupied scarcely an inferior Place to Jenkinson, in the public Estimation. As if he had meant to shew, that he acted independently of Ministers, he never sat on the Government side of the House; but he did not on that Account give the less unqualified Support to Administration. When in his Place, he was invariably habited in a full dressed suit of Cloaths, commonly, of a purple or dark colour, without Lace or Embroidery, close buttoned, with his Sword thrust through the pocket. His Countenance was very expressive, but not of Genius; still less did it indicate Timidity or Modesty. All the Comforts of the Pay-Office seemed to be eloquently depictured in it;

and the "*Lumen purpureum*" which beamed from his Features, served as a Comment on the Text of "Junius," when he panegyrizes the Duke of Bedford's solitary Protection of "blushing Merit" in Mr. Rigby's person. His manner, rough, yet frank, bold, but manly, admirably set off whatever sentiments he uttered in Parliament. Like Jenkinson, he borrowed neither from antient, nor from modern Authors. His Eloquence was altogether his own, simple, strong, and natural; addressed, not to the Fancy, but to the plain Comprehension of his Hearers. Whatever he meant, he expressed indeed without Circumlocution, or Declamation. There was a happy Audacity about his Forehead, which must have been the gift of Nature: Art could never attain to it by any Efforts. He seemed neither to fear, nor even to respect the House, whose composition he well knew; and to the Members of which Assembly, he never appeared to give Credit for any portion of Virtue, Patriotism, or Public Spirit. Far from concealing these Sentiments, he insinuated, or even pronounced them, without Disguise; and from *his* Lips they neither excited surprize, nor even commonly awakened Reprehension.

If Jenkinson might be esteemed the secret Oracle, to whom all those men denominated *the King's Friends*, constantly looked for direction in difficult Cases, such as occasionally arose; Rigby was the avowed Standard round which they rallied. Their Numbers were considerable, though differently reported; and they were supposed by no Means to take their Directions implicitly on all Occasions, from the Treasury. "Junius" treats them with his accustomed Severity. "Ministers," says he, when speaking of Parliament, "are no longer "the public Servants of the State, but the private "Domestics of the Sovereign. One particular Class "of Men are permitted to call themselves *the King's* "*Friends*, as if the body of the People were the King's

"enemies: or as if His Majesty looked for a Resource "or Consolation in the Attachment of a few Favourites, "against the general Contempt and Detestation of his "Subjects. Edward and Richard the Second, made "the same Distinction between the collective Body of "the People, and a contemptible Party who surrounded "the Throne." As they grew up and encreased with the American War, so with its Termination, they seemed to become extinct. After Pitt's victory over "the "Coalition," and the Convocation of a new Parliament in 1784, the King's Friends were found in every part of the House of Commons. But, it was not so in 1781, under Lord North, when Jenkinson and Rigby were supposed, however erroneously, to be more in the real Secret of the Crown, than the First Minister himself. A very select Party usually adjourned to the Pay Office, after late Evenings in the House of Commons, where the good Cheer and the Claret, obliterated all painful Recollections connected with public Affairs.

The post of Treasurer of the Navy was occupied by Mr. Welbore Ellis, whom we have since seen, after ostensibly filling the Office of Colonial Secretary of State, for a few Weeks, on the Resignation of Lord George Germain, raised in the Winter of Life, by Mr. Pitt, like so many other individuals, to the rank of a British Peer. He might be considered as the *Nestor* of the Ministry, and of the House of Commons. In his Figure, Manner, and Deportment, the very essence of Form, he regularly took his place on the Treasury Bench, dressed in all Points as if he had been going to the Drawing Room at St. James's. His Eloquence was of the same description as himself, precise, grave, and constrained; unilluminated by Taste, and calculated to convince, more than to exhilarate, or electrify his Audience. The respect due to his age, character, and employment, rather than the force or novelty of his arguments, commonly secured him a patient hearing;

but he was neither listened to with Enthusiasm, nor regretted, when he ceased to exert his abilities in support of the Measures of Administration.

The Attorney General, Wallace, as well as Mansfield, Solicitor General, were men of acknowledged talents, Parliamentary, no less than Professional. But it might be esteemed in some degree their misfortune, that having recently succeeded two persons so eminent as Thurlow and Wedderburn, the House could not avoid judging of them more by comparison with their predecessors, than by their own intrinsic merit. Both the Attorney and Solicitor General were moreover obscured in the superior Energy that characterized Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, and since created Viscount Melville. His figure tall, manly, and advantageous; his Countenance, open, cheerful, and expressive, prejudiced in his favor. Neither the Scotticisms with which his Speeches abounded, nor an Accent peculiarly Northern, as well as uncouth, could prevent his assuming and maintaining that place in the Ministerial ranks, to which his pre-eminent parts entitled him. These very defects of Elocution or of Diction, by the ludicrous effect that they produced, became often converted into advantages; as they unavoidably operated to force a smile from his bitterest Opponents, and chequered with momentary good humor, the Personalities of Debate. The apparent frankness of his manner, which formed a striking contrast with Jenkinson, conciliated or disarmed in some measure those, whose political opinions were most adverse to Government. Never did any man conceal deeper views of every kind, under the appearance of careless inattention to self-interest. In him was exemplified the remark, that "*Ars est celare Artem*;" and the seeming want of caution or artifice in his ordinary intercourse, capacitated him for contending successfully with men of more habitual reserve. His

voice, strong and sonorous, enabled him to surmount the noise of a popular Assembly, and almost to command attention, at moments of the greatest clamor or impatience. Far from shunning the post of danger, he always seemed to court it; and was never deterred from stepping forward to the assistance of Ministers, by the Violence of Opposition, by the Unpopularity of the Measure to be defended, or by the Difficulty of the Attempt. His Speeches, able, animated, and argumentative, were delivered without Hesitation, and unembarrassed by any Timidity. If they displayed no Ornaments of Style, and no Beauties of Composition, it was impossible to accuse them of any Deficiency in sterling Sense, or in solid Ability. He was, indeed, without excepting Lord George Germain himself, the most powerful Auxiliary whom Lord North could boast of possessing in the Lower House. Though elevated in the Trammels of Scotch Jurisprudence, and long accustomed to plead at the Bar of that Country; his Mind, which disdained so confined a Sphere of Action, propelled him to try his Force on a greater Theatre. Animated by this Resolution, he quitted the Study of Law, for the career of Politics; and in Defiance of every Impediment, ventured to seek Fortune in an English House of Commons. Conscious of his own intellectual Powers, and guided by a profound, but well-regulated Ambition, he already aspired to Offices and Situations, seemingly beyond the Pale of his legal Profession. India, he thought, and wisely thought, opened to him a Field worthy of his talents; and the state of Danger, as well as of Disorder, into which those extensive Dominions had been thrown, by the Mismanagement or Incapacity of the East-India Company's Servants, particularly on the coast of Coromandel, necessarily brought their affairs under Parliamentary Discussion. The Occasion was favourable, and he availed himself of it with Promptitude and Decision. Placed soon after-

wards at the Head of a Secret Committee, appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War existing in the Carnatic; he there laid the Foundation of the Power which we have since seen him exercise as a Minister of that Department, under the Administration of Mr. Pitt, during many successive Years. Expensive from natural Character, always blending Conviviality with Business, and regardless of Money, except as constituting the Source of Enjoyment; he never failed to form one of the festive Party which met at the Pay-Office. Closely connected in Politics, no less than by Habits of Life and private Friendship, with Rigby; they might be said to act indeed, in secret Unison, and to lend each other a mutual Assistance on every Occasion.

The two Secretaries of the Treasury occupied a very different place in the scale of Ministerial importance, under Lord North's Administration. Sir Grey Cooper was confined to the mere Official duties of his Post; but Robinson might be considered as one of the most essential Functionaries of the Executive Government. I knew him intimately, both in, and out of Office. A Native of the County of Westmoreland, descended from an obscure family, and unadorned with any accomplishments of Education, he nevertheless displayed many qualifications that fitted him admirably for his situation. He possessed solid judgment, combined with unaffected and conciliating manners; was capable of great application, and by no means wanted decision.

On him devolved that delicate and most important Department, then known by the denomination of *The Management of the House of Commons:* a Branch of Administration unfortunately interwoven with, and inseparable from, the Genius of the British Constitution; perhaps, of every Form of Government in which Democracy, or popular Representation, makes an essential part. Towards the close of an unfortunate War, when the Ministry was threatened with annual,

or almost monthly Dissolution, and when a numerous Opposition acquired strength, in proportion to the National misfortunes; this management required unceasing vigilance. Robinson was the Depository of the "*Livre rouge*," where were supposed, or asserted to be contained, the Names of those Members of one, if not of both Houses of Parliament, who were retained by, and devoted to, the Administration. But, it was not only in the secret Arrangements of Official Business, that he manifested dexterity and energy of Character. He more than once exercised with equal ability and effect, the Functions of higher Offices of State. It was he, who, on the Refusal of Lord Weymouth, then Secretary for the Southern Department; counter-signed the Secret Orders, which were sent out to Madras, on the 14th of April, 1778, by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, authorizing the immediate Attack of Pondicherry. To the manly decision of this timely Measure, embraced by Lord North at a moment when the war with France, though inevitable and impending, was not actually commenced; we owed the Capture of that important Settlement, the chief Establishment of the Enemy on the Coromandel Coast, which gave us an Ascendant over the French, during the whole future course of Hostilities in India.

January.] After having surveyed the members of the Cabinet, and the principal parliamentary characters on the ministerial side of the House of Commons, it is natural to proceed to the great individuals who composed the Opposition in that assembly. Mr. Fox, from the union of birth, connexions, talents, and eloquence, which met in his person, had become, in the beginning of 1781, confessedly, without any competitor, their leader. Having attained his thirty-second year, he consequently united all the ardour of youth, to the experience acquired in maturer life. It was impossible to contemplate the lineaments of his

countenance, without instantly perceiving the indelible marks of genius. His features, in themselves dark, harsh, and saturnine, like those of Charles the Second, from whom he descended in the maternal line; derived nevertheless a sort of majesty, from the addition of two black and shaggy eyebrows, which sometimes concealed, but oftener developed, the workings of his mind. Even these features, however seemingly repulsive, yet did not readily assume the expression of anger, or of enmity; whereas they frequently, and as it were naturally relaxed into a smile, the effect of which became irresistible, because it appeared to be the Index of a benevolent and complacent disposition. His figure, broad, heavy, and inclined to corpulency, appeared destitute of all elegance or grace, except what was conferred on it by the emanations of intellect, which at times diffused over his whole person when speaking, the most impassioned animation. In his dress, which had constituted an object of his attention earlier in life, he had then become negligent, even to a degree not altogether excusable in a man, whose very errors or defects produced admirers and imitators. He constantly, or at least usually wore in the House of Commons, a blue frock coat, and a buff waistcoat, neither of which seemed in general new, and sometimes appeared to be threadbare. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that these colours, like the *White Rose* formerly worn by the adherents of the family of Stuart, then constituted the distinguishing badge or uniform of Washington and the American Insurgents. In this dress he always took his seat, not upon the front Opposition bench, but on the third row behind, close to that pillar supporting the gallery, which is nearest to the Speaker's chair. It was not till 1782, or rather till the beginning of 1783, that, with Lord North by his side, he first began to sit on the Opposition bench, technically so denominated in ordinary language. I am sensible that these minute

particulars are in themselves unimportant, but they nevertheless approximate and identify the object. And that object is Mr. Fox.

His paternal descent was by no means illustrious, nor was the elevation of his family sufficiently antient, to shed over it that species of genealogical respect, only to be derived from the lapse of time. *Collins*, indeed, says, in his "Peerage," when treating of the *Barony* of *Holland*, that "there were *Foxes* in England before the Norman Conquest." But, I have always understood that his grandfather, who rose to considerable eminence, and was created a Baronet by the name of Sir Stephen Fox, had been a chorister boy in the Cathedral of Salisbury, when in 1652 he accompanied Lord Wilmot to France, after the defeat of Charles the Second, at the battle of Worcester. It has been maintained, and I have heard it asserted, that their names were originally Palafox; that they formed a branch of that noble Arragonese family, so distinguished in the present age, by the glorious defence of Sarragossa; and that they first came into this country in 1588, when one of the Spanish Armada being stranded on our coast, the survivors, among whom was a Palafox, settled in England. I have, however, always regarded this story as a mere fable. Sir Stephen Fox, towards the end of a long life, during which he made great advances to honours and dignities, having married, became at seventy years of age, the father of two sons born at the same birth. These twins were both in process of time elevated to the Peerage; a fact which had antecedently been realized to a certain degree in the *Cecil*, as well as in the *Herbert* family, under James the First. Charles the First again exhibited it in the house of *Rich*, and we have since seen it exemplified in the families of *Walpole*, and of *Hood*.

While the elder son of Sir Stephen Fox, was created Earl of Ilchester, by George the Second; the youngest,

Henry, acquired a Barony in the beginning of the present reign, by the title of Lord Holland. He was unquestionably a man of very eminent attainments, possessing a classic mind, cultivated by study, adorned by travel, and illuminated by a taste for the elegant arts. But he is better known in the political history of the late reign, where he performed a principal part in the ministerial, as well as parliamentary annals, till he sunk under the superior ascendant, sustained by the irresistible eloquence, of the first Earl of Chatham. Of immeasurable ambition, and equally insatiable of wealth, Lord Holland was enabled, by possessing the lucrative post of paymaster of the forces, which he held during several years in time of war, to accumulate an immense fortune. It was not however attained without great unpopularity and obloquy, which accompanied him to the grave, and exposed him to much, perhaps to unmerited, abuse or accusation. His moral character did not indeed stand as high in the national estimation, either in a public, or in a private point of view, as did his abilities. But he cemented the greatness of his family, by allying himself with the ducal House of Lenox.

Of his three sons, Lord Holland early perceived the extraordinary talents which nature had conferred on the second; and in the fond anticipation of that son's future political elevation, exhausted on his education, every effort which might expand or mature his opening capacity. But, he adopted a vicious and dangerous principle, in ordering that the boy should neither be contradicted, nor punished, for almost any acts in his power to commit, of puerile misconduct or indiscretion. "Let nothing be done to break his spirit," said Lord Holland; "the world will effect that business soon "enough." When he made the tour of France and Italy, he was accompanied by a gentleman of eminent parts, Mr. Macartney; who afterwards, towards the close of a life passed in the public service, attained,

himself, to the Peerage. We may see in the letters of Madame du Deffand to Horace Walpole, what species of impression, Mr. Fox's endowments, and the sallies of his juvenile impetuosity, made on the minds of the Parisians. They seem to have considered him as a sort of Phænomenon, which dazzled and astonished, more than it pleased or delighted them. Before he attained fully to the age at which he could constitutionally vote, tho' he might speak, in Parliament, his father procured him a seat in the House of Commons; and his talents, aided by his connexions, placed him towards the close of 1772, on the ministerial bench, as a member of the Board of Treasury. He occupied the situation about two years. This early association to Lord North's administration, might nevertheless be considered as an unfortunate circumstance, since it involved him in the unpopularity attached to various measures then adopted by the government, which subsequently led to a rupture with America. That even previous to his attainment or acceptance of office, he was considered by the enemies of administration, as a devoted partizan of ministry, in training for future desperate service, is evident from the manner in which "Junius" speaks of him. Writing to the Duke of Grafton, in June, 1771, he says,—"In vain "would he (the King) have looked round him for "another character so consummate as yours. Lord "Mansfield shrinks from his principles. His ideas of "government perhaps go farther than your own, but "his heart disgraces the theory of his understanding. "—*Charles Fox is yet in blossom;* and as for Mr. "Wedderburn, there is something about him which even "[treachery] cannot trust." These ministerial fetters did not however long detain him. The sarcastic mode of expression chosen by Lord North, to communicate Mr. Fox's dismission from the Treasury Board, is well known. "His Majesty," observed the First Minister to some persons near him, "has named new Commissioners of

"the Treasury, among whom I do not see the name of "the Hon. Charles James Fox." From that period, having enlisted under the banners of Opposition, and being aided by the misfortunes of the American war, he attained in the course of about six years, to the highest eminence among the formidable body of men who then opposed the measures of the Crown.

Pleasures of every description to which his constitution or inclinations impelled him, divided however with political pursuits, the early portion of life; and some of which, if fame reported truly, might have furnished matter for a new "Atalantis." It may be curious nevertheless, for those persons who only remember him either as a leading member of the Minority, or in office as minister, to contemplate Mr. Fox when at the head of the *Ton*, who were then denominated "Macaronis." *Mason* describes, or produces him under that character, in the "Herioc Epistle to Sir William Chambers," published, I believe, early in 1774. After enumerating with vast felicity of humour and Satire, the Asiatic diversions supposed to be exhibited for the amusement of the British sovereign, he thus concludes; I cite by memory:

"But hark! The shouts of battle sound from afar!
The Jews and Macaronis are at war.
The Jews prevail, and thundering from the Stocks,
They seize, they bind, they circumcise Charles Fox.
Fair Schwellenbergen smiles the sport to see,
And all the maids of honour cry Te he."

Neither the pleasures of refined, nor of licentious love, nor the social conviviality of the table, although he might occasionally indulge in each of those gratifications, constituted however his predominant passion. All his inclinations, from a very early age, seemed to be concentrated in a more fatal attachment to play. In the prosecution of that propensity, he had squandered prodigious sums before his father's decease, with which

Lord Holland's paternal fondness furnished him. To the same pursuit, or rather rage, he subsequently sacrificed a sinecure place of two thousand Pounds a year for life, the Clerkship of the Pells in Ireland; of which he came into possession by the demise of his elder brother, Stephen, in December, 1774. After holding it scarcely ten months, he sold it to Mr. Charles Jenkinson; and he disposed in a similar manner, of a fine estate situated at Kingsgate in the isle of Thanet. The office had been procured for him, as the estate had been bequeathed to him, by his father. We must confess that these scandalous irregularities of conduct, or rather vices of character, remind us more of Timon and of Alcibiades, than of Pericles, or Demosthenes.

Fox played admirably both at Whist, and at Picquet; with such skill indeed, that by the general admission of Brookes's Club, he might have made four thousand Pounds a year, as they calculated, at those games, if he would have confined himself to them. But, his misfortune arose from playing at games of chance, particularly at Faro. After eating and drinking plentifully, he sat down to the Faro table, and inevitably rose a loser. Once indeed, and only once, he won about eight thousand pounds in the course of a single evening. Part of the money he paid away to his creditors, and the remainder he lost again almost immediately, in the same manner. The late Mr. Boothby, so well known during many years in the first walks of fashion and dissipation; himself a gamester, and an intimate friend of Fox; yet appreciated him with much severity, tho' with equal truth. "Charles," observed he, "is unquestionably a man of first-rate talents, but so deficient in judgement, as never to have succeeded in any object during his whole life. He loved only three things, women, play, and politics. Yet, at no period did he ever form a creditable connexion with a woman. He lost his whole fortune at the gaming-table; and with the

"exception of about eleven months, he has remained "always in Opposition." It is difficult to dispute the justice of this portrait. Perhaps we might add, that towards the close of his career, he emulated the distinction of an Historian; in the pursuit of which object, he made great efforts, and with a view to facilitate it, he appears principally to have undertaken his journey to Paris in 1802. Whether he succeeded better than in the former attempts, posterity will determine: but he would certainly have attained a more elevated place in the temple of historic Fame, by imitating the line of Xenophon or of Sallust, than by taking Livy for a model.

Before he attained his thirtieth year, he had completely dissipated every thing that he could either command, or could procure by the most ruinous expedients. He had even undergone at times, many of the severest privations annexed to the vicissitudes that mark a gamester's progress; frequently wanting money to defray his common diurnal wants of the most pressing nature. Topham Beauclerk, himself a man of pleasure and of letters, who lived much in Fox's society at that period of his life; used to affirm, that no man could form an idea of the extremities to which he had been driven in order to raise money, after losing his last guinea at the Faro table. He has been reduced for successive days to such distress, as to be under a necessity of having recourse to the waiters of Brookes's club, to lend him assistance. The very chairmen whom he was unable to pay, used to dun him for their arrears. All dignity of character, and independence of mind, must have been lost amidst these scenes of ruinous dissipation. In 1781, he might however be considered as an extinct Vulcano; for the pecuniary aliment that had fed the flame, was long consumed. Yet he then occupied a house or lodgings in St. James's Street, close to the Club at Brookes's, where he passed almost every hour which was not devoted to the House of Commons; and during

Lord North's administration, Parliament usually remained sitting, with short adjournments, from November till July. That Club might then be considered as the rallying point and rendezvous of the Opposition; where, while Faro, Whist, and suppers prolonged the night, the principal members of the Minority in both houses, met, in order to compare their information, or to concert and mature their parliamentary measures.

Nature, besides the extraordinary endowments of mind which she conferred on him, had given him likewise a constitution originally capable of prodigious exertion. But he had early impaired his bodily powers, by every excess, added to the most violent mental agitations. These acts of imprudence had produced their inevitable consequences, though for some time counteracted by youth, or obviated by medical aid. As early as 1781, Mr. Fox was already attacked with frequent complaints of the stomach and bowels, attended by acute pain; to moderate the symptoms of which, he usually had recourse to Laudanum. The strongest frame must indeed have sunk under such physical and moral exhausture, if he had allowed himself no interval of relaxation or repose. But happily, his passion for some of the amusements and sports of the country, almost rivalled his attachment to the gaming-table. No sooner had the shooting season commenced, than he constantly repaired to Norfolk. Lord Robert Spenser generally accompanied him; and after visiting various friends, they sometimes hired a small house in the town of Thetford, rose at an early hour, and passed the whole day with a fowling-piece in their hands, among Coveys of partridges and pheasants, for successive weeks, during the autumn. These salutary occupations never failed of restoring the health that he had lost in St. James's Street, and in the House of Commons.

Nor did the rage of play ever engross his whole mind,

or wholly absorb his faculties. Nature had implanted in his bosom many elevated inclinations, which, though overpowered and oppressed, yet, as he advanced in life, continually acquired strength. If ambition formed the first, the love of letters constituted the second of these passions. When he contemplated the extent of his own talents, and compared them with those of Lord North, or of every other individual in either House of Parliament; it was impossible for him not to perceive the moral certainty of his attaining by perseverance, in the course of a few years, almost any public situation to which he might aspire. In the possession and enjoyment of power, he necessarily anticipated the recovery of that independance which he had sacrificed at the gaming-table; as well as the means of recompensing the zealous friendship or devotion of his numerous adherents.

No man in public life ever possessed more determined friends, or exercised over them a more unbounded influence, though he was by no means as tractable and amenable to reason or to entreaty on many occasions, as the apparent suavity of his disposition seemed to indicate. Even interest could not always bend him to a compliance with its dictates, nor expostulation induce him to pay the most ordinary attention to persons who had materially served him. In 1784, at the election of a Member for Westminster, which was very obstinately contested, Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, whose age and delicate health prevented him from almost ever leaving his own house, yet submitted to be carried in a Sedan chair to the Hustings in Covent Garden, to vote for him. But, no remonstrances could prevail on Fox to leave his name at Mr. Walpole's door, though he passed it continually, in his morning walks. *Hare* himself, who was one of his most favoured associates, vainly exerted every effort to make him say a few civil words to a lady of quality, by whom he was seated at supper in a great public company, met

expressly to celebrate the success of his Election: a success to which, that lady, as he knew, had contributed by every means in her power; and who, as her reward, only aspired to attract his notice or attention for a few minutes. He turned his back on her, and would not utter a syllable.

If ever an individual existed in this country, who from his natural bias, would have inclined to maintain in their fullest extent, all the just prerogatives of the crown; and who would have restrained within due limits, every attempt on the part of the people, to diminish its influence; we may assert that Fox was the man. The principles of his early education; the example and exhortations of his father, for whom he always preserved an affectionate reverence, which constituted a most pleasing feature of his character; his first political connections; all led him to the foot of the throne. He had tasted the comforts of office under Lord North, and his very wants rendered indispensable a return to power. Nor, whatever moral disapprobation his private irregularities unquestionably excited in the breast of a Sovereign, whose whole life was exempt from any breach of decency or decorum; could those defects of conduct have formed any insurmountable impediment to his attainment of the highest employments. In point of fact, neither the Duke of Grafton, whom "Junius" stigmatizes as "a libertine by profession;" nor the Earls of Rochford and Sandwich, nor Lord Weymouth, nor Lord Barrington, nor Lord Thurlow, had been distinguished by sanctity of manners, though they had all occupied the first situations in the state. Sir Francis Dashwood, who afterwards became premier Baron of England, under the title of Lord Le Despenser, and whom Lord Bute made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1762, far exceeded in licentiousness of conduct, any thing exhibited since Charles the Second. He had founded a society

denominated from his own name, "the Franciscans," who, to the number of twelve, met at Medmenham Abbey, near Marlow in Bucks, on the banks of the Thames. Wilkes was a member of this unholy fraternity, of which he makes mention in his letter to Earl Temple, from Bagshot, in September, 1762. Rites, of a nature so subversive of all decency, and calculated, by an imitation of the ceremonies and mysteries of the Catholic church, to render religion itself an object of contumely, were there celebrated, as cannot be reflected on without astonishment. Sir Francis himself officiated as High Priest, habited in the dress of a Franciscan Monk, pouring a libation from a Communion-cup, to the mysterious object of their homage. Churchill, in his poem of "The Candidate," has drawn him under this character, at Medmenham: but I cannot prevail on myself to cite the passage. Immorality or even profligacy, abstractedly considered, formed therefore no bar to employment under George the Third.

Fox's error arose, if not wholly, yet principally, from a different source. In the ardor of political opposition, stimulated perhaps by domestic wants of many kinds, finding himself so long excluded from office, and conscious that he was become personally obnoxious to the Sovereign, by embracing the cause and the defence of his revolted subjects beyond the Atlantic; Fox did not always confine himself within a constitutional and temperate resistance to the measures of the Crown. Mingling the spirit of faction with the principles of party, while he appeared only to attack the Minister, he levelled many of his severest insinuations or accusations at the King. He consequently obstructed the attainment of the object which lay within his grasp. As the American war drew towards its termination, he observed scarcely any measure in the condemnation which he expressed for the authors of the contest.

When the new parliament met on the first day of

November, 1780, and it was proposed in the address to the Throne, that the House of Commons should acknowledge, "the sole objects of the King's royal care "and concern, were to promote the happiness of his "people;" words merely complimentary; Fox rising in his place, exclaimed,—"We are called on to recognize "the blessings of His Majesty's reign. I cannot con-"cur in such a vote, for I am not acquainted with those "blessings. The present reign offers one uninterrupted "series of disgrace, misfortune, and calamity!" Only a few weeks afterwards, in January, 1781, when the debate on the Dutch war took place,—"The reign of "Charles the Second," observed Mr. Fox, "who twice "engaged in hostilities with Holland, has been de-"nominated an infamous reign: but, the evils inflicted "on this country by the Stuarts, were happily retrieved "by a Revolution; while the ills of the present reign "admit of no redress." He even proceeded to draw a sort of parallel, or rather contrast, between Catherine the Second, and George the Third; who having ascended the thrones of Russia and of Great Britain, nearly about the same time, had exhibited an opposite line of conduct; the former empire rising under Catherine into eminence; while England governed by George, sunk into contempt. In November, 1779, he far exceeded even the foregoing remarks, when he did not hesitate to compare Henry the Sixth with His present Majesty; and to assimilate their characters, qualities, and the disgraces of their respective reigns, as affording the most complete resemblance. "Both," he observed, "owed the crown to revolutions: both were pious "princes, and both lost the acquisitions of their pre-"decessor." The speeches of Fox, it must be owned, breathed a very revolutionary spirit, throughout the whole progress of the American war. Smarting under such reflections, the King began to consider the principles and the doctrines of Fox, as inseparably

implicated with rebellion. From that instant, the splendor of his talents only enhanced the magnitude of his offence. His uncle the Duke of Richmond, who seemed to emulate the same distinction, and who indulged himself in remarks equally severe on the supposed interference of the Crown in perpetuating the struggle, might find pardon in the mediocrity of his abilities. But, Fox's fault necessarily inspired deeper feelings of resentment, and may be said to have eminently contributed to the misfortunes of his political life.

Amidst the wildest excesses of youth, even while the perpetual victim of his passion for play, his elegant mind eagerly cultivated at intervals, a taste for letters. His education had made him early acquainted with the writers of Greece and Rome, historical, as well as philosophical and poetical. The beauties of Horace, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Cicero, which were familiar to him, seemed always to present themselves to his memory, without an effort. When speaking in Parliament, he knew how to avail himself of their assistance, with a promptitude and facility that it is difficult to imagine. Burke himself was not his superior on this point. So well had he been grounded in classic knowledge, that he could read the Greek, no less than the Roman historians, as well as poets, in the original; and however extraordinary the fact may appear, he found resources in the perusal of their works, under the most severe depressions occasioned by ill success at the gaming table. Topham Beauclerk, whom I have already had occasion to mention, and who always maintained habits of great intimacy with Fox; quitted him one morning at six o'clock, after having passed the whole preceding night together at Faro. Fortune had been most unfavourable to Fox, whom his friend left in a frame of mind approaching to desperation. Beauclerk's anxiety for the consequences which might ensue from such a state of agitation, impelled him to be

early at Fox's lodgings; and on arriving, he enquired, not without apprehension, whether he was risen. The servant replying that Mr. Fox was in the drawing-room, he walked up stairs; and cautiously opening the door, where he expected to behold a frantic gamester stretched on the floor, bewailing his misfortunes, or plunged in silent despair; to his equal astonishment and satisfaction, Beauclerk discovered him intently engaged in reading a Greek Herodotus. "What would you have "me do," said he, "I have lost my last shilling!" Such was the elasticity, suavity, and equality of disposition that characterized him; and with so little effort did he pass from profligate dissipation, to researches of taste or literature. After staking and losing all that he could raise, at Faro; instead of exclaiming against fortune, or manifesting the agitation natural under such circumstances, he has been known to lay his head on the table; and retaining his place, but, extenuated by fatigue of mind and body, almost immediately to fall into a profound sleep.

Mr. Fox was not only conversant with the works of antiquity: modern history, polite letters, and poetry, were equally familiar to him. Few individuals were better instructed in the annals of their own country. Having travelled when young, over France and Italy, he had studied the finest productions of those countries, so fertile in works of genius, at the fountain-head. Davila and Guicciardini he read in the original. Danté, Ariosto, and Tasso, constituted the frequent companions of his leisure hours, whom he perused with delight; and the beautiful passages of which authors, as he proceeded, he constantly marked with his own hand. For the poem of the "Orlando Furioso," I know that he expressed great partiality. Nor was he devoid, himself, of some portion of poetic talent, as many compositions of his pen, which remain, sufficiently attest; though, for ease, delicacy, and playful Satire,

he could not stand a competition in that branch of accomplishment, with his friend and companion, Colonel Fitzpatrick. The verses, or Epigram, written on Gibbon's accepting the employment of a Lord of Trade, in 1779, beginning,

"King George in a fright,
Lest Gibbon should write
The hist'ry of England's disgrace;
Thought no way so sure
His pen to secure,
As to give the historian a place;"

I have always understood to be from Fox's pen, though it is disowned by Lord Holland, as "certainly not his "uncle's composition." I know, however, that some years afterwards, when his effects were seized for debt, and sold; a set of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the "Roman Empire," in the first leaf of which, Fox had with his own hand inserted the Stanzas in question; sold for a very considerable sum, under the belief or conviction that he was their author.

Fox conversed in French, nearly with the same purity and facility, as he did in English; writing in that language not less correctly, nor with less elegance. A man of his high birth and connexions, possessing qualifications so rare, independant of his parliamentary talents, seemed to be pointed out by nature, for the Superintendence of the foreign Department of state. Those persons who anticipated the fall of Lord North's administration, already imagined that they beheld Mr. Fox in that situation, for which talents and education had evidently designed him. Yet, after contemplating the portrait which I have here sketched, and which, I imagine, even his greatest admirers will admit to do him no injustice; it is for impartial posterity to determine, whether on full examination of his merits and defects, George the Third may be considered as most



Sir Joshua Reynolds pinx.

Walter Shaw Sparrow sc.

Edm Burke

deserving of approbation or of blame, in never having at any period of his reign, voluntarily called Mr. Fox to his counsels. If energy of mind, enlargement of views, firmness of character, amenity of manners, acquaintance with foreign courts and languages, facility in conducting business, and prodigious intellectual powers, combining eloquence, application, as well as discernment;— if these endowments are considered as forming an incontestable claim to public employment, unsustained by moral qualities, or by property; we must condemn the sentence of exclusion passed upon him. Those persons on the other hand, who consider all talent, however eminent, as radically defective, unless sustained by decorum, and a regard for opinion; as well as all who prefer sobriety of conduct, regularity of deportment, and the virtues of private life, above any ability which nature can bestow on man;—lastly, all who regard judgment, under the controul of strict principle, as the most indispensable requisite of a minister to whom the public honor and felicity are in some measure necessarily entrusted;—such persons will probably hesitate before they decide too hastily, on the degree of censure or of commendation, which the King's conduct towards Fox, ought to excite in our minds.

If Fox occupied the first place in the ranks of opposition, Burke might be pronounced without contest, the second person in that powerful body. His extraordinary endowments of mind superseded every defect of birth, fortune, connexions, or country; and placed him on an eminence, to which no subject in my time, unassisted by those advantages, with the single exception of Mr. Sheridan, has ever attained in the public estimation. For it may perhaps be justly questioned whether the splendid talents of the first Mr. Pitt, would have forced his way into the Cabinet, unaided and unsustained by his alliance with the family of Grenville. Of years much more advanced than Fox,

Burke had already attained to the Acmé of his fame as a speaker, and could not well augment the reputation which he had acquired in that capacity. Perhaps, if we were to point out the period of his life when he stood on the highest ground as a public man, in the estimation of all parties, we should name the year 1781. His recent exertions in bringing forward the Bill for the reform of the Civil List, which had engaged such general attention in the last session of the preceding Parliament, continued yet fresh in recollection. Whatever opinion might be entertained respecting the necessity or the eligibility of those proposed regulations in the royal Household; only one sentiment pervaded the house and the nation, on the unexampled combination of eloquence, labor, and perseverance, which had been displayed by their enlightened author. They covered with astonishment and admiration, even those who from principle or from party, appeared most strenuous in opposing the progress of the Bill itself, through every stage. The very rejection which had attended many clauses of it, and the address with which others were finally evaded or eluded, had conduced to raise him in the national opinion.

While however I do this justice to his talents and intentions, it is impossible not to consider with very different feelings, the splendid Eulogium which he made on that occasion, of which Necker formed the subject. Burke, in sublime and animated language, described the system of public credit adopted by Louis the Sixteenth, under the guidance of his Genevese financial Minister; which he depictured as the consummation of human ability, economy, and judicious calculation. Neither Sully, nor Colbert, he said, could compete with Necker: while the Sovereign of France, unlike his predecessors on the throne, who had recourse when in distress, to the bold frauds or plunges of bankrupt despotism, for raising pecuniary supplies; built all his plans on the firm basis

of national confidence, sustained by pecuniary regulations calculated to pay the interest of the debt thus incurred. Such were the arts and assertions, by which George the Third, Lord North, and the American war, became objects of reprobation! If Burke really believed the facts that he laid down, what are we to think of his judgement! But, there is a [wholly] mistaken zeal in politics, as in religion, of which delusive cup he had drank deep. The intoxication insensibly dispersed after 1789; and before 1792, he beheld Louis the Sixteenth, Necker, and their insensate, or pernicious measures, through a just Medium. He then endeavoured to counteract the effect of his own orations. In 1781, the delusion subsisted in all its force. The unqualified condemnation which he had always bestowed on the American war, from the period of its commencement, seemed to be at least justified by the result of the contest; and in that sentiment he was then supported by a majority of the British people. When to the operation of these combined causes, we add the acknowledged mediocrity of his fortune, which left him in a sort of dependance on the Marquis of Rockingham; together with his long exclusion from office, and his unimpeached moral character, contrasted with the irregularities of Fox's conduct; we shall not wonder at the high place which he occupied, within, no less than without, the walls of the House of Commons.

All those persons to whom his memory is dear, may like to contemplate him at this point of time, when he appears most resplendent, as well as free from many of the weaknesses, inconsistencies, and infirmities, to which our nature is subject, and from which he was by no means exempt. His admirers will recollect with concern, the querulous lamentations, and unseemly reluctance, with which, in 1782 and 1783, he each time quitted the Pay-office, on the change of administration. They will remember the acts of imprudence and indiscretion, not

to call them by any harsher name, which characterized his tenure of office, during the existence of the Coalition ministry; to defend, or to palliate which, demanded the utmost efforts of Fox's parliamentary abilities. They will probably admit and lament, his too ardent prosecution of Hastings, for political errors or trespasses, which, even though they had existed in their utmost extent, ought to have found their apology in the difficulties of his situation; beset with domestic and foreign enemies, in charge of a vast empire, and necessitated to find resources on the spot, against internal commotions, no less than against external hostility. They will reprobate with severity, his intemperate and indecorous conduct, as a Member of Parliament, in 1788, on an occasion when the country at large felt the deepest sympathy and distress for the illness of the Sovereign. And finally, though they will exult in the meritorious line of action which he embraced on the commencement of the French Revolution, as equally honourable to himself, and beneficial to the cause of order and government throughout the civilized world; yet they cannot forget that he received from Mr. Pitt soon afterwards, two pensions for three lives, of eighteen hundred Pounds a year, each, as his reward: and they will Perhaps incline to admit, that on an impartial survey, Mr. Burke appears greater and more elevated in 1781, than at any subsequent period of his political life.

He was then more than fifty years of age, of which he had passed fifteen in the House of Commons. I believe, he owed his first seat in that assembly, not to the Marquis of Rockingham, but to the late Earl Verney, with whom he had formed some connections of a pecuniary nature; during the continuance of which, both that nobleman and Mr. Burke became purchasers to a considerable amount, of East India Stock. The latter, as it was asserted, sold out in time,

after clearing so large a sum by the transaction, as with it to have purchased the estate or house at Gregories, near Beconsfield in Bucks, where he always resided when not in London. Lord Verney, less fortunate, or less prudent; though possessed of a vast landed property, was almost ruined by his East India purchases; and Richard Burke, Edmund's brother, who was then a practitioner at the Bar, being likewise involved in the same losing concern, was said to be unable to fulfil his Stock engagements; or in the language of Change Alley, to have *waddled*. Hence, in allusion to this circumstance, his enemies, instead of *Dick* Burke, commonly called him *Duck* Burke. Edmund, in 1781, rented a house in the Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, conveniently situated for his attendance in Parliament; but entertained very little company; and his pecuniary obligations to the Marquis of Rockingham, which were known to be great, sufficiently indicated the limited nature of his private fortune.

Nature had bestowed on him a boundless imagination, aided by a memory of equal strength and tenacity. His fancy was so vivid, that it seemed to light up by its own powers, and to burn without consuming the aliment on which it fed: sometimes bearing him away into ideal scenes created by his own exuberant mind, but from which he always returned to the subject of Debate; descending from his most aërial flights by a gentle and imperceptible gradation, till he again touched the ground. Learning waited on him like a handmaid, presenting to his choice, all that Antiquity had culled or invented, most elucidatory of the topic under discussion. He always seemed to be oppressed under the load and variety of his intellectual treasures, of which he frequently scattered portions with a lavish hand, to inattentive, impatient, hungry, and sleepy hearers, undeserving of such presents. Nor did he desist, though warned by the clamorous vocifera-

tion of the House, to restrain or to abbreviate his speeches. Every power of Oratory was wielded by him in turn: for, he could be during the same evening, pathetic and humorous; acrimonious and conciliating; now giving a loose to his indignation or severity; and then, almost in the same breath, calling to his assistance ridicule, wit, and mockery. Yet, with this assemblage of endowments, which would have sufficed to form many Orators; though he instructed, delighted, and astonished, he frequently fatigued, because his faculties were not controlled and chastened by a severe judgement.

In his dress and exterior he was not less negligent than Fox: but, the spirit of party did not blend with the colour of his apparel; and he rarely or never came to the House in Blue and Buff, though he eulogized Laurens, the American Ex-President, when a prisoner in the Tower, far beyond the picture which *Pope* has left us of *Atterbury*, under the same circumstances. Burke constantly wore spectacles. His enunciation was vehement, rapid, and never checked by any embarrassment: for his ideas outran his powers of utterance, and he drew from an exhaustless source. But, his Irish accent, which was as strong as if he had never quitted the banks of the Shannon, diminished to the ear, the enchanting effect of his eloquence on the mind. Dundas, who laboured under a similar impediment, yet turned it to account, if I may so express myself; some of his expressions or allusions, by the variation in pronouncing a single letter, or pressing too hard upon a vowel, frequently producing such an equivocal sound, conveying so strange an impression on the ears of his audience, as put to flight all gravity, and convulsed the house with laughter. In brilliancy of wit, Lord North alone could compete with Burke; for Sheridan had not then appeared. Burke drew all his images from classic sources: a fact, of which he displayed a beautiful exemplification, when he said of

Wilkes, borne along in triumph by the mob, that he resembled Pindar, elevated on the wings of poetical inspiration,

——"Numerisque fertur
Lege solutis."

His personal qualities of temper and disposition, by no means corresponded with his intellectual endowments. Throughout his general manner and deportment in Parliament, there was something petulant, impatient, and at times almost intractable, which greatly obscured the lustre of his talents. His very features, and the undulating motions of his head, were eloquently expressive of this irritability, which on some occasions seemed to approach towards alienation of mind. Even his friends could not always induce him to listen to reason and remonstrance, though they sometimes held him down in his seat, by the skirts of his coat, in order to prevent the ebullitions of his anger or indignation. Gentle, mild, and amenable to argument in private society, of which he formed the delight and the ornament, he was often intemperate and even violent in Parliament. Fox, however irritated, never forgot that he was a chief. Burke, in his most sublime flights, was only a partizan. The countenance of the latter, which rarely relaxed into a smile, did not invite approach or conciliation. His enmities and prejudices, though they originated in principle, as well as in conviction, yet became tinged with the virulent spirit of party; and were eventually in many instances, inveterate, unjust, and insurmountable. Infinitely more respectable than Fox, he was nevertheless far less amiable. Exempt from his defects and irregularities, Burke wanted the suavity of Fox's manner, his amenity, and his placability. The one procured more admirers. The other possessed more friends. Though acting together to a common point, as members of the House of

Commons, and embarked in the same cause; their intimacy seemed always to commence, and to cease, at the entrance of the Lobby. Burke retired from the discharge of his parliamentary functions, exhausted, chagrined, and often irritated; to repair immediately to his family, or to the duties and avocations of domestic life. Fox, always fresh, and never more alert than after a long Debate, only quitted the House, in order to drive to Brookes's. Even in their nearest approximations, there were always essential and striking distinctions between the two Opposition leaders. In genius, in learning, in eloquence, in politics, they were assimilated. But, in their occupations, amusements, society, companions, and modes of life, never were two men more discordant. They continued, nevertheless, to act together through succeeding Parliaments, in good, and in adverse fortune, 'till the French Revolution finally dissevered them. The obvious defect of Burke, was want of temper and self-command. Fox's latent blemish lay in his dissolute habits and ruined fortune, which enabled his enemies to compare him with Catiline. Both wanted judgment to perceive, that even under the free Constitution of Great Britain, the Cabinet, though it may be taken by storm, cannot be long held except by favor. Mr. Fox, in 1806, appears to have thoroughly come up with this great truth, of which, in 1781, he was either regardless or ignorant.

In surveying the Opposition side of the House of Commons at this period, the idea of Barré naturally and unavoidably suggests itself after that of Burke. Both were natives of the same country, Ireland; and both had attained to vast celebrity in their adopted country, England. But, no sort of comparison could be made between their talents, acquirements, or claim to general admiration; in all which, Burke possessed an infinite superiority. Of an athletic frame and mould, endowed with extraordinary powers of voice, Barré, as

a speaker, roughly enforced, rather than solicited or attracted attention. Severe, and sometimes coarse in his censures or accusations, he nevertheless always sustained his charges against Ministers, however strong, with considerable force of argument and language. Slow, measured, and dictatorial in his manner of enunciation, he was not carried away by those beautiful digressions of genius or fancy, with which Burke captivated and entertained his audience. Master nevertheless of his subject, and more attentive than Burke, not to fatigue the patience of the House, when eager to rise, he frequently obtained a more indulgent hearing. Deprived already of one eye, and menaced with a privation of both; advanced in years, grey-headed, and of a savage aspect, he reminded the beholders when he rose, of Belisarius, rather than of Tully. Yet possessing a cultivated understanding, conversant with the works of antiquity, and able on occasion to press them into his service, he sometimes displayed a great diversity of information.

Near him, on the same Bench, in the front ranks of the Minority, usually sat his friend and colleague, Dunning. Never perhaps did nature enclose a more illuminated mind, in a body of meaner and more abject appearance. It is difficult to do justice to the peculiar species of ugliness which characterized his person and figure, though he did not labor under any absolute deformity of shape or limb. A degree of infirmity, and almost of debility or decay in his organs, augmented the effect of his other bodily misfortunes. Even his voice was so husky and choaked with phlegm, that it refused utterance to the sentiments which were dictated by his superior intelligence. In consequence of this physical impediment, he lay always under a necessity of involuntarily announcing his intention to address the House, some time before he actually rose, by the repeated attempts which he made to clear his throat.

But, all these imperfections and defects of configuration, were obliterated by the ability which he displayed. In spite of the Monotony of his tones, and his total want of animation, as well as grace; yet so powerful was reason when flowing from his lips, that every murmur became hushed, and every ear attentive. It seemed, nevertheless, the acute Sophistry of a lawyer, rather than the speech of a man of the world, or the eloquence of a man of letters and education. Every sentence, though admirable in itself, yet resembled more the pleading of the Bar, than the oratory of the Senate. So difficult is it for the most enlightened intellect to throw off the habits of a profession. Dunning neither delighted, nor entertained his hearers; but he subdued them by his powers of argumentative ratiocination, which have rarely been exceeded. They soon afterwards raised him to the Peerage; just in time to attain that elevation, as his constitution speedily sunk under accumulated disorders, which hurried him prematurely to the grave. This extraordinary man, who was not exempt from great infirmity of mind, felt, or perceived so little his corporeal deficiencies, as to consider his person with extraordinary predilection. Fond of viewing his face in the glass, he passed no time more to his satisfaction, than in decorating himself for his appearance in the world. He and Barré, who were fellow-labourers in the same vineyard, represented likewise the same Borough, Calne; and belonged, or at least looked up to the same political Chief, Lord Shelburne. They consequently were animated by no common principle of union, or of action, with Fox and Burke, except one; that of overturning the Administration. On all other points, a secret jealousy and rivality subsisted between the adherents of the Shelburne, and the Rockingham parties.

Admiral Keppel might likewise be accounted among the principal members of Opposition in the House of

Commons, at this period; though his talents seemed to be no more conspicuously exerted in Debate, than they had appeared while he remained on the quarter deck, during the memorable action of the 27th of July, 1778. But the persecution which, as it was pretended, he had undergone, for his conduct on that day; the accusation brought against him by Palliser, and the ministerial, as well as royal enmity, which he had incurred;—these political merits elevated him to a consideration, which he could otherwise never have attained. Excluded from representing the Borough of Windsor, at the recent general Election in 1780; the popular effervescence of the moment, inflamed at his rejection, where it was supposed that the influence of the Sovereign had considerably operated to his prejudice, brought him in for Surrey: a County in which he possessed no property, nor any hereditary interest. There appeared neither dignity in his person, nor intelligence in his countenance, the features of which were of the most ordinary cast; and his nose, which, in consequence of an accident that befel him in the course of his professional life, had been almost laid flat, gave him an equally vulgar and unpleasant air. His abilities were indeed of a very limited description, altogether unfit for such a theatre as Parliament: but the Minority having already destined him to succeed, and to supplant Lord Sandwich, as soon as they could gain possession of power, it became indispensable to sustain him on every occasion, with all their efforts.

Another distinguished naval Commander, Lord Howe, who then filled a seat in the House, might likewise be numbered among the determined opponents of government. Since his return from America, he had not enjoyed the smiles of the Court; but his professional character supported him with the public. His steady and phlegmatic courage, added to the wholesome severity of his discipline when on service, deservedly placed him

high in the estimation of all parties. Among the sailors he was known, from his dark complexion, by the epithet of "Black Dick." If no genius could be discovered in the lines of his face, there was in them, an expression of serene and passive fortitude, which could not be mistaken. His Profile bore, indeed, a very strong resemblance to the portraits of George the First, from whom, by his mother, he descended. She was the natural daughter of that Prince, by his mistress, Madame de Platen, whom he created Countess of Darlington, some years after his accession to the crown of Great Britain. In Parliament, Lord Howe made, if possible, a worse figure than Keppel; who, when he addressed the House, was at least intelligible, though he might not greatly illuminate the subject. Lord Howe's ideas were commonly either so ill conceived by himself, or so darkly and ambiguously expressed, that it was by no means easy to comprehend his precise meaning. This oracular and confused mode of delivery, rendered still more obscure by the part of the House where he usually sat, which was on a back row, at a distance from the Speaker's chair, encreased however the effect of his oratory; and seemed to exemplify Burke's assertion, that "obscurity is a source of the "sublime."

Sir George Savile, who represented the county of York, attracted great consideration. His known integrity and disinterestedness, joined to his extensive landed property, elevated him more than any endowments of intellect, or parliamentary ability. He possessed nevertheless, plain manly sense, and a facility of utterance, which, even independant of his high character and ample fortune, always secured him attention.

Lord John Cavendish was listened to, whenever he rose, with similar deference or predilection. His near alliance to the Duke of Devonshire; his very name,

connected with the Revolution of 1688, which secured the liberties of Great Britain; his unblemished reputation, and his talents, though very moderate;—all these qualities combined to impress with esteem, even those who differed most from him in political opinion. Nature had in the most legible characters stamped honesty on his countenance: but she had not accompanied it with any ornamental present. The Opposition already considered him as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Embrio.

General Conway, though by no means a man of first-rate capacity, or a superior speaker, yet surpassed in these respects, either of the two last-mentioned persons. His long military experience, his birth and descent, together with the recollection of his having already occupied one of the most eminent employments of state under a former administration; authorized him to expect a situation no less conspicuous, in any future ministerial arrangement. His figure and deportment were exceedingly distinguished, nor did he want abilities; but his enunciation, embarrassed, and often involved, generally did injustice to his conceptions.

Mr. Thomas Townsend, commonly denominated "Tommy Townsend," and so commemorated in Goldsmith's celebrated Poem of "Retaliation," where he describes Burke,

> "Tho' fraught with all learning, yet straining his throat,
> To induce *Tommy Townsend* to lend him a vote;"

looked confidently forward, no less than General Conway, to a high place in some future Ministry, when Lord North should be driven from power. Nor were his expectations eventually disappointed. He was a man of very independant fortune, and of considerable parliamentary interest, present, as well as prospective; two circumstances which greatly contributed to his personal, as well as political elevation: for, his abilities, though respectable, scarcely rose above mediocrity,

Yet, as he always spoke with facility, sometimes with energy, and was never embarrassed by any degree of timidity, he maintained a place in the front ranks of Opposition.

General Burgoyne would not deserve any place in this list, if respect were had only to his parliamentary talents: but, his sufferings in the cause of Opposition, which elevated him to the rank of a martyr, like Keppel; Fox's attachment towards him, and his connexion by marriage with Lord Derby, one of the Minority chiefs;—these merits supplied every deficiency. It was difficult to contemplate him, without involuntarily recollecting the disgraceful colours under which "Junius" has designated him, as "taking his "stand at a gaming-table, and watching with the "soberest attention, for a fair opportunity of engaging "a drunken young nobleman at Picquet;" as "draw-"ing a regular and splendid subsistence from play;" and as sitting down for the remainder of his life, "*in-*"*famous and contented* with the money received from the "Duke of Grafton, for the sale of a patent place in "the Customs." These aspersions, which never received any public answer, did not prevent his occupying a distinguished place in Fox's regard; who exhibited a strong proof of it, by becoming Burgoyne's Nominee on the Committee appointed to try the contested Election for the Borough of Preston, which he represented, in the spring of 1781. Supported by such ability, the General kept his seat. I have been assured that when he returned on his Parole from America, in May, 1778; the Opposition, apprehensive of his taking part with Administration, and fearful that he might accuse the adherents of Congress in this country, with having contributed by their language in Parliament, if not by other modes of encouragement, to the resistance that produced the disaster of Saratoga; determined, if possible, to gain him. For that purpose, Fox went

down privately to Hounslow, where he met Burgoyne soon after he had landed, on his way from Plymouth to London. In the course of a long and confidential interview, Fox convinced him so thoroughly, that the Ministers would not support him; that Lord George Germain must accuse him, in order to exculpate himself; that the King had imbibed very strong prejudices against him, and that the Administration could not last a twelvemonth; as to induce the General to transfer his charges of misconduct, from the Opposition, to the Treasury Bench. Present protection, and future employment, whenever they should attain to power, followed of course. I have no doubt of the accuracy of this fact, as I received it from high living Authority.

Wilkes could not properly be considered as a member of the Minority, because, though he always spoke from that side of the House, and usually voted with them, yet he neither depended on Lord Rockingham, nor on Lord Shelburne: but, his predilections leaned towards the latter Nobleman. Notwithstanding however the personal collision which may be said to have taken place between the King and him, during the early portion of His Majesty's reign; Wilkes, like Burke, nourished in his bosom, a strong sentiment of constitutional loyalty. He gave indelible proofs of it, during the Riots of June, 1780, when *Bull*, one of the Members for London, crouched under Lord George Gordon's mob. And though Wilkes lent his aid to overturn Lord North's Administration, yet he never yoked himself to Fox's car. On the contrary, no sooner had "the "Coalition" unmasked their battery of "the East India "Bill," than Wilkes rallying to the crown, as the only protection against Fox's ambition, took the warmest part against that measure: acting in 1784, nearly the same part which Burke did, eight years later, in 1792, after the French Revolution, when he sought shelter

behind the throne, against the horrors of Anarchy, regicide, and insurrection: horrors, which Fox never could perceive, and for which he even apologized in no small degree.

Such was the aspect which the House of Commons then presented. Pitt and Sheridan, who have since in different ways occupied so great a share of public attention, had not either of them as yet come forward. In order, however, to form a more complete estimate of the principal individuals who at that time attracted general notice, either as supporters of Administration, or as Candidates for Office, whenever the Opposition should come into power; it is still requisite to throw a glance over the House of Peers.

The great Earl of Mansfield, though he had already advanced beyond that period of life, at which the faculties of the human mind usually begin to diminish in vigour, did not appear to have lost any of the strength of his intellect. In the court of King's Bench, no less than in Parliament, his transcendent abilities still excited equal respect and admiration. The friend of Pope, of Bolingbroke, and of Sir William Wyndham, during his youth; he united the finest accomplishments of Science, to the most profound knowledge of the laws. In the recent Riots of 1780, the populace, whether considering him as inclined to support measures of an arbitrary nature, or supposing him a friend to principles of religious tolerance repugnant to their feelings; selected him for the object of their violence. His house and his papers were consumed: but he had happily escaped any personal effects of their rage; and though not individually a member of Administration, might be considered as disposed on all occasions, to extend his assistance to the Government. Yet did the constitutional and characteristic timidity which distinguished him, prevent his ever standing forward in moments of Crisis or danger, like Thurlow and Wedder-

burn, as the champion of ministerial measures. With the single exception of the Duke of Grafton, no man high in Office, had been so severely treated by the pen of "Junius;" and though time had skinned over the wound, the Cicatrice still remained. That able writer, after pursuing the Lord Chief Justice with inconceivable pertinacity, through all the sinuosities of legal concealment or evasion, under which he attempted to shelter himself;—after comparing him to the most prostitute Judges of the most arbitrary reigns; to *Tresillian*, under Richard the Second; and to *Jefferies*, under James the Second; exclaims,—"Who attacks the "liberty of the press? Lord Mansfield. Who invades "the constitutional power of juries? Lord Mansfield. "What Judge ever challenged a Juryman, but Lord "Mansfield? Who was that Judge, who, to save the "King's brother, affirmed that a man of the first rank "and quality, who obtains a verdict in a suit for "criminal conversation, is entitled to no greater "damages than the meanest mechanic? Lord Mans-"field." At him "Junius" levelled his last blows, before he finally disappeared, as a political writer. In his parting letter, addressed to Lord Camden, written towards the end of January, 1772, exciting and invoking that Nobleman to come forward as the accuser of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, at the Bar of the House of Peers; "Considering," says he, "the "situation and abilities of Lord Mansfield, I do not "scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God "for my sincerity, that in my judgement, he is the "very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom. "Thus far I have done my duty in endeavouring to "bring him to punishment. But, mine is an inferior, "ministerial office in the Temple of Justice. I have "bound the victim, and dragged him to the altar." Severe, and perhaps unmerited as these accusations may appear, yet Lord Mansfield's warmest admirers never

attempted to deny, that at every period of time while he presided in the Court of King's Bench, his opinions and his Decrees, if not adverse to the liberty of the Press, and to the freedom of the subject, uniformly leaned towards the Crown. Nor is it possible to justify, either in a moral, or in a legal point of view, his partial and oppressive conduct towards Wilkes in 1763, when the Charges against him for publishing No. 45 of the "North Briton," and the "Essay on Woman," were tried in the Court of King's Bench; while their author, wounded at the time in a Duel, was absent at Paris. Lord Mansfield's enemies, not without some reason asserted, that he was better calculated to fill the office of a *Prætor* under Justinian, than to preside as Chief Criminal Judge of this kingdom, in the reign of George the Third.

Lord Loughborough, who owed to Lord North his recent elevation to the Peerage, constituted one of his ablest advocates, and most zealous supporters, in that House. Wedderburn had risen through the gradations of the law, amidst the discussions of Parliament, side by side with Thurlow. More temperate, pliant, artful, and accommodating in his manners than the Chancellor, he equalled that Nobleman in eloquence, if he did not even surpass him. Churchill, in one of his Satires, has thought proper to describe Wedderburn, as "Mute at the Bar, but in the Senate loud." No man however in public life, possessed more versatility of talents, or abilities better adapted to every situation. He proved himself as refined a Courtier at St. James's, as he was an able lawyer at Westminster. His defence of Lord Clive, when under accusation before the House of Commons, augmented Wedderburn's legal, as well as parliamentary reputation. It had been perpetually progressive since that time, and rendered him, whether as a Member of the lower, or of the upper House, one of the most distinguished ornaments of the long Robe.

Nor did the Opposition at this time want men of distinguished capacity, professional and political, in the House of Lords, though the Marquis of Rockingham was not to be accounted among the number. His rank, his integrity, and his vast patrimonial property, rather than any intellectual endowments, had placed him at the head of his party. During the short period of time when he formerly filled the post of First Lord of the Treasury, he had displayed more rectitude of intention, than either vigor or ability. Even his constitution and frame of body appeared inadequate to the fatigues of an official situation demanding energy and application. Lord Camden on the contrary, though much more advanced in years, had retained all the powers of his mind, combined with personal activity. In Debate, he might be esteemed equal to Lord Mansfield himself; while his exertions at every period of his life, in defence of the constitutional liberties of the subject, gave him a sort of superiority to that Nobleman, and greatly endeared him to the nation. His name, almost always united with the great Earl of Chatham, ever since the accession of George the Third, seemed inseparable from the idea of Freedom.

If indefatigable and laborious pertinacity, could recommend to office, or qualify for public employment, few members of the upper House possessed a better title to that praise, than the Duke of Richmond. However limited might be the range of his ideas, he supplied in some measure by application, the deficiency of original talent. His person, manners, and address, were all full of dignity; and the personal beauty which distinguished Mademoiselle de la Querouaille, mistress of Charles the Second, his great grandmother, was not become extinct in him. She is known to have retained her charms, down to a very late period of her life; and the fables related of Ninon de l'Enclos, were in some measure verified in the Duchess of Portsmouth. The

late George Selwyn, who had seen her at Richmond House in the year 1733;—for, she survived Charles the Second, near fifty years; assured me that she was even then possessed of many attractions, though verging towards fourscore. Like his nephew, Mr. Fox, the Duke did not spare the King, when addressing the House of Lords; and he was considered as peculiarly obnoxious at St. James's. Accused by his enemies, of wanting personal courage, he manifested at least no defect of political resolution. At the East India House, in his quality of a Proprietor, no less than as a Peer of Parliament, at Westminster, he was ever active; vigilant in detecting and exposing abuses, real or imaginary; perpetually harassing every Department with enquiries; and attacking in turn, the Army, the Admiralty, and the Treasury.

But no individual in the upper House, attracted so much national attention from his accomplishments, talents, and extensive information on all subjects of foreign or domestic policy, as the Earl of Shelburne. In the prime of life, and in the full vigour of his faculties, he displayed whenever he rose to speak, an intimate knowledge of Europe, together with such a variety of matter, as proved him eminently qualified to fill the highest official situation. At an early period of His Majesty's reign, in 1766, he had occupied with great and general approbation, the post of Secretary of State for the Home Department, during more than two years; and he might justly look forward on any change of Ministers, to be again employed in a similar, or even in a higher place of trust and power. His acquaintance with the Continent was minute and accurate, the result of ocular inspection on many points, corrected by reflexion; and improved by correspondence or communications with foreigners of eminence, whom he assiduously cultivated and protected. Mr. Fox himself was far inferior to Lord Shelburne in these branches of

information. Nor was that nobleman less versed in all the principles of Finance and of Revenue, than in the other objects of political study that form a Statesman. His house, or more properly to speak, his palace in Berkeley-square, which had formerly constituted the residence of the Earl of Bute; formed at once the centre of a considerable party, as well as the Asylum of taste and science. It is a fact, that during the latter years of Lord North's Administration, he retained three or four Clerks in constant pay and employment, under his own roof, who were solely occupied in copying state-papers or accounts. Every measure of Finance adopted by the first Minister, passed, if I may so express myself, through the Alembic of Shelburne House, where it was examined and severely discussed. There, while Dunning and Barré met to settle their plan of action, as Members of Parliament on the Opposition Bench in the House of Commons; Jackson, who likewise sat in the same assembly, for New Romney, and the variety of whose information had acquired him the name of "Omniscient "Jackson," furnished every species of legal or general knowledge. Dr. Price and Mr. Baring produced financial plans, or made arithmetical calculations, meant to controvert and overturn, or to expose those of the first Lord of the Treasury: while Dr. Priestley, who lived under the Earl of Shelburne's personal protection, (just as the celebrated *Hobbes* had done at Chatsworth, under the immediate patronage of the Earls of Devonshire, in the preceding Century;) prosecuted in the midst of London, his philosophical and chemical researches. Nor ought I to omit in this list of extraordinary men, the distinguished names of Jervis, and of Jekyll; one of whom has risen to such naval honours; and the other has attained to an equal eminence at the Bar, as he enjoys from the charms of his conversation, in private society.

In his person, manners, and address, the Earl of

Shelburne wanted no external quality requisite to captivate or conciliate mankind. Affable, polite, communicative, and courting popularity, he drew round him a number of followers or adherents. His personal courage was indisputable. Splendid and hospitable at his table, he delighted his guests by the charms of his conversation and society. In his magnificent library, one of the finest of its kind in England, he could appear as a Philosopher and a man of letters. With such various endowments of mind, sustained by rank and fortune, he necessarily excited universal consideration, and seemed to be pointed out by Nature for the first employments. But, the confidence which his moral character inspired, did not equal the reputation of his abilities. His adversaries accused him of systematic duplicity and insincerity. They even asserted that unless all the rules of Physiognomy were set at defiance, his very countenance and features eloquently indicated falsehood. In order to fix upon him so injurious an imputation, they gave him the Epithet of *Malagrida*, from the name of a Portuguese Jesuit, well known in the modern history of that kingdom. And these insinuations, though not perhaps accompanied with proofs, were nevertheless, either from the credulity or the malignity of mankind, widely circulated, as well as very generally believed throughout the nation.

February.] Among the circumstances which will always render the Session of 1781 peculiarly interesting to posterity, must be accounted the active appearance of Pitt and of Sheridan on the floor of the House of Commons. They both may be said to have commenced their brilliant parliamentary career, nearly at the same time, within a few days of each other. Both spoke on the side of Opposition, and both were received with marked approbation, by every part of their audience. I was present when each of them rose for the first time. Pitt led the way, on the second reading of Burke's Bill for

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"the Reform of the King's Household;" which, though rejected in the last Session of the preceding Parliament, its author did not the less bring forward anew, towards the close of the Month of February. He reiterated the same Encomiums on the enlightened retrenchments made by Necker, with which he had entertained the House in 1780; extolled the discernment of Louis the Sixteenth, in making choice of such a Minister for Superintendant of the Finances; and asserted that the selection would produce more substantial benefit, as well as more solid glory to his reign, than had resulted from all the deeds of Henry the Fourth. But, the measures adopted by an arbitrary Prince for maintaining a war, in which, contrary to every maxim of wise policy, no less than by the subversion of all treaties subsisting between France and England, he had engaged with us, did not appear to form a proper model for our imitation. After a Debate of considerable length, the Bill was rejected by a majority of forty-three Votes, in a very full House. Great expectations having been formed of Pitt, a sort of anxious impatience for his coming forward, pervaded the assembly; which was strongly impressed from common report, with a belief of his hereditary talents and eloquence. He unquestionably commenced under most auspicious circumstances; his Birth, and his Name, by resuscitating as it were the first Earl of Chatham, whose memory awakened such animating recollections, preparing every ear to be attentive; and thus removing all the impediments that present themselves in the way of ordinary men, when attempting to address Parliament. But, sanguine as might be the opinions entertained of his ability, he far exceeded them; seeming to attain at his outset, that object, which other Candidates for public fame or favour, slowly and laboriously effect by length of time and regular gradations.

It was in reply to Lord Nugent that Pitt first broke

silence, from under the Gallery on the Opposition side of the House. The same composure, self-possession, and imposing dignity of manner, which afterwards so eminently characterized him when seated on the Treasury Bench; distinguished him in this first essay of his powers, though he then wanted three months to have compleated his twenty-second year. The same nervous, correct, and polished diction, free from any inaccuracy of language, or embarrassment of deportment, which, as First Minister, he subsequently displayed, were equally manifested on this occasion. Formed for a popular assembly, he seemed made to guide its deliberations, from the first moment that he addressed the members composing it. But, a circumstance which will more forcibly exemplify this assertion, than any description, I must not omit. Lord George Germain having occasion to make some verbal communication to Welbore Ellis, who sat near him, they continued during a few moments to whisper each other, while Mr. Pitt was speaking. Offended at such an apparent inattention on the part of two individuals so high in office, he suddenly suspended his discourse; and then looking round upon the House, which was all ear, he said, with a manner, and in a tone still more impressive than the reproof, "I shall wait till the "*Agamemnon* of the present day, has finished his "consultation with the *Nestor* of the Treasury Bench." The observation, which, independent of its classic beauty, and its severity, arose from an accident impossible to have been foreseen, it was obvious, could not therefore be premeditated; and its effect, not only on the two persons to whom it was specially directed, but on the House at large, was electrick. Lord George and Mr. Ellis, in some confusion, instantly resumed their former attitudes, and Mr. Pitt experienced no further interruption. All men beheld in him at once a future Minister; and the Opposition, overjoyed at such an accession of

strength, vyed with each other in their Encomiums, as well as in their predictions of his certain elevation. Burke exclaimed, that "he was not merely a chip of "the old block, but the old block itself." Nor did Fox do less justice to the talents of this new competitor for power, popularity, and employment. Having carried him to Brookes's Club, a few days afterwards, Pitt was elected a member of that society, which then comprehended almost all the men of rank and great talents engaged in parliamentary Opposition to Ministers. It is a fact, that Pitt remained during several years, a member of Brookes's; but he rarely, if ever, appeared there, after he came into Office. So nice was his tact, so deep his penetration, and in so different a mould was he cast from Fox, that even on his first reception in St. James's-street, though it was of the most flattering description, he was not dazzled nor won by it. On the contrary he held back, and never coalesced with that party, beyond external appearances. Fox himself soon perceived the coldness of his new ally, for whom play had no attractions: but neither he nor Burke were probably aware of the profound and regulated, but soaring ambition, which animated him to aspire, without passing through any intermediate stage, to the first employments of the State. Still less could they apprehend or foresee, that he would form during the greater part of their future lives, the principal and insurmountable bar to their own attainment, or permanent enjoyment of office.

Mr. Pitt, when he thus rose for the first time, represented the Borough of Appleby in Westmoreland, and was indebted for his seat in the House, to Sir James Lowther; whose property and parliamentary influence, which in the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland were immense, enabled him to bring seven or eight Members into that assembly. Sir James was rewarded by Mr. Pitt, for this, and for

other services, with an English Earldom, little more than three years afterwards. But he eagerly embraced the first occasion which presented itself, to obtain a more independent seat in Parliament, and to emancipate himself from any dependance on, or personal connexion with the Lowther Family. The matrimonial alliance of Sir James with Lord Bute, one of whose daughters he had married; the name of *Lowther*, which had been rendered unpopular, if not odious, by the memorable contest with the Duke of Portland, in the beginning of the present reign; and even the character of Sir James Lowther himself, tyrannical, overbearing, violent, and frequently under no restraint of temper, or of reason;—all these combined motives impelled Mr. Pitt to seek elsewhere a more independent title, to call himself one of the representatives of the people; particularly after his elevation to the head of the Treasury. He was, nevertheless, compelled to wait for such an occasion, till the Dissolution of Parliament in March, 1784, during all which period he sat for Appleby, even when Chancellor of the Exchequer, under Lord Shelburne's Administration, and afterwards when first Lord of the Treasury. At length, in the Spring of 1784, his ministerial weight, rather than his individual qualities and interest, enabled him to turn out Lord John Townsend, (then Mr. John Townsend), and to place himself at the head of the Poll for the University of Cambridge; an election, and a seat, in every sense gratifying to his feelings.

It was not, indeed, to the personal friendship of Sir James Lowther, that he originally owed his entrance into the House of Commons. He was indebted for that advantage, which conducted him with such rapidity, to the highest offices, principally, if not solely, to the late Duke of Rutland, a Nobleman of nearly the same age as Mr. Pitt. The early intimacy which subsisted between them at the University of Cambridge, was

cemented by the political ties that had formerly united their fathers, the Marquis of Granby, and the Earl of Chatham, during the reign of George the Second. As every circumstance connected with the public life and career of such a man as Mr. Pitt, becomes interesting, I shall relate from my own personal knowledge, some facts not undeserving of commemoration, upon this subject.

Among the persons who were admitted to the familiarity of the late Duke of Rutland, and who had access to him at almost all hours, about this time, was a man of the name of Kirkpatrick. Possessing a small property at Penrith, in the County of Cumberland, within a few miles of Lowther Hall, he was known to, and protected by Sir James Lowther, with whom he maintained a constant and habitual intercourse. The Duke and Sir James, both, treated him as a sort of Buffoon, who diverted them by his eccentricities, and he was frequently employed between them, on errands or messages. During the Autumn of the year 1780, the Duke dispatched Kirkpatrick from his house in Arlington-street, to Sir James Lowther, who resided in Charles-street, Berkeley-square; with a verbal request, that "Sir James would do him the favour, if possible, "to reserve a seat among his Boroughs, for a friend of "the Duke's, Mr. William Pitt, a younger son of the "Earl of Chatham." Kirkpatrick has often related to me the particulars of his interview and conversation with Sir James Lowther, whom he found in the act of shaving himself. "Well, Kirk," for so he was always denominated; said Sir James, "what may be your "business?" "I am come from Arlington-street," answered he, "with a message to you from the Duke." "What are his commands?" replied Sir James. "He "requests that you will oblige him by reserving a seat "for a friend of his, Mr. Pitt, Lord Chatham's brother, "a young gentleman of vast abilities, whom the Duke

"wishes to bring into Parliament." "I wish he had "sent sooner to me;" returned he; "Is he very "anxious about it, Kirk?" "Exceedingly so, you may "be assured." "Then go back to the Duke," was his "reply, "and tell him that I will see him in the course "of this day, and we will talk the matter over to-"gether." Kirkpatrick carried back the answer: Sir James Lowther and the Duke of Rutland having met, the eventual consequence of their interview was that Mr. Pitt came in for Appleby. Not, however, at the General Election which took place in September, 1780. Mr. William Lowther, the present Earl of Lonsdale, having succeeded in making his election for Carlisle, as well as for Appleby, vacated his seat for the latter place, after the meeting of Parliament, and Mr. Pitt was then returned for that Borough. This event did not happen before the beginning of 1781, towards the close of January, when he took the oaths and his seat. He remained silent about five weeks, before he rose and pronounced his first Speech.

Having been brought up, as is universally known, to the profession of the law, he went the Western Circuit, as a Barrister, in the Spring of the year 1780. But he unquestionably meditated very early, a shorter, and more brilliant, though perhaps not a less laborious, mode of attaining to personal and political elevation. He could not be ignorant of the prodigious powers with which nature had endowed him; which talents, his father, who must equally have perceived them, had cultivated with the utmost care. A son of the great Earl of Chatham, however narrow might be his fortune, yet could not experience much difficulty in procuring entrance into the House of Commons; and never was any juncture more propitious for his surmounting all the ordinary impediments in the way to high employment. In 1781, Lord North palpably and evidently verged towards his extinction as First Minister. With

him, it was obvious, all his Colleagues in the Cabinet must pass away, and a new order of things would arise. America having nearly effected her emancipation, peace, it was probable, would follow that event, at no great distance of time. The King was unpopular; while Fox had become an object of general attachment throughout the country, in defiance of his excesses, principally by the steady opposition which he had given to the American war. But, both those circumstances rendered him odious to His Majesty, who disliked his political principles, and reprobated his personal irregularities. Lord Rockingham, and the Duke of Portland, were only great names, and heads of a Party. It was impossible for the Sovereign, even if he had wished it, to call the Duke of Grafton back to office: Lord Bute himself would have been less obnoxious to the country. No individual in either House of Parliament, except Lord Shelburne, remained, therefore, who could rationally aspire to succeed Lord North, unless by violence, and against the King's inclination. Mr. Pitt's youth might, indeed, seem at first sight, an insurmountable impediment to his being placed in a Cabinet Office, without first passing through the intermediate stages. But, common rules and precedents did not apply to him, whose hereditary claims to national regard, as the living representative of that great Minister who had humbled the House of Bourbon, disposed all men to consider him with predilection. Mr. Fox derived no such moral inheritance from his father; whose memory, far from being embalmed in the veneration of the English people, laboured on the contrary, under imputations of peculation the most generally diffused. There existed, therefore, no solid obstacle to Mr. Pitt's speedy attainment, even of the greatest Ministerial situations, in the course of a very short time. And when we contemplate the range of his mind, the very limited fortune that he possessed, the coldness of his constitution, the dominion

which he exercised over his passions, the expansion of his intellect, the splendor of his eloquence, and the immeasurable ambition or thirst of power which impelled him; we may give him credit for having, almost as soon as he came into Parliament, foreseen, anticipated, and confidently calculated on his soon reaching the object of his exertions.

I have been assured, that while going the Circuit to which I have alluded, he was retained as Junior Counsel, in a Cause, with a small Fee, by Mr. James Dutton, who became, a short time subsequent, Member for the County of Glocester. After this first acquaintance made with each other, they met, however, no more, except in Parliament, till the beginning of the year 1784. At the time Mr. Pitt, who, though First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, could not command a Majority in the House of Commons, where he held his power by a most precarious tenure; was anxiously looking round for assistance and support. Mr. Dutton having requested an interview, then waited on him as First Minister, and stated that he was disposed, as well as desirous, to support His Majesty's Government: but, that as it was highly probable, or rather almost certain, the conflict between the two parties, must produce a speedy Dissolution of Parliament, if Mr. Pitt retained his Office; and as it would be most inconvenient for him to stand a contested Election for Glocestershire; he therefore hoped for the conditional promise of being recommended to His Majesty for a Peerage, in return for his interest and vote. To this proposition Mr. Pitt replied, that he should be happy to receive Mr. Dutton's aid, and should always retain a becoming remembrance of his friendship or assistance; but that he did not desire, and could not accept it, under such a condition, to which he could in no degree accede, nor would come under any engagement of the proposed nature. With

that short answer, so analogous to his character, he dismissed Mr. Dutton; who wisely, however, trusting to his gratitude, voted with him on every Division, during the critical period which followed. Nor did he miscalculate his interests: for, within four months afterwards, in May of the same year, he received his reward, being created a Peer, by the title of Lord Shireborne.

Sheridan, on the other hand, notwithstanding the extent and variety of his endowments, which many persons may perhaps consider to have been even superior to those of Mr. Pitt himself; did not instantly take possession of the House in the same commanding manner. The reason was obvious. Though Sheridan manifested, from the first time that he presented himself to public notice as a Speaker, the greatest talents for Debate; yet he found many impediments, prejudices, and obstacles, to surmount in his progress. It is likewise to be remarked, that Mr. Pitt, when he rose for the first time, spoke *in reply*. Sheridan, who, though he had previously risen in the House, may be said to have commenced his career by introducing three Motions, respecting "the interference of an armed "Force in suppressing the Riots of June, 1780;" must naturally have arranged his ideas with more order and precision, than it was possible to do in answer to a preceding Speech. In fact, he won his way by superior talent, temper, wit, and argument, which enabled him to triumph over every difficulty. Mr. Pitt might be said to descend, as from an eminence, on the House. Sheridan laboured up hill, with slow, but uniform pace, sustained altogether by his own prodigious parts, and by Fox's steady friendship. His father, though a man of genius, could lend him no assistance. Old Sheridan was, on the contrary, in such contracted circumstances, as to have been compelled, for his support, some years after the period of which I am now speaking, to give Lectures, at a very low price, on dramatic Elocution or

Declamation, at a public room, in Gerrard-street, Soho. Henderson, the celebrated Actor, was, I believe, his Co-adjutor. No individual in my time, Burke himself not excepted, owed less to fortune, or was more indebted to nature for his vast reputation and success, than Sheridan. He did not, however, succeed in the object of his Speech, which evidently meant to throw a severe, though an indirect censure, on the Sovereign, as well as on the Administration, for issuing those Orders which had rescued London from the last effects of violence and outrage. Lord North disdained either to demand, or to accept, indemnity for an act, which, he was conscious, merited the highest commendation; and the House rejected by a large Majority, the only one of Sheridan's three Motions that he ventured to submit to a Division. It may indeed justly excite some astonishment, that any Body of men should attempt to call into question the rectitude and propriety of a measure, only applied at the last extremity, in order to rescue the Capital from inevitable conflagration, and public Credit from total subversion. But, never were the powers of Government fallen into such debility, as towards the close of the American War. Nor ever did Opposition venture to treat Pitt, or Addington, or Perceval, with the contumelious personality, which Fox and Burke used towards Lord North, on a variety of occasions.

March.] That Minister, though supported by a Parliament newly elected, and though he had carried the Address to the Throne at the commencement of the Session, by sixty-nine Votes, yet was by no means master of its deliberations. He retained, indeed, a Majority, which might be esteemed considerable; but it was nevertheless fluctuating, precarious, and destitute of confidence in their Leader. The Minority, on the contrary, who augmented every month in numbers and animation, considered the termination of the American war, as the term of the existence of the Administra-

tion; and they already predicted, as well as anticipated with certainty, the ill success of Lord Cornwallis's expedition against the Southern Provinces. Notwithstanding, indeed, some faint gleams of hope and of success which appeared in the Spring of 1781, few except the most sanguine, continued to expect the reduction of America to obedience, by the British arms. Emboldened by the disastrous state of foreign affairs, and availing themselves of the unpopularity of the Ministry, the Opposition attacked in the severest terms, Lord North's financial measures. The Loan which he had recently negotiated, having risen suddenly to a prodigious Premium, became a subject of bitter invective, as profuse, improvident, and constituting a systematic engine of parliamentary corruption. And though the bargain which had been made, was ultimately maintained by a Majority of more than fifty Votes; yet the impression produced by Opposition, both in, and out of the House, announced an approaching Crisis, however it might still be suspended or protracted by a variety of events.

I cannot too often repeat, while dwelling on this period of our History, that no virtues of the Sovereign, however eminent, and no ability of Administration, however recognized, could stem the unpopularity of the American war. With the two exceptions of Johnson and of Gibbon, the former of whom defended in print, the measures of Government, in the beginning of the contest; and the latter, after drawing up the Manifesto issued against Spain in 1779, voted, as a Member of the House of Commons, in support of Lord North, throughout the whole progress of hostilities; all the eminent or shining talents of the country, led on by Burke, were marshalled in support of the Colonies. The aid of Poetry alone seemed wanting to compleat the delusion. Just at this time the marriage of Lord Althorpe, (the present Earl Spencer,) with Miss

Lavinia Bingham, took place; an event which I only mention incidentally, as it gave birth to one of the most beautiful lyric productions in the English language. Mr. Jones, better known afterwards as Sir William Jones, emulating at once the fame of Milton and of Gray, in "The Muse recalled," reminded us of some of the most touching passages of "Lycidas," and of "The Bard." He, too, lent his powerful assistance to the cause of Rebellion. Like *Goldsmith*, who, ten years earlier, erroneously assumed in his "Deserted Village," as the Basis of his Poem, that population and rural happiness were abandoning England; Jones carried his assumption in our disfavour, to a still greater length. Juvenal, though he wrote under Domitian, only asserts that female modesty and justice withdrew from earth to heaven, after the extinction of Saturn's reign:

"Paulatim deinde ad superos Astræa recessit,
Hac comite, atque duæ pariter fugere sorores."

But Jones, after lamenting that "Freedom and Concord "repudiate the sons of Albion," carries off all the Virtues from this degenerate Island:

"Truth, justice, reason, valour, with them fly,
To seek a purer soil, a more congenial sky."

Impelled by the prejudice which then prevailed, and borne on the wings of poetic as well as of Party violence, he transports these virtues to the Chesapeake and the Delaware:

"Beyond the vast Atlantic deep,
A dome by viewless Genii shall be rais'd,
The walls of Adamant, compact and steep,
The portals with sky-tinctured gems emblaz'd.
There on a lofty throne shall *Virtue* stand:
To her the youth of *Delaware* shall kneel;
And when her smiles rain plenty o'er the land,
Bow, *Tyrants*, bow beneath th' avenging steel!"

Here, in a fine frenzy, he seems to behold as in a vision, the modern *Washington*, and the Congress met, after successfully throwing off all subjection to Great Britain. George the Third is pretty clearly designated in the last line, apostrophizing tyrants. It was not, however, civil liberty, but independence of the mother country; it was not freedom, but emancipation from the parent stock, that America emulated to attain by arms. She might have been admitted to participate in the blessings of our free Constitution; but she must then have paid her pecuniary debts to British subjects, all which became liquidated in the Crucible of Insurrection. Burke, within ten years after the conclusion of the American war, found out his error, when he beheld the French Revolution spring from the ashes of Hancock and Adams. He then endeavoured, as he said, "to trim the boat at the other end." Mr. Fox never could discover any thing wrong, either in the one, or in the other Revolution. We have lived to behold the virtuous American Government, within thirty years from the period of their emancipation, voluntarily become the accomplices and allies of the most sanguinary, flagitious, and obdurate tyrant, who ever appeared among men. We have seen this virtuous people yoke themselves to his car, when he was setting out for Moscow, in opposition to the united struggles of all Europe for deliverance; thus endeavouring, as far as their power extended, to cement by our destruction, his detestable empire. Madison, unlike Thrasibulus or Brutus, only aspired to uphold and perpetuate the dominion of his Corsican Master. It will demand Ages to wipe out the stain of such national turpitude, from the American annals. But, under Lord North's Administration, the Insurgents beyond the Atlantic, were generally seen through the most partial and favourable Medium: while Philip the Second, in his attempt to extinguish all the rights of human nature

among his subjects in the Netherlands, was hardly stigmatized with severer epithets, than the Opposition applied to the King of Great Britain.

The consideration of East India affairs, which formed one of the most important objects of the Session, engrossed universal attention. As early as February, a *Select* Committee having been appointed, ostensibly for the exclusive purpose of reporting on the state and abuses of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, General Richard Smith was placed at their head, as Chairman. His local knowledge of India, seemed to qualify him in some measure for the situation. He had acquired a large fortune, while in that part of the world; but, which he was supposed to have squandered since his return. Though destitute of the advantages of education, he did not by any means want parts; and he displayed some talent in addressing the House. But as the Committee allowed themselves to become subservient to the purposes of Party, and particularly to be made the instrument of personal enmities or resentments, they soon degenerated into an engine of private attack, and of individual persecution.

April.] Intelligence of Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic, followed by the defeat of the British forces under Fletcher and Baillie, which reached London in April, spread universal consternation. In order fully to appreciate the extent of that calamity, and its operation on the public mind, we must recollect the state of the British Empire at the period under our review. The fabrick seemed to be every-where collapsing by its own weight, or yielding to external attack. In the Western Hemisphere, America might be considered as already lost. Many of the Windward and Leeward Islands were reduced to the obedience of France; and the remainder, it was thought, must speedily fall. Jamaica itself appeared insecure. At home, the public Funds experienced a progressive

depression; while Ireland taking up arms, demanded freedom, sword in hand. Cadiz and Brest had been crowded with our captured Merchantmen, to whom the English Navy no longer afforded its accustomed protection. Under these circumstances, the eyes and hopes of all men were turned towards the East, as the only quarter from which we might expect relief. But, there, a combination of European and Asiatic enemies, aided by internal Rebellion, and fomented by discord among the Members of the Supreme Government, threatened the subversion of our power on the Ganges, no less than on the Coast of Coromandel. Hastings quitting Calcutta, had repaired to Benares, in order to arrest the progress of Cheyt Sing's revolt. At Madras, the Government of Rumbold was become odious for rapacity, and despicable from its pusillanimity. Nor must it be forgotten that we then neither possessed the Cape of Good Hope, nor Ceylon, nor Guzerat, nor the Islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, nor Java, nor the Moluccas. Even the Carnatic belonged, not to us, but to our Ally, the Nabob of Arcot. With the Mharatta Empire we were at war. The rich Countries of Mysore and of Bidnoor, occupying a central portion of the Peninsula, extending through several degrees of Latitude along the Malabar Coast, and intersecting all communication by land between the two Presidencies of Madras and of Bombay;—these territories, so calculated to annoy us, were then subjected to a martial, enterprizing, and active Prince, animated by determined hostility to the English, assisted by French Engineers, and himself habituated to the European system of Tactics. His Cavalry bursting in through the defiles of the mountains of the Ghauts, overran the fertile plains of the Carnatic and of Tanjore, bearing down all resistance. Madras itself, invested by the enemy, was scarcely preserved from falling into Hyder's possession; and it must be confessed that the British

Dominions in Hindostan, shook to their foundation.

May.] Such was the impression produced by this unexpected event, which seemed imperatively to call for measures of energy, that it gave rise to the appointment of a *Secret* Committee in the House of Commons, moved for by the First Minister himself. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, being constituted their Chairman, they were specially charged to enquire into the causes of the war existing in the Carnatic. Notwithstanding the severe animadversions levelled by the Opposition, on the Majority of the names chosen; several of the Members were men of equal ability and integrity, whose Reports distinctly pointed out the origin, and indicated the remedy, for those abuses, or acts of mal-administration, which had produced such complicated distress on the Coast of Coromandel. Lord North, in the critical and perilous condition of the East India Company, unable to obtain from the Proprietors, or from the Court of Directors, such advantageous pecuniary terms for the renewal of their Charter, as he thought the Nation was authorized to demand; had recourse to his ordinary palliative, Procrastination. He renewed the Charter for a very limited period; and by that measure eventually originated the memorable Bill of Fox, towards the close of 1783, which produced such national convulsions, terminated by the compleat destruction of the "Coalition Ministry."

June.] Towards the middle of June, Fox, strenuously supported by Pitt, made an ineffectual effort for compelling the Administration to abandon the further prosecution of the American War, and to conclude peace with the Colonies. Neither the House, nor the Nation, though both were weary of the contest, could, however, be induced to relinquish it, while Lord Cornwallis seemed to be advancing with his army, through the central Provinces, towards the Chesapeake. Fox's

Motion was rejected by a Majority of seventy-three. But, the most interesting Debate of the Session, and in many points of view, one of the most interesting Discussions which I ever witnessed in the House of Commons, took place on the Motion for amending, or in fact virtually repealing, "The Marriage Act." It stood altogether unconnected with Ministers, or with Party politics, though originated by Fox, at a very advanced period of the year. The Question seemed in itself to be not less philosophical and moral, than a measure of State, or an object of policy. Never did Fox appear to me in a more elevated light, than on that occasion, while pleading the Cause of his fellow-subjects at large, against the shackles and impediments opposed, as he asserted, by Aristocracy, family pride, and wealth, to the matrimonial union of two persons of dissimilar rank and condition. His father, Lord Holland, for whom he nourished the warmest filial affection, had manifested similar sentiments. General Burgoyne, who supported the Bill, and whose eloquence was usually tame, as well as destitute of entertainment, seemed to rise above himself, and to be inspired by the subject. On the other hand, Burke, with no less ability than Fox, and with equal powers of argument, appealed to many of the strongest passions of the human mind, while he opposed the measure brought forward by his friend. They completely diverged on this occasion, in opposite directions, each displaying uncommon ingenuity, enthusiasm, and profound reasoning, in their respective Speeches. Lord North, as might be expected, inclined to oppose every innovation on the Marriage Act; and there could have been little doubt, as far as the temper of the House manifested itself, that Fox's Bill would have been rejected by a great Majority, if the sense of the Members present had been taken upon it. But, no Division was demanded; and Fox, abandoning it for the present, pledged himself, if ever

he should come into Power, to renew the Motion from the Treasury Bench. This pledge he never, indeed, redeemed: but if we reflect, for how short a time he continued in Office, when Secretary of State in 1782, as well as in 1783, together with the multiplicity of matter which then pressed upon him; we cannot wonder, though it is possible we may regret, his not having resumed the subject.

July.] Many circumstances contributed to sustain, and to prolong, the duration of Lord North's Administration, notwithstanding the misfortunes and disgraces which continued annually to mark its progress. The Mutiny in the Pensylvania Line, which for a moment seemed to menace the American Congress with internal revolt, during the Spring of 1781; Lord Cornwallis's victory over Greene, at Guilford; followed by Lord Rawdon's advantage gained over the same General at Camden, in North and South Carolina; lastly, the expectations formed from the advance of the British Forces into the Province of Virginia:—all these events held the minds of men in suspense, till the Prorogation of Parliament in July, allowed the Minister to retire for some time, from the scene of his political exertion. The Province of West Florida had nevertheless been conquered by *Spain*, while *France* reduced to its subjection the Island of Tobago. *Our* only acquisition consisted in the seizure of the defenceless Island of St. Eustatius, in the West Indies, belonging to the Dutch; a capture which served to cover Rodney and Vaughan, the Naval and Military Commanders in Chief, with Obloquy, on account of their severe treatment of the inhabitants. Even on the element of the Sea, every encounter with the enemy, from its indecisive nature, rather tended to augment their courage, as well as their enterprize.

August.] The severest naval action which took place during the whole course of the American War,

was the battle fought at this time between Parker and Zoutman, who commanded the English and Dutch squadrons in the North Sea, off the Dogger Bank. But, it bore no resemblance in its results, to the glorious victory obtained in our time, by Duncan, at Camperdown; and might more aptly be compared with the sanguinary, though indecisive conflicts for superiority under Charles the Second, when the Navies of Holland were led by Tromp and Ruyter, while those of England were conducted by James, Duke of York, by Prince Rupert, and by Montague, first Earl of Sandwich. On this occasion, the King, departing from the ordinary line of his conduct, embarked on the Thames, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, and descended the river to the Nore, where he visited Admiral Parker, on board his ship, the "Fortitude." One of the defects attributed to His Majesty's natural character, but, which perhaps principally resulted from his secluded education during his grandfather's reign, and the retired habits of life which he then imbibed under Lord Bute's tuition; was his supposed reluctance to become personally acquainted with the people over whom he reigned. His enemies described him as a Prince averse to all communication with his Subjects, except at a Levee. Thus the "Heroic Epistle" exclaims,

> "Our sons some slave of greatness may behold,
> Cast in the genuine Asiatic mould,
> Who of three realms shall condescend to know
> No more than he can spy from Windsor's brow."

Yet when the King, bursting for the first time since his accession to the Throne, through the restraints which he imposed on himself, went down to Portsmouth in June, 1773, to inspect his fleet; with what severe raillery did not the same poem endeavour to expose him to derision?

"There shall he see, as other folks have seen,
That ships have anchors, and that seas are green;
Shall count the tackling trim, the streamers fine,
With Bradshaw prattle, and with Sandwich dine;
And then row back, amidst the cannon's roar,
As safe, as sage, as when he left the shore."

But it would only argue folly to deny, that during the first twenty-three years of his reign, from 1761, as soon as Lord Bute came into Power, to the end of 1783, when Fox brought forward the "East India Bill," George the Third was most unpopular. His subjects, however, made him ample amends for so long withholding from him the testimonies of their affection, by the general and unbounded attachment which they have since manifested towards him, down to the moment when he ceased to sway the sceptre.

September.] Admiral Darby, who continued to command the Channel Fleet, had successfully relieved Gibraltar, during the course of the Spring, when reduced to great extremity. But, in the Autumn, our numerical inferiority compelled that Commander to take refuge in Torbay; while the combined French and Spanish Fleets, for the third time since the beginning of the war, occupied the entrance of the British Channel, and even meditated to attack us, as we lay at anchor on our own coast. So low was the naval power of England reduced, towards the conclusion of Lord North's Administration, amidst the exhausture and calamities occasioned by the American War! But, towards America itself, all eyes were anxiously turned; where, it became evident, affairs rapidly tended to some great and decisive Crisis. Lord Cornwallis having advanced into the province of Virginia in June, finally established himself at York town in August. No position could have been more judiciously chosen; and it might unquestionably have been maintained under every disadvantage, against the united

force of America and of France, if a chain of fortuitous accidents, rather than a series of measures, had not led to the unavoidable Catastrophe which terminated the war. De Grasse, who commanded the French Fleet, was not less favored by fortune, in finding the mouth of the Chesapeake unoccupied, on his arrival there from the West Indies; than he derived aid from the delays that prevented the English Squadron under Graves, from anticipating his seizure of that important station. Graves and Clinton, both, successively failed, only by the short interruption of a few days: the first, in occupying the Chesapeake with a naval force; the last, in arriving with an army, before Lord Cornwallis's surrender, and thereby rescuing him from the necessity of capitulating to Washington. In this desperate situation, precluded from all possibility of relief, Lord Cornwallis laid down his arms; and the American Rebellion, after a contest of more than six years, finally became a Revolution.

October.] It is at this point of time, that we must place the highest elevation to which Louis the Sixteenth attained during his reign: an elevation only to be paralleled in the French annals, by recurring to the brilliant Eras of Louis the Fourteenth. For his grandfather Louis the Fifteenth never stood on such an eminence in the eyes of Europe; not even in the year 1748, previous to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, though his troops, conducted by Marshal Saxe, after defeating the Allies in various actions, had then overrun the Austrian Low Countries, and nearly reduced Brabant. In October, 1781, the King of France beheld America finally dissevered from Great Britain, by the union of his armies with those of the Insurgents; while he received at the same period Lord Cornwallis's sword, surrendered to La Fayette. His forces were occupied in pursuing their career of victory throughout the West Indies; and in the East, Suffrein, in his repeated

Naval engagements with Sir Edward Hughes, not only maintained the honour of his Sovereign's flag, but had nearly succeeded more than once, in obtaining a decided superiority over our squadron on the Coast of Coromandel. The Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon, acting in subservience to the views of the Court of Versailles, after subjecting Minorca and West Florida, held Gibraltar besieged by sea and land; the reduction of which fortress, calculated to render for ever illustrious the reign of Charles the Third, was anticipated with sanguine impatience by the two Crowns. Our Commerce had not suffered less by the depredations, than our Colonies had been diminished by the arms, of France. Holland, ranging under the same Standard, made common cause with Louis, against her antient Ally. It only remained for them to crush the Channel fleet of England, in order to dictate the terms of peace; and so nearly did Guichen and Cordova, who commanded the combined Navies of France and Spain, appear to be to atchieving that last object, as to impress us with the utmost apprehension of its completion. Who, when contemplating such a scene, could have imagined that this descendant of so many Kings, that had reigned for eight hundred years over the French, would perish on a Scaffold, in his own Capital, scarcely more than eleven years afterwards; the victim of his inert pusillanimity, in not firmly resisting the first ebullitions of popular innovation!

As if to secure and perpetuate the Bourbon line, the Queen of France, who had been married more than ten years, without giving a male heir to the Crown, at length brought into the world a Son. Catherine of Medicis, like Maria Antonietta of Austria, had remained childless for nearly the same period of time, before she produced a successor. The young Dauphin's baptism was performed in this very month, with extreme magnificence, at Versailles. Happily for himself, he

expired early in June, 1789; only a few weeks before the fatal Revolution which took place in July of that year, swept away the Monarchy, to place Robespierre and Bonaparte successively on the throne of Henry the Fourth. The Dauphin was in his ninth year, when he finished his short career. I have been assured by those who had access to know the fact, that at the age of seven years, when the charge of his person, according to the established usage of the old French Court, was surrendered up by the Governess, and he was then put under the care of men; the Dauphin being stripped in the presence of professional persons, and having undergone an examination, was pronounced to be without defect in his formation. But, being made soon afterwards to sit with his feet in a wooden machine calculated to turn them out, the spinal marrow became speedily affected by it. Whether this assertion be accurate or not, it is certain that the Vertebræ of the back bone growing crooked, he fell into a state of languor, accompanied by debility. I have seen him more than once while in this condition, during the Summer preceding his decease, taking the air in a carriage in the gardens of St. Cloud. His emaciated appearance awakened concern; but he was said not to want intelligence, and the Queen his mother manifested the warmest affection for him while living, as well as sorrow for his loss. The Duke of Normandy, his younger brother, born under a still more inauspicious planet, succeeded to his title, and became, after his father's execution, the unfortunate Louis the Seventeenth.

November.] During the whole month of November, the concurring accounts transmitted to government, enumerating Lord Cornwallis's embarrassments, and the positions taken by the enemy, augmented the anxiety of the Cabinet. Lord George Germain in particular, conscious that on the prosperous or adverse termination of that expedition, must hinge the fate of the American

contest, his own stay in office, as well as probably the duration of the Ministry itself; felt, and even expressed to his friends, the strongest uneasiness on the subject. The meeting of Parliament meanwhile stood fixed for the 27th of November. On Sunday, the 25th, about noon, official intelligence of the surrender of the British forces at York Town, arrived from Falmouth, at Lord George Germain's house in Pall-mall. Lord Walsingham, who previous to his father Sir William de Grey's elevation to the Peerage, had been Under Secretary of State in that department; and who was selected to second the Address in the House of Peers, on the subsequent Tuesday; happened to be there when the messenger brought the news. Without communicating it to any other person, Lord George, for the purpose of dispatch, immediately got with him into a hackney-coach, and drove to Lord Stormont's residence in Portland-place. Having imparted to him the disastrous information, and taken him into the carriage, they instantly proceeded to the Chancellor's house in Great Russel-street, Bloomsbury, whom they found at home: when, after a short consultation, they determined to lay it, themselves in person, before Lord North. He had not received any intimation of the event, when they arrived at his door, in Downing-street, between one and two o'clock. The First Minister's firmness, and even his presence of mind, gave way for a short time, under this awful disaster. I asked Lord George afterwards, how he took the communication, when made to him? "As he would have taken a ball in his breast," replied Lord George. For he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment during a few minutes, "Oh, God! it is all over!" Words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest agitation and distress.

When the first agitation of their minds had subsided, the four Ministers discussed the question, whether or

not it might be expedient to prorogue Parliament for a few days: but, as scarcely an interval of forty-eight hours remained before the appointed time of assembling; and as many Members of both Houses were already either arrived in London, or on the road; that proposition was abandoned. It became, however, indispensable to alter, and almost to model anew the King's Speech, which had been already drawn up, and completely prepared for delivery from the Throne. This alteration was therefore made without delay: and at the same time, Lord George Germain, as Secretary for the American Department, sent off a dispatch to His Majesty, who was then at Kew, acquainting him with the melancholy termination of Lord Cornwallis's expedition. Some hours having elapsed, before these different, but necessary acts of business could take place, the Ministers separated, and Lord George Germain repaired to his Office in Whitehall. There he found a confirmation of the intelligence, which arrived about two hours after the first communication; having been transmitted from Dover, to which place it was forwarded from Calais, with the French account of the same event.

I dined on that day at Lord George's; and though the information, which had reached London in the course of the morning, from two different quarters, was of a nature not to admit of long concealment; yet it had not been communicated either to me, or to any individual of the company, as it might naturally have been through the channel of common report, when I got to Pall-mall, between five and six o'clock. Lord Walsingham, who likewise dined there, was the only person present, except Lord George, acquainted with the fact. The party, nine in number, sat down to table. I thought, the Master of the Horse appeared serious, though he manifested no discomposure. Before the dinner was finished, one of his servants delivered him a

letter, brought back by the messenger who had been dispatched to the King. Lord George opened and perused it: then looking at Lord Walsingham, to whom he exclusively directed his observation, "The "King writes," said he, "just as he always does, except "that I observe he has omitted to mark the hour and "the minute of his writing, with his usual precision." This remark, though calculated to awaken some interest, excited no comment; and while the Ladies, Lord George's three daughters, remained in the room, we repressed our curiosity. But they had no sooner withdrawn, than Lord George having acquainted us, that from Paris information had just arrived of the old Count de Maurepas, First Minister, lying at the point of death; "It would grieve me," said I, "to finish my "career, however far advanced in years, were I First "Minister of France, before I had witnessed the termina-"tion of this great contest between England and "America." "He has survived to see that event," replied Lord George, with some agitation. Utterly unsuspicious of the fact which had happened beyond the Atlantic, I conceived him to allude to the indecisive naval action fought at the mouth of the Chesapeake, early in the preceding month of September, between Admiral Graves and Count de Grasse; which in its results might prove most injurious to Lord Cornwallis. Under this impression, "My meaning," said I, "is, that "if I were the Count de Maurepas, I should wish to "live long enough, to behold the final issue of the war "in Virginia." "He has survived to witness it com-"pletely," answered Lord George: "The army has "surrendered, and you may peruse the particulars of the Capitulation, in that paper;" taking at the same time one from his pocket, which he delivered into my hand, not without visible emotion. By his permission I read it aloud, while the company listened in profound silence. We then discussed its contents, as affecting

the Ministry, the Country, and the War. It must be confessed that they were calculated to diffuse a gloom over the most convivial society, and that they opened a wide field for political speculation.

After perusing the account of Lord Cornwallis's surrender at York Town, it was impossible for all present, not to feel a lively curiosity to know how the King had received the intelligence; as well as how he had expressed himself in his note to Lord George Germain, on the first communication of so painful an event. He gratified our wish by reading it to us, observing at the same time that it did the highest honour to His Majesty's fortitude, firmness, and consistency of character. The words made an impression on my memory, which the lapse of more than thirty years has not erased; and I shall here commemorate its tenor, as serving to shew how that Prince felt and wrote, under one of the most afflicting, as well as humiliating occurrences of his reign. The Billet ran nearly to this effect: "I have received with "sentiments of the deepest concern, the communication "which Lord George Germain has made me, of the "unfortunate result of the operations in Virginia. I "particularly lament it, on account of the consequences "connected with it, and the difficulties which it may "produce in carrying on the public business, or in "repairing such a misfortune. But I trust that neither "Lord George Germain, nor any Member of the "Cabinet will suppose, that it makes the smallest "alteration in those principles of my conduct, which "have directed me in past time, and which will always "continue to animate me under every event, in the "prosecution of the present contest." Not a sentiment of despondency or of despair was to be found in the letter; the very hand-writing of which indicated [illegible]. Whatever opinion we may enter- practicability of reducing America

to obedience by force of arms at the end of 1781, we must admit that no Sovereign could manifest more calmness, dignity, or self-command, than George the Third displayed in this reply.

Severely as the general effect of the blow received in Virginia, was felt throughout the nation, yet no immediate symptoms of Ministerial dissolution, or even of parliamentary defection, became visible in either House. All the animated invectives of Fox, aided by the contumelious irony of Burke, and sustained by the dignified denunciations of Pitt, enlisted on the same side, made little apparent impression on their hearers, who seemed stupified by the disastrous intelligence. Yet never probably, at any period of our history, was more indignant language used by the Opposition, or supported by Administration. In the ardour of his feelings at the recent calamity beyond the Atlantic, Fox not only accused Ministers of being virtually in the pay of France; but, menaced them with the vengeance of an undone people, who would speedily compel them to expiate their crimes on the public scaffold. Burke, with inconceivable warmth of colouring, depictured the folly and impracticability of taxing America by force, or as he described it, "shearing the wolf." The Metaphor was wonderfully appropriate, and scarcely admitted of denial. Pitt levelled his observations principally against the Cabinet, whom he represented as destitute of principle, wisdom, or union of design. All three were sustained, and I had almost said, outdone by Mr. Thomas Pitt, who, in terms of gloomy despondency, seemed to regard the situation of the country as scarcely admitting of a remedy, under such a Parliament, such Ministers, and such a Sovereign. Lord North, in this moment of general depression, found resources in himself. He scornfully repelled the insinuations of Fox, as deserving only contempt; justified the principle of the war, which did not originate in a despotic wish

to tyrannize America, but from the desire of maintaining the constitutional authority of Parliament over the Colonies; deplored, in common with the Opposition, the misfortunes which had marked the progress of the contest; defied the threats of punishment; and finally adjured the House not to aggravate the present calamity by dejection or despair, but, by united exertion, to secure our national extrication.

The efforts of the First Minister were not unsuccessful, and the Address to the Crown, which indirectly avowed the prosecution of the war beyond the Atlantic as necessary, was carried by a Majority of eighty-nine. Though the continuance of *offensive* hostilities in America, was unequivocally renounced by Lord North, and virtually or silently acquiesced in by Lord George Germain, in the course of Debate; yet so far did Ministers seem from professing a readiness to acknowledge the independance of the thirteen Colonies, that they warmly maintained the wisdom and the necessity of still prosecuting a *defensive* war in that portion of the Globe. In the House of Peers, a still greater proportionate Majority supported Administration. When Fox, presuming on the operation of the recent Misfortune in the Chesapeake, soon afterwards attempted to stop the progress of the supplies, the Opposition experienced a second defeat, only seventy-seven persons voting with them, while Lord North had one hundred and seventy-two. It seemed by no means clear, during the first fortnight after Parliament met, whether any official change whatever would take place; or if an alteration should be made in the Cabinet, to what extent it would be carried. The national forces, exhausted by so long a contest, and now opposed in every quarter by a vast Confederacy, were indeed evidently unequal to continue the effort for subjecting America; and it therefore became obvious that new *Measures* must speedily supercede those which had been prosc-

cuted during so many years. But, the same *First Minister* might remain in Power, under a total or a partial change of system; and in that case, all the labours of the Minority would be frustrated, in the moment of their expected completion. The King's firmness was well understood by all parties. Lord North shewed hitherto no disposition to resign, and Parliament had given no indications of having withdrawn their confidence from the Administration. Such appeared to be the aspect of public affairs, in the first week of December.

December.] Though Fox and Pitt seemed at this time to act in perfect political union, yet no man who attentively considered the different spirit which animated their Speeches, whenever the Sovereign became indirectly the subject of their animadversion, could fail to remark their widely dissimilar line of conduct. Fox, whether he was impelled by his consciousness that the King's moral repugnance to many parts of his private character, and to the irregularities of his life, imposed insurmountable obstacles to his ever attaining the royal favour; or whether, having already offended in his political capacity, beyond the hope of pardon, he relied solely on his own talents, aided by Party, to force his way into the Cabinet, and to maintain himself in that situation;—whichever of these motives principally actuated him, it is indisputable that in all his allusions to the King, although he might affect to shelter himself under the forms of Parliamentary language, yet Fox always chose to consider him as animated by passions and sentiments unbecoming his station, as well as incompatible with the benignity which constitutes the most enviable Attribute of Royalty. Fox designated or characterized him in fact, as under the dominion of resentment, unfeeling, implacable, and only satiated by the continuance of war against his former subjects. In a

word, more as a tyrant and an oppressor, than as the head of a free country, the guardian of a limited Constitution.

On the first day of the Session, when an Address to the Crown was proposed, "Those," said Fox, "who "are ignorant of the character of the Prince whose "Speech we have just heard, might be induced to con- "sider him as an unfeeling Despot, exulting in the "horrid sacrifice of the liberty and the lives of his "people. The Speech itself, divested of the disguise "of royal forms, can only mean, 'Our losses in America "have been most calamitous. The blood of my subjects "has flowed in copious streams, throughout every part "of that Continent. The treasures of Great Britain "have been wantonly lavished; while the load of taxes "imposed on an overburthened country, is become in- "tolerable. Yet will I continue to tax you to the last "Shilling. When, by Lord Cornwallis's surrender, all "hopes of victory are for ever extinct, and a further "continuance of hostilities can only accelerate the ruin "of the British Empire, I prohibit you from thinking "of peace. My rage for conquest is unquenched, and "my revenge unsated: nor can any thing except the "total subjugation of my revolted American subjects, "allay my animosity.'" When we consider the severity and acrimony of these personal imputations, we cannot wonder that they excited corresponding sensations of resentment in the Royal bosom. What accusations more wounding, could we frame, what motives of action more atrocious, could we suppose, and what language more abhorrent to our feelings, could we have attributed to that monster, whose crimes so long desolated France and Europe, than are here supposed to animate George the Third! It must be admitted even by his greatest admirers, that Fox, however eminent were his talents, yet by the want of moderation sentenced himself during his whole life, to perpetual exclusion from office; verify-

ing in his own person, Juvenal's remark upon the injuries attendant on eloquence, when he says,

"Torrens dicendi copia multis,
Et sua mortifera est facundia."

Pitt, on the contrary, even when he appeared to be most animated by sentiments of indignation against the measures, or the Ministers, repressed any intemperate expressions, and spared the Sovereign. He pronounced indeed in the most unqualified terms, his abhorrence of the further prosecution of the American war; and on one occasion I recollect his solemnly invoking the Divine vengeance on the heads of the Administration, who had reduced the Empire to such a state of ruin and degradation. But, with consummate ability, he separated the King from his weak or evil counsellors; admitted the purity of intention by which he was ever impelled; professed his ardent attachment to the person, as well as to the family, of the reigning Monarch; and declared that it would be best manifested by exposing the delusion that had been practised on him. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, whose distinguishing political tact, and keen discernment in all matters where his own interest or ambition were concerned, enabled him to descry a Minister in Embrio; appears early to have been impressed with a conviction of this characteristic difference between the two Opposition leaders. While he continued strenuously to support an Administration, the approaching fall of which he nevertheless probably anticipated; he lavished the warmest Encomiums from the Treasury Bench, on the hereditary talents, the brilliant oratory, and early indications of genius in Pitt; under whose protection, aided by his own parliamentary powers, he speedily contrived, after Lord North's resignation, to reappear on the ministerial theatre.

Notwithstanding the ostensible degree of Harmony

and Concert which seemed to animate Ministers in the House of Commons, during the first days of the Session; yet before the middle of December it began to be apparent, that some vital Disunion of Sentiment prevailed among the Members of Administration. Lord North, in fact, *might* continue, as many persons imagined, First Minister, after the avowal of American Independance. But, Lord George Germain *could not*, by any Possibility, remain in office a single day after such a Recognition. At this Breach the Opposition poured in, and were aided by some of the Adherents of Government, who conceived that by separating the two Ministers, and dismissing the latter, Lord North could yet be preserved at the head of His Majesty's Councils. Sir James Lowther having introduced a Motion tending to declare that "All further Attempts "to reduce the Americans to obedience by Force, "would be ineffectual;" after a long and very animated Debate, the Order of the Day could only be carried by a majority of Forty-one, in a crouded House, where Four hundred Members were present. Nor was the paucity of Numbers the only apparent symptom of a Ministerial Crisis. Rigby and Dundas acting on this occasion in concert, called on Lord North to state, in his Place, the difference of Opinion which was presumed to exist in the Cabinet. Both of them at the same time avowed and admitted, that no further hope could be entertained of subjecting America by arms. The First Lord of the Treasury, while he admitted the War with the Colonies to constitute the heaviest Calamity of his life, and expressed his warmest wishes for the attainment of Peace; neither owned, nor denied the charge brought forward by the Lord Advocate of Scotland and Rigby, though he attempted to evade it under some loose and general Declarations. Wearied at length, and attacked no less by his Friends, than by his Opponents, he adopted the singular Expedient of

quitting the Treasury Bench, and withdrawing to one of the Seats behind it; leaving Lord George Germain alone, exposed to the Attacks of the Opposition. This scene, which spoke with mute eloquence, and from its peculiarity attracted all eyes, left no room to doubt of the Dissimilarity of Opinion among Ministers, on the great question respecting America.

From that evening, Lord George with reason considered his official capacity as virtually terminated, though he continued to exercise its Functions till a successor should be appointed to the Department. The two Houses having shortly afterwards adjourned for the Christmas Recess, he then came to a full explanation with Lord North. At that Interview, after professing his readiness to remain in his situation as long as it could be beneficial to His Majesty's service, while the Independance of America was not formally recognized; he at the same time earnestly besought Lord North to consider nothing except the Preservation of the Ministry, and the interests of their common Master. For that purpose he advised the First Minister to strengthen himself by a Negociation with some of his political Enemies; and not to allow any personal considerations towards him (Lord George), to delay, or to impede, for an instant, the Arrangements judged to be proper for the general Security. Adding, that he had no personal Stipulations to make, nor Favours to ask; and that he would go down immediately to his seat at Drayton in Northamptonshire, for two or three weeks, in order to allow time to select a successor for his post; after which he would return, and deliver up the seal of his office, on the shortest notice, into His Majesty's hands. As the best proof of his sincerity in these Opinions, he left London a very few days after the above Conversation.

January, 1782.] It might naturally be supposed, that Lord North could not have hesitated, under such

circumstances, to accept Lord George's resignation; and that he could as little delay to effect, or at least to attempt, the completion of the Objects recommended to him. Necessity strongly urged them; and the respite which the Christmas Recess allowed for private Negociation, afforded him time for making every requisite Stipulation. Nevertheless, Lord North, though he did not either oppose, or refuse, by no means however positively accepted, even the Resignation of the American Secretary. And when Lord George returned to London from Northamptonshire, towards the middle of the ensuing month, to his no small astonishment, he found his office still undisposed of, and his Successor not more fixed than before he quitted the Capital. He therefore waited patiently till the progress of Events should propel the Indecision, or hasten the Procrastination, of the First Lord of the Treasury.

Perhaps no part of Lord North's Administration, and no feature of his conduct as First Minister, during the twelve years that he continued in office, seems more extraordinary; it might be even said, inexplicable; than this loss of time at so critical a juncture. Every thing dictated decision. He well knew the Opposition to be principally composed of two parties, called after the names of their respective leaders, Lords Rockingham and Shelburne; which bodies of men, though they agreed in endeavouring to dispossess him of power, agreed in no other speculative or practical principle of policy. Scarcely could they even be with-held from mutual animosity, by the near prospect of the prize in view. If, therefore, the point of American Independance was once conceded by Ministers, there seemed to be no obvious impediment to with-hold Lord Shelburne from accepting a situation under government. It was even well known, that he entertained and avowed very strong doubts on the propriety or wisdom of making

such a concession to the Colonies, under any possible circumstances; doubts which were re-echoed by his Adherents in the House of Commons. He could not, therefore, it was presumed, be altogether unacceptable to the King. He was, besides, a man of great abilities, the professed disciple of the late Earl of Chatham, and possessed considerable Parliamentary Interest. Lord North held in his hand various means of conciliating and acquiring his support. Besides the post of Secretary of State, and a higher rank in the English Peerage, to which he might aspire; *four Garters* were then lying on the King's Table, unbestowed; *one* of which Lord Shelburne actually seized on, as his share of the plunder, when he came into Ministry, within three months from the time of which I speak. All these circumstances seemed, therefore, to point out that quarter, as the obvious point of application.

I have had many opportunities of discussing this question, with those who were well informed in the secret springs and history of Lord North's Administration. But they differed in their solution of the difficulty. It has been confidently asserted, that the King objected to disposing of one of the vacant *Garters* in favour of Lord Shelburne; and absolutely refused to consent to it, when the proposition was made to His Majesty, by the Minister. Sanguine hopes were entertained at St. James's, that even though all further attempts to subjugate America should be abandoned, yet that the same Administration might still continue to conduct the national affairs. Nor was it at all clear that such expectations were chimerical. The Session of 1779 had sufficiently proved, that even after being left in a minority, on more than one great public question, a Minister who wished to remain in office, possessed the means of doing it, almost in defiance of the House of Commons. If America was admitted to be independant, and that great impediment once removed, peace would

probably follow at no long interval; and however unfortunate he had been in carrying on the war, Lord North might still conclude an honourable pacification. In the House of Peers he possessed a decided majority; and in the lower House of Parliament, when once Government became emancipated from the American War, it was with reason conceived, that the Opposition would again diminish in energy, as well as in numbers. These reasons, however destitute of solidity they eventually proved, may perhaps satisfactorily account for Lord North's seeming supineness, in not endeavouring, at so critical a moment, to divide his opponents, or to augment his own strength.

January 21.] When Parliament met again for the dispatch of business, Lord George Germain therefore attended in his place, in the House of Commons; but the tide of Opposition, which had been so long principally directed against *him*, as the American Secretary, took at first another direction. Lord Sandwich was in turn attacked by Fox, for his asserted mismanagement of the Admiralty department; and the First Minister, unable to shelter him from investigation, consented to institute an enquiry. Among the most strenuous defenders of the First Lord of the Admiralty, was Lord Mulgrave; a Nobleman who enjoyed a place at that Board. His early expedition of discovery towards the North Pole, had given him some celebrity; and as he was formed on rather a heavy colossal scale, the Opposition, to distinguish him from his younger brother, the Honourable Charles Phipps, who had likewise a Seat in the House, denominated him "Ursa Major." They likewise gave him the name of "Alphesibæus;" I suppose, from some fancied Analogy between him and the awkward imitator of the Dancing Satyrs, commemorated by Virgil, in the fifth Eclogue of his Bucolics. Lord Mulgrave was distinguished by a singularity of physical

conformation, having two distinct voices; the one, strong and hoarse; the other, weak and querulous; of both which, he occasionally availed himself. So extraordinary a circumstance, probably gave rise to a story of his having fallen into a Ditch, in a dark night, and calling for aid in his shrill voice. A countryman coming up, was about to have assisted him: but, Lord Mulgrave addressing him in a hoarse tone, the Peasant immediately exclaimed, "Oh, if there are two of you in "the Ditch, you may help each other out of it." In debate, if not animated, he was able and pertinacious. Like Dundas, he contrived, after Lord North's Administration went to pieces, to attach himself to Pitt; who, in 1784, made him Joint Paymaster of the Forces, and six years later raised him to the British Peerage.

Towards the last days of January, after long fluctuation, Lord North at length communicated to Lord George, His Majesty's determination to consent to his resignation, so repeatedly offered; and the resolution taken to supply his loss, by Mr. Welbore Ellis. It seemed difficult to have made a selection, by which less strength would be acquired on the side of Administration; Mr. Ellis's talents being already engaged in favor of Government, by a very lucrative place, that of Treasurer of the Navy. His abilities, however eminent and solid, aided by his long experience of Parliamentary business, were nevertheless, altogether unequal to contending in stormy times, with the vast energies then collected on the Opposition Benches. He was, besides, far advanced in years; and though his faculties might have preserved all their vigor or freshness, he wanted the requisite fire and animation. His appointment gave satisfaction only to the enemies of the Minister, who exulted in a choice that proved the Paucity, or rather Nullity of the Sources, from which he now attempted to derive support.

Just at this period died Lord Falmouth, at an

advanced stage of life; a Nobleman, neither distinguished by his talents or his virtues, but whose name, *Boscawen*, is connected with Naval recollections of the most gratifying kind. Lord Falmouth commanded the Yeomen of the Guard, at the time of his death; but, my sole motive for mentioning his decease, is in order to commemorate an anecdote respecting him. I have been assured, that towards the conclusion of George the Second's Reign, when Mr. Pitt, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, occupied a principal place in the Cabinet; Lord Falmouth having waited on him, at his Levee, stated his wish to be recommended to His Majesty, for the first vacant *Garter*. The Secretary of State expressing a degree of reluctance to lay the request before the King, and manifesting some disapprobation of the demand itself; "You will be pleased, Sir, to remember," said Lord Falmouth, "that "I bring in five votes who go with Ministry in the "House of Commons; and if my application is dis-"regarded, you must take the consequence." "Your "Lordship threatens me," replied the Minister with warmth; "You may, therefore, be assured, that so long "as I hold a place in the Councils of the Crown, you "shall never receive the Order of the *Garter*." Then turning round, he exclaimed, addressing himself to those near him,

"Optat Ephippia Bos piger."

Lord Falmouth comprehending nothing of the meaning of these words, but conceiving that the Monosyllable *Bos*, must allude to his name, requested to be informed what the Minister meant by so calling him? "The observation," replied Mr. Pitt, "is not "mine, but Horace's." As little familiar with the Name of the Roman Poet, as he was acquainted with his Writings, Lord Falmouth, apprehending that *Horace Walpole* had said something severe or disrespectful

concerning him; under that second mistake, "If Horace Walpole," said he, "has taken any liberties with my "name, I shall know how to resent it. His brother, "*Sir Robert*, when he was alive, and First Minister, "never presumed so to treat me." Having thus expressed himself, he quitted Mr. Pitt, leaving the audience in astonishment at the effect of his double misapprehension.

February.] Early in the month of February, Lord George Germain having resigned the seal of his office into the King's hand, received, in recompense of his services, the honor of the Peerage. The circumstances attending that elevation, which became immediately afterwards a subject of discussion in the House of Lords, I received on the same day when they took place, from Lord George's own mouth; and they are too curious, as well as characteristic, to be omitted in these Memoirs. The separation between the Sovereign and the Secretary, was by no means unaccompanied with emotion on both sides; which became probably augmented by the dark cloud overhanging the throne, together with the circumstances that produced the necessity for Lord George's resignation. The King, who could not shut his eyes to these facts, doubtless foresaw the possibility, if not probability, of greater changes in the Administration, as imminent; of which, the removal of the American Secretary, was only the forerunner and the presage. After regretting the unfortunate events that had dictated the measure, and thanking Lord George for his services, His Majesty added, "Is there any thing that I can do, to express my "sense of them, which would be agreeable to you?" "Sir," answered he, "if Your Majesty is pleased to "raise me to the dignity of the Peerage, it will form, at "once the best reward to which I can aspire, and the "best proof of your approbation of my past exertions "in your affairs." "By all means," said the King, "I

"think it very proper, and shall do it with pleasure." "Then, Sir," rejoined Lord George, "if you agree to "my first request, I hope you will not think it un- "becoming, or unreasonable in me, to ask another "favor. It is to create me a *Viscount*, as should I be "only raised to the dignity of a *Baron*, my own Secre- "tary, my Lawyer, and my father's Page, will all take "rank of me." The King expressing a wish to know the Names of the Persons to whom he alluded, "the "first," replied Lord George, "is Lord Walsingham, "who, as Your Majesty knows, was long Under- "Secretary of State in my Office, when Mr. de Grey. "The second is Lord Loughborough who has been "always my legal adviser. Lord Amherst is the third, "who, when Page to my father, the late Duke of "Dorset, has often sat on the braces of the State "Coach that conveyed him, as Lord Lieutenant of "Ireland, to the Parliament House at Dublin." The King smiled, adding, "What you say, is very reason- "able, it shall be so; and now let me know the title "that you choose." "I have already, Sir," answered Lord George, "in the possible anticipation of Your "Majesty's gracious dispositions towards me, spoken to "the Duke of Dorset, and obtained his permission, as "the head of my family, to take the title of *Sackville*; "having been compelled to renounce my own name, in "order to avail myself of the bequest of the Estate of "Drayton in Northamptonshire, made me by Lady "Betty Germain, in her Will. I shall therefore in "some degree recover it by this means." "I quite "approve of that idea," replied His Majesty, "and if "you will state to me your title, I will write it down "myself, before we part, and send it directly to the "Chancellor." The King immediately placed himself at a table, took the pen and ink lying upon it, and having committed the *Viscounty* to paper, asked him what *Barony* he chose? Lord George answered, "that

" of Bolebrook in Sussex, being one of the most ancient " estates belonging to his family; and contiguous to " Buckhurst, the original Peerage conferred by Queen " Elizabeth, on his ancestor, the first Earl of Dorset." When the King had copied it, he rose up, and with the most condescending expressions of concern, as well as of satisfaction, allowed Lord George to withdraw from the Closet. As this is one of the few Peerages, which, in the course of half a Century, George the Third has been allowed to confer, wholly independant of ministerial intervention or recommendation, from the impulse of his own inclinations, its origin and creation attain an additional interest.

No sooner had the intention of calling up Lord George Germain to the House of Peers, become publicly known, than the Marquis of Carmarthen immediately brought forward the subject before that Assembly. He endeavoured to shew, that it would be derogatory to their honour, as a body, to admit among them a person still labouring under the sentence of a Court Martial: and though his motion was rejected by a great majority, on the 7th of February; yet he renewed the attack as soon as Lord George had taken his seat, on the 18th of the same month. Conceiving that Lord North must, as first Minister, have advised the measure, the Marquis attempted to involve him in the responsibility or culpability of giving such advice to the Crown. But, Lord Sackville having exculpated the First Lord of the Treasury, from any participation whatever in the transaction, gave the House clearly to understand, that it flowed solely from the volition of the Sovereign. His enemies themselves confessed that never was a more able, dignified, or manly appeal made within the walls of the House of Peers, than Lord Sackville pronounced on that occasion. He observed, that even admitting in all its force, the justice of the sentence passed by the Court Martial, yet that Tribunal had only declared him

" guilty of disobeying Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic's " orders; and therefore had adjudged him *unfit* to serve " His Majesty in any *military* capacity whatever." But they neither had imposed, nor could they inflict upon him, any *civil* disability or incapacity. And the attempt of the King, or of the Minister of that time, to aggravate the nature or expressions of the sentence, by any harsh additions and personal comments, could not add to its force. If, after considering the *Sentence* published in the case of the General Officer, who commanded on the expedition sent in 1806, against Buenos Ayres, we contemplate the tenor of the *Orders* that accompanied it; and then compare them with those used in the instance of Lord George Sackville; we shall perceive the contrast presented by the conduct of the two Sovereigns, in the strongest point of view. Though General Whitelock was adjudged to be "cashiered, and " declared totally unfit *and unworthy* to serve His " Majesty in any military capacity whatever:" consequently, though the sentence implies a much deeper degree of error or culpability, than was attributed to Lord George Sackville at Minden, as well as a fault far more clearly established and recognized; yet George the Third, unlike his predecessor, subjoins no injurious reflections, but simply enjoins the publication of it, as a memorial and warning to other officers.

The Duke of Richmond, who took a very active part in the second Debate upon Lord Sackville's elevation to the Peerage, endeavoured to prove, from the length of time which elapsed after his reception of Prince Ferdinand's Orders to advance, that disinclination only on his part to obey them, could have produced such a delay. As the Duke had been personally present at Minden, and as he declared that he held his watch within his hand, during the whole time lost in obeying the Prince's Orders, which, he asserted, amounted to an hour and a half; his speech might have been expected

to make an impression on the House. But, only twenty-eight Peers could be found, on either Debate, to support Lord Carmarthen's motion; though the number voting against it rose from seventy-five to ninety-three, between the two Divisions, on the 7th and the 18th of February. It happened likewise, most unfortunately for the Duke of Richmond, that while he thus attempted to attack Lord Sackville's personal courage, his own lay under very general suspicion. He had brought forward, only a few days before, in the House of Peers, the case of an American Colonel Haynes, executed at Charlestown, under Lord Rawdon's authority, in the preceding year. The expressions or assertions which His Grace used, in relating this transaction, gave such offence to the Nobleman against whom they were levelled, that he soon afterwards called the Duke to a severe account. But, as he declined giving any individual satisfaction, Lord Rawdon compelled him to declare in his place, that by his accusation "he had not intended any attack on Lord "Rawdon's justice or humanity." A declaration apparently at variance with his preceding charge. Lord Sackville was restrained by the exhortations and advice of Lord Amherst, from calling on the Marquis of Carmarthen to answer to him personally, for this double attack. I had the honour to know him before, as well as after, he became Duke of Leeds. He was a Nobleman highly accomplished, of the most pleasing manners, of very elegant deportment, of a lofty mind, and of considerable talents. But, the part which he took on this occasion, did not constitute the most commendable act of his political life. Posterity will form their opinion on it, divested of prejudice. His contemporaries saw it merely through the optics of party, the most deceptive of all mediums. While only twenty-eight Peers supported the Motion on both occasions, nearly a hundred voted against it on the final

Debate. These aggregate numbers appear indeed small *to us;* but we must recollect the limited extent of the Peerage, compared with the present times. It was neither Lord Bute, nor Lord North, but Mr. Pitt, who augmented the members of that House, if not with a profuse, yet unquestionably with an unsparing hand. In 1782 there were only one hundred and eighty-seven English Peers. We have now above three hundred.

While Lord Sackville was *personally* attacked in one House of Parliament, the Earl of Sandwich underwent no less severe an enquiry into his *official* conduct, as First Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons. Fox, acting as his accuser, united the keenest sarcasms, with the most able and laborious investigation of the Naval Administration. He was supported in all his Charges, by Mr. Pitt, by Admiral Keppel, and by Lord Howe. Under this accumulation of talent and of eloquence, the Minister labored hard to protect his Colleague: but the House began to manifest some indications of reluctance. Animated by such obvious symptoms of the decline of the influence which Lord North had exercised during so many years in that Assembly, the Opposition renewed their efforts. And if they did not overthrow, they at least shook to its base, the Ministry. After two Debates, protracted to a late hour, in the first of which, the Members present fell little short of four hundred, a Majority of only *twenty-two* appeared on the side of Administration. In the second Debate, on the 20th of February, where more than four hundred and fifty persons actually voted, a still smaller Majority, consisting only of *nineteen*, negatived Fox's proposition, attributing "gross mis-"management" to the Nobleman at the Head of the Admiralty. Two such divisions, following close upon Lord Sackville's resignation, afforded ample triumph to the Minority, while they diffused proportionate apprehension among the adherents of Government.

I have heard it confidently asserted by persons who were conversant in the secret History of those Times, that after the second Debate, Lord Sandwich received a proposition, the object of which was to induce him to give in his immediate resignation; offering him as a recompense for this service to the Crown and to Administration, the Order of the *Garter*, together with a Pension of four thousand Pounds a year for life. Lord Sandwich rejected the proposal, though coming from Lord North; and though the state of his private fortune was such, as by no means to place him above the necessity of looking to official situation. Such a rejection seems to prove that he entertained the most sanguine, though the most fallacious expectations, of the duration of Ministry. In less than six weeks afterwards, I saw his furniture carrying off from the Admiralty, of which, Keppel, just named his successor, was taking possession.

Every day, from this time down to the 20th of the subsequent Month, when Lord North suddenly threw up the Administration of affairs, was marked by the most violent exertions on both sides. Incredible efforts were made to procure attendance in Parliament. The Opposition, conscious that not a moment should be lost, gave the Minister no respite. Scarcely forty-eight hours after the last Debate on Lord Sandwich, General Conway introduced a Motion for addressing His Majesty, "to renounce any further attempts to reduce "America by force." Notwithstanding the eloquence of the new Secretary of State, Mr. Ellis, who on this occasion displayed very considerable talents, it became impossible to induce the House to maintain the contest. Burke, in addition to all the arguments suggested by the nature of the subject, and the exhausted condition of Great Britain; oppressed the recently appointed Minister, under the flashes of intolerable wit, supported by the keenest ridicule. Never on any occasion was he

more happy in his allusions, or more pointed in his irony. After felicitating Mr. Ellis on succeeding as heir to the noble Viscount, at whose feet he had been brought up, and whose political opinions he implicitly adopted; Burke compared him to a Caterpillar, who having long remained in a torpid state, within the silken folds of his lucrative employment as Treasurer of the Navy, now bursting his ligaments, fluttered forth, the Secretary of the Hour. Pursuing this comparison with inconceivable humour, he directed the whole force of his powerful mind, in impelling his audience no longer to support a hopeless, ruinous, and unavailing conflict. On that night, the American War may indeed be said to have terminated; the question being carried on the part of Government, by only *one* vote, though near three hundred and ninety Members divided. Many of those who supported the Minister, seemed not less rejoiced at the apparent conclusion of the war, than the persons on the opposite side; and it has been supposed that Lord North himself, whose disinclination to prosecute hostilities beyond the Atlantic, was well known, did not really regret, though he was necessitated to oppose, the motion of General Conway. Far from manifesting any intention of laying down his office in consequence of it, he performed one of the most important functions of First Minister, only three days afterwards, by opening the *Budget*, and proposing a Loan, on the 25th of February. It is true that he postponed the task of stating the Taxes to be imposed; but he did not the less declare his determination to continue at the head of His Majesty's Councils: nor did those persons who were most in his confidence, either question his sincerity, or doubt his resolution.

It became, indeed, apparent from this time, that though a Majority of the House of Commons might be still disposed to support the Ministry, they were altogether weary of continuing that contest for the reduc-

tion of America, which during near seven years had produced only an accumulation of expence and of misfortune. But, on the other hand, the Opposition soon discovered, that the compulsory abandonment of the American War, and the resignation of Lord North, constituted by no means, as they had flattered themselves, things synonimous, or inseparable. When General Conway, encouraged by the event of his late Motion, brought the subject again before the House, he indeed out-numbered the Minister on the Division, by *nineteen*, leaving him thus in a Minority. He even carried without difficulty, an Address to the Throne, soliciting His Majesty "to stop the prosecution of "further offensive war against the Colonies." But, the King, though he returned a gracious Answer, did not the less make a vague and general Reply to the Address, when it was presented to him by the whole House. Unable to resist the stream while it ran in this direction, Lord North no longer attempted it; and allowed the Opposition, who on the subject of America constituted the Majority, to declare "enemies to His "Majesty, and to their country, all those who should "advise, or attempt to prosecute offensive hostilities "against the Americans." Desirous to meet, and to anticipate their wishes, upon a point evidently so popular, he even permitted the Attorney-General to bring in a Bill, enabling the Crown to conclude a Truce, or a Peace, with the Colonies. Under these critical circumstances the month of March opened, while the minds of all men were attracted towards the termination of a scene so interesting to every individual; but, the issue of which it was as yet impossible to foresee, from the conduct or the protestations of the First Minister.

March.] Unable to effect his removal, or to provoke his voluntary resignation, by any censures passed on the conduct of the American War, or by any interdictions

of its future prosecution; the Opposition became of necessity compelled to bring forward a personal Question, inculpating Administration. And it must be allowed that in conducting this measure, they proceeded with judicious, as well as with cautious steps. A retrograde movement, or an unsuccessful attempt, they were well aware, would at once undo all that had hitherto been effected. Lord North, who was individually beloved, in and out of the House, even by those who most disapproved or opposed many of his measures; was likewise steadily supported by the Sovereign: while in the House of Lords, no prospect of any defection or change had hitherto manifested itself. The Session moreover advanced rapidly; and if Easter arrived, experience had proved that a full attendance could not be obtained after that period of the year, except with the utmost difficulty. All these facts having been maturely considered in the Meetings which took place among the Opposition Leaders, they determined to try the temper of the House of Commons, without delay. On the 8th of March, Lord John Cavendish, seconded by Powis, (then Member for Northamptonshire, since raised by Pitt, to the Peerage,) introduced various Resolutions, imputing the misfortunes of the war, to the "want of "foresight and ability" in Ministers. After a very long Debate, in a crowded House, the Administration not venturing directly to negative the Proposition, yet found themselves unable to carry the Motion, though only for the Order of the Day, by a greater Majority than *ten*. It might have been supposed that a Government which rested on so precarious a Basis, was already virtually at an end. But, Lord North gave the best indication, as it was considered, of his own intention to remain in Office, by proposing, only three days afterwards, the new Taxes which he meant to impose for the service of the year. The contending Parties, therefore, prepared for new struggles; and from every part of the

kingdom, as well as from foreign Courts, attendance was procured. The duration of the Ministry being now evidently at issue, and probably about to be decided in a very short time, not exceeding three weeks; it is difficult to convey an idea of the anxiety which agitated the Court, the Capital, and the Country.

The last Debate which preceded Lord North's resignation, took place on the 15th of March; it being moved on the part of Opposition to declare, that "the "House had no farther confidence in Ministers." They imagined that if this Motion was carried, no Administration would venture to continue in Office; or that if they should be bold enough to defy the indignation of Parliament, the same Majority would next address the Crown for their removal. There then remained only one step more to Impeachment. But, so equally balanced were the contending Parties, that though four hundred and sixty-three Members voted on the Division, scarcely any ground was lost or gained on either side. Government still remained in a Majority of *nine*, thus losing *one* since the preceding Debate. Yet, even that single Vote being in favor of the Opposition, seemed to indicate that they were progressive in the public esteem. Every artifice of Party was used to encourage their friends, and to terrify, or hold out to popular odium, the adherents of Administration. Lists were published, and disseminated throughout the kingdom, containing the names of the Members who voted on each Question; those voting on the side of Government being printed in *red* letters, while the names of the Minority appeared in *black*. Unimportant or contemptible as this circumstance may appear, it produced nevertheless a powerful effect on weak, or timid individuals; and bore some faint resemblance to the proceedings of the memorable Parliament which met in 1640, under Charles the First.

Lord North appeared likewise to entertain strong apprehensions respecting the consequences, which might

ultimately result to the King, if not to himself, from the struggle in which Ministers were engaged. It was generally believed, that he had stated these fears to His Majesty with so much earnestness, and had so warmly depictured the painful situation in which the Sovereign might be personally involved, if his Cabinet should be taken by storm; as to have obtained the permission of negotiating, and even of surrendering *on terms*. Some of his expressions in the Debate of the 15th of March, which intimated his readiness or disposition to withdraw from Office, and not to form any impediment, if a Coalition could be formed for carrying on the public service; seemed to justify the belief, that he was authorized to make such propositions. They were, however, treated with affected ridicule or scorn, by his opponents, as only calculated for purposes of delusion, in order to weaken or distract their efforts. Far from listening to any overtures of accommodation, instant notice was given after the Division of *nine*, that a Motion similar in its import, would be made on the subsequent Wednesday, being the 20th of March.

Never were moments more precious, or more critical. It being well known that the House of Commons would, according to regular usage, adjourn on the 28th of March, for ten or eleven days, till after the Easter Holidays, which in that year happened to fall early; Lord North consequently might calculate almost the number of hours that he had to hold out against his assailants: for, no sanguine expectation of successfully renewing their attack upon Ministry, after the Recess, could be entertained by the Opposition. Every thing therefore, it was evident, must necessarily be wound up within a week or two, and Government made the strongest demonstrations of abiding the issue. Between the 16th and the 20th of the Month, in every Department, positive assurances were given, that no compromise or resignation was intended. Robinson protested the

same thing to me, at his house in St. James's-square. Lord North himself, whatever fluctuations of mind he might internally undergo, personally reiterated those declarations to his nearest political connexions. No man on either side of the House, doubted the firmness of the Sovereign, or suspected him of abandoning his Ministers from personal timidity. Each Party therefore prepared to try their force, and both expressed themselves confident of success. I can assert, however, from the best authority, that if the contest had been maintained, it would, according to every probability, have terminated in favor of Administration. Robinson, then Secretary of the Treasury, and who knew better than any man, the Secret of affairs, has many times assured me, that Government would have infallibly divided *from fourteen to twenty* Majority, on the day when Lord North resigned; Robinson having received the written assurances of attendance and support, from many Members who were absent on the Question of the 15th. Even various of the country gentlemen who had hitherto voted with Opposition, hesitated, or refused to push the contest to the utmost extremity. They had put an end to the American War, which they reprobated; and they wished for a change of men, as well as of measures, and of system: but they wished it with moderation, and were averse to using the last expedients which the British Constitution admits, lest the Constitution, or the State itself, should suffer in the shock.

20th March.] On the other hand, I know from authentic channels of information, that Lord North, during the last four months of his continuance in Office, repeatedly tendered his resignation to the King; which His Majesty as often declined, accompanying his refusal with the most gracious and encouraging expressions. On Tuesday, the 19th of March, the First Minister, apprehensive of the event of the Debate which was fixed for the ensuing day in the House of Commons,

wrote to the King in the most decided terms, resigning his employment; and His Majesty being down at Windsor, Lord North dispatched a Messenger with the letter. When it arrived, the King was going out to hunt: having perused its contents, for which he was probably not unprepared, he calmly put it in his pocket, made no observation, and mounted his horse. But he had not proceeded more than a few paces, when a Page came running after him, to say that Lord North's Messenger had received orders to bring back a Reply. "Tell him," said the King, "that I shall be in town to-"morrow morning, and will then give Lord North an answer." Two Noblemen were with him at the time, one of whom was the late Duke of Dorset: the other, Lord Hinchinbrook, (afterwards Earl of Sandwich,) related to me these particulars. Turning immediately to them,—"Lord North," observed His Majesty, "has "sent me in his resignation; but I shall not accept it." If, however, the King was apprized of Lord North's intention or determination to resign, it was by no means known in London; and on the morning of the very day, I believe that few individuals of either Party, entertained a doubt of the continuance of the struggle. Still less did any person conceive, that the First Minister would spontaneously lay down his Office, without giving notice to his friends, and contrary to his own recent professions. He went soon after one o'clock, to the Treasury, from whence he was to repair to St. James's, where the King, as usual, had a Levee. Robinson told me, that previous to his quitting the Treasury, they held a long conversation together; in the course of which, he shewed Lord North on paper, the names of those Members who had promised to support him on the ensuing Question, to the number of nine, ten, or eleven, at least; not one of whom had been present in the preceding Division. And he did not, himself, entertain the slightest suspicion of the First

Minister's resignation, from whom he received the most satisfactory assurances of his intention, in every case, to abide the issue of the approaching Debate. After standing together at the fire in the Board-room, till Lord North's carriage drew up, they parted, about ten minutes after two o'clock; the Minister driving strait to St. James's, while the Secretary, after dispatching a variety of official business, repaired soon after four o'clock, to the House of Commons.

It is probable that the conversation which took place between the King and Lord North, on that occasion, was never minutely reported by either, to any third person: but we may safely assume that His Majesty endeavoured to prevail on his Minister not to abandon him. Robinson professed himself ignorant of all the particulars; though he entertained no doubt that Lord North, whether from weariness and disgust, or apprehension of the consequences that might accrue to his Sovereign, to himself, and to the Country, had made up his mind as he drove to St. James's, to state at once to the King, the determination that he had irrevocably embraced, of laying down immediately his Power; a resolution which he had notified under his hand, on the preceding day. It is certain that the interview between them was long; lasting above an hour and a half, without any witness present; at the end of which time the Minister withdrew, in order to attend the House of Commons. I have rarely witnessed so full an attendance, at so early an hour, as on that day; not less than four hundred Members having taken their seats before five o'clock; both Parties appearing impatient to proceed to business. The only delay arose from the absence of the First Minister; and he being every instant expected to arrive from St. James's, all eyes were directed towards the door, each time that it opened. The Members on both Sides, who, it was generally expected, would speak in the course of the

ensuing Debate, were well known; and as the ground of controversy had been so often gone over, as well as on account of many invalids who attended, and who were unable to remain long, it was thought that the Question would be brought on before midnight.

At length Lord North entering in a full dressed suit, his Riband over his Coat, proceeded up the House, amidst an incessant cry of "Order, and Places." As soon as he had reached the Treasury Bench, he rose and attempted to address the Chair; but Lord Surrey, who had given notice of a motion for that day, being consequently in possession of the right to speak first, and having likewise risen, a clamour began from all quarters, of the most violent description. It lasted for some moments, in defiance of every effort made by the Speaker to enforce silence; 'till in consequence of the earnestness with which the Minister besought a hearing, and some expressions relative to the importance of the communication that he had to make, which pervaded the tumult, the Members opposite allowed him the precedence. He then stated, after a short preface, that "his object was to save the time and "trouble of the House, by informing them that the "Administration was virtually at an end; that His "Majesty had determined to change his confidential "servants; and that he should propose an Adjourn-"ment, in order to allow time for the new Ministerial "Arrangements which must take place." It is not easy to describe the effect which this declaration produced in a popular assembly, scarcely an individual of which did not hear it with lively sentiments of exultation, or of concern, both of which were heightened by surprize. No painter could have done justice to the expression depictured in many countenances. The Opposition, without much difficulty consented to the proposed Adjournment; and the Members, actuated by very opposite emotions, soon dispersed in all direc-

tions, to carry the intelligence through the capital. Not, however, till Burke, assuming the part of a Moderator, had endeavoured to temper and restrain the vociferous joy of his friends, on so sudden and unexpected an event. But scarcely could he obtain a hearing, amidst the impatience of men, who for the first time beheld before their eyes, the promised land. Courtney, on the other side of the House, pronounced a Panegyric, or more properly, an Encomium on the personal virtues and amiable qualities of the First Minister, which he did not suspend, on account of the violent indications of dissatisfaction exhibited from the Opposition Benches. A more interesting scene had not been acted within the walls of the House of Commons, since February, 1743, when Sir Robert Walpole retired from power. Nor did that First Minister by any means display in the last moments of his political life, the equanimity, suavity, and dignity manifested by his successor. Lord North ordered his Coach to remain at the House of Commons in waiting, on that evening. In consequence of so unexpected an event as his resignation, and the House breaking up at such an early hour, the housekeeper's room became crowded to the greatest degree; few persons having directed their carriages to be ready before midnight. In the midst of this confusion, Lord North's Coach drove up to the door; and as he prepared to get into it, he said, turning to those persons near him, with that unalterable equanimity and good temper which never forsook him, "Good night, Gentlemen, you see what it is to be in "the secret."

However extraordinary and unexpected Lord North's resignation appeared at the moment when it took place; and however certain I esteem it, that he would have carried the question, on the evening when he laid down his office, by a larger Majority than had supported him on the preceding Debate of the 15th; yet it must

be admitted that he could assign, not only to himself, but to his Sovereign, and to the country at large, many cogent, if not unanswerable reasons, for retiring from Power. The nation, he well knew, was universally weary of a war, the misfortunes that had attended which, though perhaps justly imputable to many other causes or persons, were attributed principally to his errors or mismanagement. He beheld himself now engaged in hostilities, direct or indirect, with half Europe, in addition to America. Ireland, availing itself of our embarrassments, loudly demanded commercial and political emancipation. On every side, the Empire appeared to be crumbling into ruin. Minorca, long invested, had already surrendered, after a defence protracted to the last extremity. Gibraltar was closely besieged. In the East Indies, our difficulties, financial, as well as military, threatened the total subversion of our wide extended authority in that quarter of the Globe; where Hyder Ally, though expelled by Sir Eyre Coote, from the vicinity of Madras, still maintained himself in the Centre of the Carnatic. If the First Minister looked to the West Indies, the prospect appeared still more big with alarm. St. Christopher's, attacked by the Marquis de Bouillé, might be hourly expected to surrender; and he had already re-captured St. Eustatius, either by surprize, or by corrupting the officer who commanded the garrison. Of all the chain of Carribbee Islands which had belonged to the Crown of Great Britain at the commencement of the War, only Antigua and Barbadoes remained. Such was our maritime inferiority, that Sir Samuel Hood, whose abilities had been vigorously exerted, at the head of the Fleet, to defend St Christopher's, found himself unable to hazard an engagement with De Grasse. Rodney had indeed sailed from England, with a considerable reinforcement, in the month of January, to join the British Admiral at Barbadoes. But Lord

North could not foresee, nor did his most sanguine adherents venture to predict, the splendid victory which Rodney obtained over De Grasse, scarcely more than three weeks after the resignation of the Minister.

Far from anticipating any such event, the most alarming apprehensions were entertained relative to the safety of Jamaica itself. If the combined Fleets of France and Spain in the West Indies, after the reduction of St. Christopher's, should effect a junction, they would have exceeded fifty sail of the line; while Rodney's whole force scarcely amounted to more than thirty. And it was very doubtful whether such a junction could be prevented. The loss of Jamaica would complete the measure of the national calamities, by involving our commerce and our finances in almost total ruin. Under such an accumulation of defeat and of disaster, the vengeance of the country might demand some victim; and the leaders of Opposition, though neither sanguinary nor vindictive in their disposition, might be compelled to yield to the torrent of popular indignation. Fox, as well as Burke and Barré, had in fact many times alluded to the Axe and the Block, amongst the opprobrious Epithets that they lavished on the Ministerial errors; and such menaces might be realized in a moment of national depression or violence. The Crown might be even unable to extend protection to its servants; and the scenes of the year 1641, might be renewed under the reign of George the Third. That this picture is not exaggerated, the history of the period which I am writing, sufficiently proves; and however exempt from personal pusillanimity or apprehension we may suppose Lord North to have been, it was impossible that he could avert his view from these considerations, or not allow them their due weight over his mind. Though it seems to be indisputable, that his final resolution to resign, was at last somewhat suddenly embraced, yet the motives which led to it, had un-

questionably long existed, and may fully explain, as well as justify, his conduct.

The King, thus abandoned by his Minister, as he had repeatedly been deserted at earlier periods of his reign, by other Ministers, chose that evil which he esteemed to be the least in his situation. Well acquainted with the discordant materials of which the Opposition was composed, he sent to Lord Shelburne, to signify a desire of conferring with him, on the formation of a new Administration; and when that Nobleman attended His Majesty for the purpose, the King proposed to him to accept the place of First Lord of the Treasury. But, Lord Shelburne, however disposed from inclination, to comply with an offer so flattering to his ambition, felt too deeply conscious of his inability to maintain himself in Power, independant of the Rockingham party, to venture on its acceptance. Having stated therefore, the necessity under which he lay of declining so gratifying a distinction, at least for the present; he urged the over-ruling circumstances that left no alternative to the Crown, except placing the Marquis of Rockingham at the head of the Ministry. Sensible that he must submit to the measure, however painful, the King therefore, on the subsequent day, desired Lord Rockingham's attendance. At the Audience which took place, His Majesty consented to the conditions on which the Marquis insisted, before he would agree to accept office; only attempting to stipulate as a Preliminary, that two of his actual Ministers, namely, the Chancellor and Lord Stormont, should be continued under the new Administration. He could not however obtain such terms; nor was it without great repugnance, and after considerable difficulty, that even Lord Thurlow was admitted to retain his situation. A decided negative was put on the other Nobleman, whom it was determined by the Rockingham Party, at all events to exclude from any place in the Cabinet.

The Leaders of that powerful body were nevertheless far from having surmounted all the impediments to their acquisition of Office; and they soon discovered that the expulsion of Lord North, though it might open to them the door of the Cabinet, by no means secured the durability of their Administration. From the first moment that the new competitors for Power appeared at St. James's, inextinguishable jealousies arose, and mutual distrust manifested itself on every occasion. With difficulty could they be prevented from immediately proceeding to an open rupture; and the external appearances of political union, which had been preserved during several years of parliamentary Opposition, dissolved as soon as they came to divide the ministerial objects of plunder, or to dispute for preference in the royal favor. The Marquis of Rockingham, conscious that though he might ostensibly be placed at the head of the new Administration, yet the King regarded him and his adherents with sentiments of alienation; while he considered Lord Shelburne with regard, and treated him with confidence; took umbrage at the distinction. In this situation of affairs, before the formation of the new Cabinet, an incident which displayed the superior interest that Lord Shelburne possessed at Court, nearly terminated at once the compact by which Lord North had been expelled, and consequently involved the whole Embrio Ministry in total confusion.

Scarcely could the Ministry be said indeed with propriety, as yet to have any real existence; for though Mr. Fox and Lord Shelburne had been named Secretaries of State; and though Lord Camden had accepted the Presidency of the Council, while the Duke of Grafton was made Privy Seal; yet neither the new Boards of Treasury nor of Admiralty were constituted. Lord John Cavendish alone had been sworn in, as the new Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the Marquis of Rockingham, and Admiral Keppel, who were destined

to preside at the two Boards, were not as yet regularly appointed. The post of Commander in Chief of the Forces, as well as the Master General of the Ordnance, both which had commonly or frequently been Cabinet offices, still remained vacant. No individual had been proposed to be raised to the Peerage; when Lord Shelburne availing himself of the facility which he enjoyed of access to the Sovereign, induced His Majesty to confer the dignity of a Baron, on his friend and adherent, Dunning. The business itself, which neither the King, nor Lord Shelburne, communicated to the Marquis of Rockingham; was managed with such dexterity, as well as silence and dispatch, that the first intimation received of it, even by the persons about the Court, arose from Dunning's kissing the King's hand at the Levee, on his Creation. But, no sooner had the intelligence become known, than it produced the most violent fermentation and resentment among all the Rockingham Party. Considering their Chief as equally overreached and insulted by the proceeding, since it was evident that Lord Shelburne could effect for his followers, objects of the highest importance, which proved to the Public his superior and exclusive Ascendancy at St. James's; they determined on exacting immediate reparation.

Under this impression, several of the leading persons, among whom were Fox, Burke, and George Byng, having repaired to Lord Rockingham's house in Grosvenor-square, a sort of tumultuary consultation was there held on the occasion. They unanimously agreed that the First Lord of the Treasury would be at once dishonoured in the Cabinet, and disgraced in the public estimation; if the Secretary of State, so much his inferior in official rank, could thus, without his knowledge or participation, dispose of the highest dignities to his own adherents. It was maintained that the reparation ought to be no less public, than the affront;

and that in order to wipe it away, some individual must be without delay raised to the Peerage, at Lord Rockingham's personal recommendation. This resolution being adopted, it was next debated whom to choose for the honor. The selection fell on Sir Fletcher Norton, late Speaker of the House of Commons; not indeed, from inclination, but from necessity; no other person appearing so proper to be created a Peer at the same time with Dunning, as Sir Fletcher; they being, both, Lawyers of great eminence in their profession, Members of the House of Commons, and rival Candidates for Power or Office.

On the following day, Thursday, the 28th of March, the new First Lord of the Treasury repaired therefore to St. James's. Having obtained an audience of the King, he represented the impossibility of his continuing at the head of the intended Administration, after the elevation of Mr. Dunning to a Peerage, on Lord Shelburne's recommendation, unless His Majesty should be graciously pleased to confer the same mark of royal favor on one of his own friends. After some hesitation, the King, apprehensive of the consequences, to himself and to the public tranquillity, if Lord Rockingham and his followers should suddenly resign, as they menaced; and aware that Lord Shelburne could not support himself alone; signified his assent to the proposition: adding, that the person named, Sir Fletcher Norton, might kiss his hand at the first Levee. But, the Marquis peremptorily insisted on that ceremony immediately taking place on the same day. In vain the King stated the singularity and impropriety of such an act, contrary to all the usages of established Court Etiquette, inasmuch as no individual ever was known to be presented at the Queen's Drawing Room, by whatever Title, till he had previously been received under that denomination, at the Levee. Lord Rockingham signified in Reply, respectfully, but tenaciously, that

every Form must give way on the present occasion; and he exacted compliance. Sir Fletcher being brought forward, actually kissed His Majesty's hand on his Creation as a Baron, by the title of Lord Grantley, the same day, in the Drawing Room, to the no small astonishment of the oldest Courtiers; and hardly less so of the newly created Peer himself, who having been apprized of this extraordinary Elevation, attended for the purpose at St. James's, on the previous notice of only a few hours. No instance of such a breach of established usage has occurred, either before or since, in the course of the present Reign.

April.] This subject of contest being thus regulated, and the Rockingham Party triumphant, the new Administration was at length formed, though of very heterogeneous materials. Instead of *nine* individuals who constituted Lord North's Cabinet, *eleven* were now admitted; the third Secretaryship of State, namely that for the Colonies, lately occupied by Lord Sackville, being extinguished. General Conway, as the recompense of his late distinguished services in Parliament, was placed at the head of the Army. The separation of the Office of First Lord of the Treasury, from that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, made way for Lord John Cavendish's entrance into the Cabinet; and the introduction of the Master General of the Ordnance, who had not been admitted under Lord North, brought in the Duke of Richmond: while, in order to oppose some little balance to the preponderating ascendancy of the Marquis's friends, Lord Ashburton, contrary to general usage or precedent, was admitted to a Seat, in quality of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The other great objects of ambition or acquisition, were shared with tolerable equality, among the friends of the two principal Leaders. The Earl of Carlisle was replaced, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by the Duke of Portland. Rigby, who during near fourteen years

had enjoyed the prodigious emoluments of the Pay Office, without any Colleague, relinquished that enviable and lucrative Post to Burke. Welbore Ellis, fallen in an instant from his double elevation of Secretary of State, and Treasurer of the Navy, made way for Barré in the latter employment: while Jenkinson was succeeded, as Secretary at War, by Mr. Thomas Townsend. Kenyon became Attorney General. We were Colleagues for the Borough of Hindon in that Parliament. He possessed a deep and recondite knowledge of the Law, the result of severe application; and was supposed to be consulted by the Chancellor, on all cases that arose of legal difficulty. Little conversant with the manners of polite life, Kenyon retained, even when Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, to which high dignity he afterwards rose, all the original coarse homeliness of his early habits. Irascible in his temper, destitute of all refinement, parsimonious even in a degree approaching to avarice; he nevertheless more than balanced these defects of deportment and character, by strict morality, probity, and integrity. As a Member of the House of Commons, whenever he spoke, though he wanted grace, he could not be reproached with any deficiency in the essential qualities of perspicuity, energy, and command of language. General Burgoyne, whose exchange had at length been effected against Laurens, the late President of the American Congress; thus liberated from the inabilities which his surrender at Saratoga had inflicted on him, was sent to replace Sir John Irwin, as Commander in Chief in Ireland.

The Duke of Bolton, as a return for the service which he had rendered in the Session of 1781, by arraigning in the House of Peers, the conduct of the First Lord of the Admiralty, was made Governor of the Isle of Wight. During his elder brother's life, when Lord Harry Powlett, he had served in the Royal Navy, where, however, he had acquired no laurels; and he was

commonly supposed to be the "Captain Whiffle" described by Smollett, in his "Roderick Random." Sheridan received the appointment of one of the Under Secretaries of State in Fox's Office; who having taken for himself the *foreign* Department, left the *home* Secretaryship to Lord Shelburne; a partition by no means grateful to the latter. Of all the ostensible Candidates for employment, whose birth and talents seemed to call him forward to the service of the State, and whose eloquence in Parliament, had eminently conduced to the triumph obtained over the late Administration, Mr. Pitt alone remained without post or situation. Not that the new Ministers manifested either insensibility to his merits, or indifference to securing such abilities in their immediate support. On the contrary, as the best proof of their consideration, they offered him the place of a Lord of the Treasury, in the formation of the Board about to be constituted. But, in making him this proposition, they appeared to have ill appreciated his character, and least of all to have understood the extent, as well as the depth, of his ambition. Pitt steadily rejected every solicitation, preferring to remain for the present, without Office. Whether this refusal originated in his consciousness of possessing talents, which, from their pre-eminence, enabled him at once to seize a Cabinet place, without passing, like other men, through any inferior gradations of political life; or whether it rather proceeded from that superior intelligence and discernment, which, even at so early a period of youth, shewed him that a Ministry imbued with such discordant principles, and odious to the Sovereign, could not possibly prove of long duration, it may be difficult to determine with certainty. Probably, both these sentiments concurred in regulating this judicious line of action.

8th April.] Never was a more total change of Costume beheld, than the House of Commons presented

to the eye, when that assembly met for the dispatch of business, after the Easter Recess. The Treasury Bench, as well as the Places behind it, had been for so many years occupied by Lord North and his friends, that it became difficult to recognize them again in their new Seats, dispersed over the Opposition Benches, in great coats, frocks, and boots. Mr. Ellis himself appeared for the first time in his life, in an undress. To contemplate the Ministers their successors, emerged from their obscure lodgings, or from Brookes's, having thrown off their blue and buff uniforms; now ornamented with the appendages of dress, or returning from Court, decorated with swords, lace, and hair powder; excited still more astonishment. Even some degree of ridicule attached to this extraordinary and sudden Metamorphosis, which afforded subject for conversation, no less than food for mirth. It happened that just at the time when the change of Administration took place, Lord Nugent's house in Great George-street having been broken open, was robbed of a variety of articles; among others, of a number of pairs of laced ruffles. He caused the particulars of the effects stolen, to be advertized in some of the daily Newspapers, where they were minutely specified with great precision. Coming down to the House of Commons immediately after the Recess, a Gentleman who accidentally sat next to him, asked his Lordship, if he had yet made any discovery of the articles recently lost? "I can't say that I have," answered he, "but I "shrewdly suspect that I have seen some of my laced "ruffles, on the hands of the Gentlemen who now "occupy the Treasury Bench." This Reply, the effect of which was infinitely encreased by the presence of Fox and Burke in their Court dresses, obtained general circulation, and occasioned no little laughter.

Even the Drawing Room at St. James's, underwent considerable Alteration in its appearance, as well as the House of Commons, in consequence of the political

Revolution which had driven the late Ministers from Power. The Earl of Hertford, one of the "antient, "most domestic ornaments" of the Court, who had held the White Wand of Chamberlain for more than fifteen years, and whose presence in the Circle seemed almost essential to its very existence; of course disappeared. The Duke of Manchester succeeded him. Lord Effingham, whose name, since the Riots of June, 1780, had scarcely been pronounced on the theatre of public life, became Treasurer of the Household, in the place of Lord Salisbury. No individual, dismissed in consequence of the change of Administration, was more personally regretted by the King, than Lord Bateman, who had held during many years, the Post of Master of the Buck Hounds. The frankness and gaiety of his disposition, rendered his society peculiarly agreeable to the Sovereign. Lord Bateman's descent on the maternal side, was very illustrious; his mother having been Grand Daughter to John, Duke of Marlborough, and sister to the second Duke of that name. By his paternal ancestors, he inherited only civic honors, his grandfather Sir James Bateman being knighted when Lord Mayor of London, under George the First. At near seventy years of age, Lord Bateman preserved all the activity of youth, accompanied by an elasticity of mind and character which never forsook him. He might have been reinstated in the employment of Master of the Buck Hounds, under succeeding Administrations: but he preferred the enjoyment of personal liberty, and passed the last years of his life principally at his seat of Shobden, in the County of Hereford. His understanding was good, but he loved pleasure of every description, more than business; and he possessed that mediocrity of talents, which never inspiring awe, forms the best recommendation to royal favour. Curiosity was so strongly excited to see the new Ministers, and to remark the demeanor of persons, who

during many years had rarely stood in the presence of the Sovereign, or frequented St. James's; that numerous individuals attended the Levee and the Drawing-room, from no other motive. Those who had always speculated on the short duration of the present Administration, derived additional proofs in favor of their opinion, from the very looks and reciprocal deportment of the principal personages. Every attention shewn by the King to Lord Shelburne, excited the instant jealousy of the Rockingham Party, and hastened their final separation. Time alone, indeed, was necessary for making the political arrangements, indispensable before the former Nobleman could venture to throw off his subjection to his Colleagues, and to set up for himself, as First Minister.

April.] Previous to Lord North's resignation of power, Mr. Fox had more than once insinuated or maintained in the House of Commons, that if he were Minister, he possessed the means of making a separate Treaty with the Dutch, and of detaching them from France. His friends did not even scruple to assert, that "he had a Peace with Holland in his pocket;" and these expressions, uttered in a period of misfortune and despondency, could not fail of producing a forcible impression on the sanguine, as well as on the credulous, part of society. One of his first attempts, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, became in fact directed to the attainment of so salutary and important an object. In order to effect it, he thought proper to address a letter to the Russian Minister then residing at the Court of London, making through him, the offer of an immediate suspension of hostilities between Great Britain and Holland, as a step preparatory to negotiation. This proposal was afterwards warmly reiterated and seconded, by the Embassadors of Catherine the Second at the Hague. But, instead of the nation deriving any benefit from Fox's hasty overture, it was

received by the States General with coldness, and treated with contempt; they wisely preferring to negotiate in concert with France and Spain, whenever a plan for general Pacification should be set on foot. Baffled in this experiment, the Cabinet next made propositions at the Court of Versailles, for an accommodation, and even sent Mr. Thomas Grenville to Paris, for the purpose: while Admiral Digby and Sir Guy Carleton were dispatched to America, with instructions to offer an immediate acknowledgment of the independance of the thirteen Colonies. The Congress, however, as if animated by the same spirit with the Dutch, refused to receive any Messenger, or even to grant a passport to the person deputed by the British Commissioners, for commencing a negotiation. It seemed impossible for the new Ministers to begin their foreign diplomatic labors under more unpromising Auspices, after having held out to the country such delusive expectations.

They found it much easier to induce the House of Commons to listen to their Propositions, than to persuade or to conciliate any of the belligerent Powers. No opposition whatsoever was experienced from Lord North, who, though at the head of a routed Party, yet remained the nominal chief of a numerous body of men. He attended in his place, and might, if he had been so disposed, have greatly impeded, if not wholly prevented, many of the measures of the new Government. But, far from throwing any obstacles in their way, he allowed them without molestation to complete their projects of Reform, in every direction. Burke opened the System of domestic Retrenchment, by bringing in anew his famous Bill for the Reduction of the civil List, so often proposed, and so often rejected, or eluded, in preceding Sessions. But "quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore!" Instead of two hundred thousand Pounds a-year, which by a species of political Arithmetic, he

had calculated in 1779, would annihilate ministerial influence in the House of Commons, commensurate to fifty Members or Votes in Parliament; he now proposed only about a third part of that annual sum for the scope of his reduction. Many retrenchments that had appeared to be indispensable, while he was in Opposition, were abandoned when he spoke from the Treasury Bench. Some abuses owed their prospective toleration to the personal respect that, he said, he felt for the Individuals who presided over the office or department. Others were perpetuated from deference to prejudice, or popular predilection. The Ordnance might be safely trusted to the Duke of Richmond's vigilant frugality. Lord Ashburton extended his protection to the Duchy of Lancaster. The Mint was left untouched; and even some of the white Wands, as contributing to the splendor of the Court, obtained grace. Yet, thus mutilated, and hardly recognizable, both Burke, and Powis, who seconded the motion for an Address of Thanks to the King, on his Message relative to this subject, melted into Tears, at the prospect of their approaching Triumph over Court Profusion and Corruption.

Two Bills, one for the prevention of Contractors sitting in Parliament; the other, for excluding Officers of the Excise and Customs from voting at Elections; were likewise passed with little difficulty or delay, through the lower House, where the Administration carried all before them. But, in the House of Peers, they experienced from the Chancellor, as well as from Lords Mansfield and Loughborough, the most decided Opposition. These Pillars of the Law, far from yielding to the temper of the Times, endeavoured, though ineffectually, to stem its force. Thurlow in particular, even while holding in his hand the great Seal of England, and in his own person a Member of the Cabinet, yet expressed with that gloomy indignation which character-

ized his style of speaking, the disapprobation that he felt at such inroads on the majesty of the Crown, as well as on the franchises of the Subject. Unawed by the appearance of Fox and Burke, who, in order to impress him with respect, as well as to display the interest that they took in the success of these Measures, usually appeared in the House of Peers, on the steps of the Throne, while the Bills were agitating; Lord Thurlow animadverted on them with the utmost severity, and divided in the Minority, on all the most obnoxious clauses. But the stream, which ran with too much violence, successfully to oppose its current, soon secured for each of the Bills, the concurrence of the Sovereign.

It cannot be disputed by the greatest enemies of Reform, that various of the offices, or nominal employments, suppressed by Burke's Bill, were become obsolete, destitute of any real function, and void of apparent utility. Nor will it be denied, that the annual aggregate sum which the measure saved to the country, though now reduced from two hundred thousand Pounds, to about seventy thousand Pounds a-year, yet still formed a considerable object of national economy. But, on the other hand, the extinction of so many places, deprived the Crown of that species of majesty, produced by the operation of time, and "the hoar of "ages;" advantages which no man knew better how to appreciate and to venerate, as well as to celebrate and sustain, than Burke himself. We beheld him, scarcely ten years afterwards, stand forward the determined champion of monarchical institutions, and the zealous opposer of almost every kind of innovation. We may likewise remark, that the Board of Trade, and the office of Third Secretary of State, both which his Bill abolished, have been since revived, from a conviction of their respective necessity or advantages. Even the "Great Wardrobe," the "Treasurer of the Chamber," the "Jewel Office," the "Clerks of the Board of Green

"Cloth," and some other appointments, which may appear to be most exceptionable or unnecessary; yet, as carrying us back in imagination to the reigns of the *Tudors*, by whom they were instituted, diffused over the Throne itself, a Gothic grandeur, calculated to protect and to perpetuate the sanctity of the monarchical office. These adventitious aids will not be despised by those who deeply consider the nature of man, and of all human institutions. Other consequences of an injurious description, not foreseen at the time, or from which the author of the Bill chose to avert his view, have flowed from the measure. In Burke's eagerness to diminish the supposed overgrown influence of the Crown, arising from the distribution of offices among the Members of the House of Commons, a greater injury has been probably sustained by the British Constitution. The Minister, deprived of the means of procuring parliamentary attendance and support, by conferring places on his adherents, has in many instances been compelled to substitute a far higher remuneration; namely, Peerages. A review of Mr. Pitt's Administration, will form the strongest illustration of this remark. I know indeed, from the best authority, that Burke himself lived to adopt the opinion, and like other reformers or innovators, found reason to lament the effects of his own Bill. Being at Bath, in a declining state of health, not long before his decease, the conversation turned on the great augmentation made by Mr. Pitt to the numbers of the House of Lords, during the preceding thirteen years. "I fear," said Burke, "that I am partly "accountable for so disproportionate an increase of "Honours, by having deprived the Crown and the "Minister of so many other sources of recompence or "reward, which were extinguished by my Bill of Reform." Mr. Pitt had in fact little left him to bestow, in proportion to the croud of claimants, except dignities; and he was not parsimonious in their distribution. The

two Bills, excluding Contractors from sitting in the House of Commons, and depriving Custom-house or Excise Officers, of the right of voting at elections for Members of Parliament; though liable, respectively, to some objections; and though both were strongly reprobated at the time, by the greatest legal characters in the House of Peers; yet appear to have obtained, and still to retain, the general approbation of the country.

Many persons of high rank reluctantly disappeared from about the King's person and Court, in consequence of Burke's Bill of Reform. The Earl of Darlington quitted the Jewel Office; and Lord Pelham, the Great Wardrobe; the first of which Offices owed its institution to Elizabeth: while the latter remounted to the times of the *Plantagenets*. The Earl of Essex laid down the Stag Hounds; as did Lord Denbigh, the Harriers: while the disasters of Saratoga and of York Town were thus felt by rebound, through every avenue of St. James's. Gibbon, who had sat at the Board of Trade since 1779, being dismissed from his official attendance in Whitehall, found himself more at leisure to continue that great historical work which he ultimately compleated on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, and which will perpetuate his name to distant Ages. George Selwyn lost a lucrative appointment under the Board of Works; and though possessed of an affluent fortune, together with a Borough, yet as he loved money, no man who suffered in consequence of the reduction of the Civil List, retained a deeper resentment towards the party who had abridged his enjoyments, and diminished his income. I knew him with some degree of intimacy, having sat as his Colleague in Parliament, during more than six years, for Ludgershall, from 1784 to 1790. He resided in Cleveland Row, in the house rendered memorable by the quarrel which took place between Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townsend, under the

reign of George the First; when the first Minister and the Secretary of State seized each other by the throat: a scene which *Gay* is supposed to have pourtrayed in "The Beggar's Opera," under the characters of Peachum and Lockitt. Selwyn was a Member of the House of Commons, during the greater part of his life; and down to the year 1780, he constantly represented Glocester, near which city he had a seat, at Matson. He told me, that during the memorable siege of Glocester, undertaken by Charles the First in 1643, Charles, Prince of Wales, and James, Duke of York, who both in turn ascended the Throne, but, who were then boys, remained at Matson. And he added, that James the Second, after he came to the Crown, used frequently to mention the circumstance to his Grandfather when he went to Court; observing, "My brother and I were generally "shut up in a Chamber on the second Floor at Matson, "during the day; where you will find that we have left "the marks of our confinement, inscribed with our "knives, on the ledges of all the windows."

Selwyn possessed infinite wit. He had indeed succeeded to Philip, Earl of Chesterfield's Reputation for Bon Mots, most of which that then attained to any celebrity, were attributed to him. Their effect, when falling from his lips, became greatly augmented by the listless and drowsy manner in which he uttered them; for he always seemed half asleep: yet the promptitude of his replies was surprizing. The late Duke of Queensberry, who lived in the most intimate friendship with him, told me that Selwyn was present at a public dinner with the Mayor and Corporation of Glocester, in the year 1758, when the intelligence arrived of our expedition having failed before Rochfort. The Mayor turning to Selwyn, "You, Sir," said he, "who are in the ministerial "secrets, can no doubt inform us of the cause of this "misfortune?" Selwyn, though utterly ignorant on the subject, yet unable to resist the occasion of amusing

himself at the enquirer's expence, "I will tell you in "confidence the reason, Mr. Mayor," answered he; "the fact is, that the scaling ladders prepared for the "occasion, were found on trial to be too short." This solution, which suggested itself to him at the moment, was considered by the Mayor to be perfectly explanatory of the failure, and as such, he communicated it to all his friends; not being aware, though Selwyn was, that Rochfort lies on the river Charante, some leagues from the sea-shore, and that our troops had never even effected a landing on the French coast.

But it was not so much as a man of wit that I cultivated his society. He was likewise thoroughly versed in our History, and master of many curious, as well as secret Anecdotes, relative to the Houses of Stuart and of Brunswic. As he had an aversion to all long Debates in Parliament, during which he frequently fell asleep; we used to withdraw sometimes to one of the Committee rooms up stairs, where his conversation was often very instructive. Talking to him of the death and execution of Charles the First, he assured me that the Duchess of Portsmouth always asserted, as having been communicated to her by Charles the Second, that his father was not beheaded either by Colonel Pride, or Colonel Joyce; though one of the two is commonly considered to have performed that act. The Duchess maintained that the man's name was Gregory Brandon. He wore a black crape stretched over his face, and had no sooner taken off the King's head, than he was put into a boat at Whitehall Stairs, together with the Block, the black cloth that covered it, the Axe, and every article stained with the blood. Being conveyed to the Tower, all the implements used in the decapitation, were immediately reduced to ashes. A purse containing a hundred broad pieces of gold was delivered to him, after which recompence he received his dismission. Brandon survived the transaction many years, but divulged it a short time before he

expired. This account, as coming from the Duchess of Portsmouth, challenges great respect.

From his own Father, who had acted a conspicuous part during Sir Robert Walpole's Administration, Selwyn knew many of the secret Springs of Affairs, under George the First and Second. He told me that the former of those Kings, when he came over here from Hanover in 1714, understanding very imperfectly the English language, found himself so weary while assisting at the Service in the Chapel Royal, that he frequently entered into conversation in French or German, with the persons behind him. Among the few individuals who had retained under the new Reign, the Places that they held or occupied about Queen Anne, was Dr. Younger, Dean of Salisbury. Anticipating the change of Sovereigns, he had applied with such success to render himself Master of the German Language, that he was continued in the office of Clerk of the Closet, which gave him great access to the King, behind whose chair he usually stood at Chapel. With Younger, His Majesty often talked during the Service; a circumstance, which as being indecorous, naturally excited much offence. Lord Townshend, then one of the Secretaries of State, animated by a sense of loyal affection, ventured to acquaint him that his deportment at Chapel, gave cause of regret, mingled with animadversion, to many of his most attached Subjects; beseeching him at the same Time particularly to abstain from conversing with Dr. Younger. Far from resenting the freedom, His Majesty promised amendment; and Lord Townshend strongly enjoined the Clerk of the Closet to observe in future the most decorous Behaviour on his part. Finding however that they resumed or continued the same practice, Lord Townshend sent Younger a positive order, as Secretary of State, directing him, without presuming to present himself again in the royal presence, to repair immediately to his Deanery. Dr. Younger, conceiving

the injunction to proceed from the King, obeyed without remonstrance or delay; and the Secretary waiting on His Majesty, informed him that the Dean had received a kick from a horse which fractured his skull, of which accident he was dead. George the First expressed the deepest concern at his loss, and never entertained the most remote idea of the deception which had been practised on him. Several years afterwards, before which time Lord Townshend had quitted his employment, the King going down to review some regiments that were encamped on Salisbury Plain, the Bishop and Chapter of that city had the honour to be presented to him, and to kiss his hand. But, when Younger approached for the purpose, His Majesty, overcome with amazement at beholding again a man whom he had long considered as no more, could scarcely restrain his emotions. As soon however as circumstances permitted, he sent for the Dean into his presence, and a mutual explanation took place. Conscious of the rectitude and propriety of the motives which had actuated Lord Townshend in his conduct, he never expressed any sentiment of anger; but contented himself with promising Younger to confer on him a Mitre, as soon as an occasion should present itself: an assurance which he would have probably realized, if the Dean had not shortly afterwards been carried off by death.

Selwyn's nervous irritability, and anxious curiosity to observe the effect of dissolution on men, exposed him to much ridicule, not unaccompanied with censure. He was accused of attending all executions; and sometimes, in order to elude notice, in a female Dress. I have been assured that in 1756, he went over to Paris, expressly for the purpose of witnessing the last moments of Damien, who expired under the most acute torture, for having attempted the life of Louis the Fifteenth. Being among the croud, and attempting to approach

too near the Scaffold, he was repulsed by one of the executioners; but, having informed the person, that he had made the journey from London solely with a view to be present at the punishment and death of Damien, the man immediately caused the people to make way, exclaiming at the same time, "*Faites place "pour Monsieur. C'est un Anglois, et un Amateur.*" The Baron Grimm, in his "Correspondence," relates this story as having happened to Condamine. Mr. Pitt, in order to recompense Selwyn for the place of "Paymaster of the Works," of which he was deprived by Burke's Bill; made him in 1784, "Surveyor General of the "Crown Lands," which Office he retained till his decease, in 1790.

Wilkes, who during more than thirteen successive years, in various Parliaments, had vainly endeavoured to expunge from the Journals of the House of Commons, the memorable Resolutions relative to the Middlesex Election; after being so often foiled, at length attained his object. The Division upon this question, was attended with the singular circumstance of Lord North and Fox dividing together in the Minority. The new Secretary of State, whose original political line of conduct, while supporting the Administration which he had recently expelled, and of which he once formed a part, made it sometimes difficult for him to maintain the appearance of consistency; affected to speak and to vote from the Treasury Bench, against Wilkes's Motion. Having, unfortunately given his ministerial sanction in early life, to various measures calculated for affixing parliamentary disapprobation on that celebrated Member of the House; he therefore probably thought, that a regard to his own character compelled him, however contradictory to his late line of declamation and of action, when haranguing his Constituents in Palace Yard; to abide by, and to attempt a justification of his conduct, relative to the Election for

Middlesex. No public man, indeed, in my time, ever appeared to me to consider so little apology requisite for the contradictions and derelictions of his political principles; or seemed so completely to regard the House of Commons, as an Assembly fit for becoming the willing agents and instruments of every delusion, however gross or palpable, as Fox. The difficulties of the undertaking never deterred or intimidated him; and his splendid talents, which could lend to sophistry the colours of truth, emboldened him, by turns, to attack and to defend, according to the situation in which he stood, almost every position and tenet, either of monarchical authority, or of constitutional freedom.

18th April.] While the House of Commons was thus occupied in Measures of Reform, or engaged in retracting their past political errors; the new Ministers, as if they anticipated their speedy dismission, employed the precious moments of their precarious power, in distributing among themselves, without loss of time, the honours of the Crown. Four *Garters*, which had been found on the King's Table, unappropriated, at the time of Lord North's resignation, they naturally considered as lawful plunder. One only of the number fell to the share of the Sovereign, which he was allowed, though not without some difficulty, to confer on his third son, Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence. The remaining three were reserved for themselves, with a due regard to their respective consequence, party, and pretensions. Lord Rockingham having long since received the Order, from the hands of George the Second; the Duke of Devonshire, as head of the Whig Party, was invested with one blue Riband, and the Duke of Richmond with another. Lord Shelburne took for himself, as was to be expected, the fourth *Garter*. A great person, who was present at the ceremony of the Investiture, observed with admirable discernment, that never did three men receive the Order

in so dissimilar and characteristic a manner. "The "Duke of Devonshire" said he, "advanced up to the "Sovereign, with his phlegmatic, cold, awkward air, "like a clown. Lord Shelburne came forward, bowing "on every side, smiling, and fawning, like a Courtier. "The Duke of Richmond presented himself, easy, un-"embarrassed, and with dignity, as a Gentleman."

The Earl of Ashburnham, who had been during more than six years Groom of the Stole laid claim to one of the *Garters*, under a promise which he asserted to have received from the King, and of which he endeavoured to enforce the performance. His royal Master, though he did not deny the engagement, pleaded his inability to fulfil it, under the actual circumstances of his situation, which left him no longer any option in distributing the decorations in question. This excuse did not, however, satisfy Lord Ashburnham, who was said to have addressed to the King a letter of reproach on the occasion, couched in language rather too severe from a subject to his Sovereign, even if the cause of offence had been better proved, or more legitimate. His resentment at the supposed infraction of the royal word, impelled him to resign his Office; which, as being in the King's immediate family, and near his person, has always been considered exempt from ministerial interference. Lord Weymouth, who succeeded him, had acted a much more important part in earlier periods of His Majesty's reign, when he filled, during a very considerable time, the post of Secretary of State; and even held the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, for a few months, though he never crossed over to Dublin. He was a man of talents, highly convivial, whose conversation entertained and delighted: but in order to profit of his society, it was necessary to follow him to White's, to drink deep, of Claret, and to remain at table till a very late hour. "Junius," alluding to this well known circumstance, when addressing the Duke of

Grafton, in June, 1771, says, referring to Lord Weymouth, "Yet he must have bread, my Lord, or rather "he must have wine. If you deny him the cup, there "will be no keeping him within the pale of the "ministry." Lord Gower, the Chancellor, and Rigby, were, through life, his intimate friends and companions. His application to business, by no means kept pace with his abilities, nor was he ever a popular minister. Indeed, if we except the first Mr. Pitt; Henry Bilson Legge, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer during about five months after His Majesty's Accession to the Throne; and perhaps we may add the Marquis of Rockingham; all three of whom were devolved on him by his Grandfather, or forced upon him by the Nation; George the Third cannot be said to have had any Minister, in any Department, previous to Lord North's resignation, who enjoyed popularity. We must except from the remark, Lord Camden, during the short time that he held the great Seal as Chancellor. Lord Weymouth attracted a considerable portion of the indignation which characterizes Junius's opening letter, written in January, 1769, for having officially signed the order which authorized the military to fire on the populace assembled in St. George's Fields. "Recovered from "the errors of his youth, from the distraction of Play, "and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy," says that writer, "behold him exerting the whole strength of "his clear, unclouded faculties, in the service of the "Crown." He had preceded Lord Ashburnham, as Groom of the Stole, in 1775, and was succeeded by the Earl of Hillsborough, in 1779, as Secretary of State for the Home Department. Ten years afterwards, Pitt created Lord Weymouth a Marquis.

Though the Administration of which Lord North so long constituted the head, had ceased to exist, yet many of the Parliamentary Institutions which had originated under him, still continued in activity.

Among the principal, might be esteemed the Secret Committee for enquiring into the state of the East India Company's affairs. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, as their Chairman, brought forward at this time, to the consideration of the House, various Reports, calculated to shew the causes, not only of the disgraces and calamities sustained in the Carnatic, but of the improper expenditure of blood and treasure in other parts of Hindostan. Sir Thomas Rumbold, late Governor of Madras, and two of his Colleagues, Members of the Council, became the first objects of public accusation. The second blow fell by rebound, on Sir Elijah Impey, who, in his quality of Chief Justice of Bengal, was supposed, or asserted, in more than one instance, to have lent his legal aid and support to the Supreme Government, from self-interested motives, and for unjust, as well as pernicious purposes. Hastings himself, then Governor General of Bengal, and Hornby, Governor of Bombay, became implicated or involved in these criminations. Measures, adapted to the nature of the imputed offences, or misconduct of each of the above-mentioned persons, were adopted. Rumbold, who had arrived from India early in 1781, under circumstances that rendered him highly unpopular, was restrained from either leaving the kingdom, or from alienating his property, by Act of Parliament; and severer steps were meditated, or set on foot, in order to bring him to justice. He contrived nevertheless to protract the proceedings, and ultimately to elude all punishment. An address was presented to His Majesty, requesting him to recall Sir Elijah Impey from his judicial situation in India. Finally, resolutions, of a nature tending to hold out both Mr. Hastings and Mr. Hornby, in their public capacity, as men who had committed acts of the most culpable or unjustifiable kind, were agreed to in the House. But, the advanced period of the Session, and the unsettled state of domestic

affairs in a Cabinet divided by Animosity, prevented or postponed the further prosecution of these interesting concerns, to the subsequent year.

On the other side the Atlantic, misfortune still accompanied the English arms. St. Christopher's, after a long and gallant defence, surrendered: the Islands of Nevis and Montserrat were lost. Even the valuable Settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, situate on the Continent of South America, which we had taken in the preceding year from the Dutch, were recaptured by France. Rodney, indeed, having arrived out, joined Sir Samuel Hood at Barbadoes: but he found himself unable to intercept, or to prevent, the arrival of a Convoy from Brest, which brought to the French Admiral, De Grasse, supplies the most essential for his projected hostile operations. At home, general despondency or apathy pervaded the country. Every allegation which had been brought forward against the late First Lord of the Admiralty while in office, was renewed with augmented violence, now that he had retired to private life; and these clamors were encouraged by the new Ministers. Rodney himself participated largely in them; and disasters more severe than any that we had yet experienced, were predicted or anticipated, as about to happen in that quarter of the globe where he commanded. Never was the nation less prepared for, nor less in expectation of the great victory that impended in the West Indies, than a week, or even a day, before the intelligence arrived. It required the utmost exertions of the new Admiralty to prevent the Dutch squadron, which quitted the Texel at this time from effecting a junction with the combined fleets of France and Spain, commanded by Guichen. Lord Howe, now restored to the British Navy, and like Keppel, created a Viscount, effected a service so distinguished, which unquestionably entitled him to the gratitude of his country.

May.] If Mr. Pitt, whether from the dictates of profound ambition, or from the calculations of ordinary prudence, had thought proper to refuse accepting any place or situation under the new Ministry; he did not on that account, withdraw his individual exertions as a Member of Parliament, or retire in any degree from public view and admiration. On the contrary, he came eminently forward at this time, as a Candidate for national approbation, in the delicate, as well as arduous character of a political Reformer. The spirit of the Times, which operated greatly in his favor, removed many of those obstacles, that might have impeded him under the former Administration. While Burke carried retrenchment into the Palace, as well as to the Table, of the Sovereign, Pitt aspired to renovate, or to re-organise, the national representation. In the progress of a speech, conceived with consummate ability, and delivered from the Treasury Bench, he endeavoured to shew the vices of the actual state of popular Election, and to point out the most efficacious or salutary remedies. The abuses alledged to exist, which were indeed indisputable, seemed at first sight loudly to demand redress. But, on the other hand, theory and practice might be found greatly at variance; and even the Reformers themselves, it was well known, differed widely in their ideas or opinions on the point. The Duke of Richmond, who carried his principles to an Utopian and visionary length, would have extended the right of voting, almost to the whole population of Great Britain. Fox supported on this occasion, both with his Eloquence and his Vote, the plan proposed by Pitt: but Burke, less democratic in his ideas of Government, refused to lend his powerful aid to a Cause which he disapproved. The Secretary at War, Mr. Townshend, equally absented himself, as did others of the ministerial followers. Lord North, though he attended the discussion, and opposed all innovation, yet, to the

surprise of his friends, took no active part in the Debate. Dundas, however, supplied his place, and made an animated Appeal against the projected Reform; as did Mr. Thomas Pitt, at great length, with much ability. The measure itself not being a party question, though of a nature the most interesting, by no means attracted the attendance which had been produced by the Motions that preceded the Dissolution of the late Administration. Scarcely more than three hundred Members voted upon it, while near five hundred had been present in more than one of the divisions of the Month of March. Pitt's proposition "to appoint a "Committee for enquiring into the State of the "National Representation," though it could only be considered as a preliminary step, yet was negatived by a Majority of *twenty*.

I made one of that small Majority, and it is a Vote of which I never have repented. It was difficult not to reflect, while listening to the Arguments of Mr. Pitt, who eloquently depictured the corruption of the rotten Boroughs, among which, several, he said, "were to be "considered as within the controul of the Carnatic;" that he was, himself, sitting at that very time, for Appleby, by the influence, or in other words, by the nomination of Sir James Lowther. To the corrupted State of the Representation, therefore, it was owing that he had himself obtained a place in the House of Commons. It was equally impossible not to be conscious, that if the Regulation which enacts, that every Member of that Assembly shall be *bona fide* possessed of three hundred Pounds per annum freehold estate, had been severely and literally enforced; neither Fox, nor Pitt, nor Sheridan, nor many other eminent individuals, could ever have sat in Parliament. Probably, indeed, on the day that Mr. Pitt made his Motion, he did not really possess any property; certainly, no landed property: and as to Fox, though

actually Secretary of State, he was known to be plunged in debts, contracted by Play, which left him without fortune, or almost means of support. But they did not less constitute the two most distinguished persons of the Age in which they lived, the ornaments of their country in different lines. Fox always maintained without reserve, in private conversation, as well as in Parliament, that to enforce rigidly the rule relative to the Qualifications of Members, would be at once to exclude talents from obtaining entrance into the House. So little, indeed, may Speculation and Fact agree, that if the List of Representatives for the County of York, of Devon, or of Lincoln, ever since the reign of Elizabeth, were to be compared with those who have been sent to Parliament during the same period of time, from the vilest Cornish Borough, we shall find, that in every quality justly recommending to a seat in the Legislature; namely, high birth, extensive property, distinguished talents, or public principle and virtue; the superiority will be found, in many instances, perhaps in most, on the side of the persons elected for the Boroughs. Such an estimate might be difficult to make, and must be always, in some measure, open to dispute; but it serves to prove, that various principles in Legislation, as well as various abuses, do not produce the effects which might naturally be expected to result from them.

18th May.] Scarcely had Mr. Pitt's proposition been rejected for the Reform of the Representation, before the Capital and the country were thrown into a delirium of joy, on receiving the intelligence of Rodney's Victory over De Grasse, gained upon the preceding 12th of April. It is difficult for us in this Age, who have been accustomed to naval advantages over the French; and who were used to calculate beforehand, on the destruction of every fleet that effected its escape from the ports of France, as soon as

we could come up with them; to appreciate, or to imagine its effect on the public mind. We had been habituated, during so long a time, under Keppel, Byron, Hardy, Parker, Graves, Geary, Darby, and their successors, to indecisive or unfortunate engagements, productive of no beneficial results, that the nation began to despair of recovering its former ascendancy on the Ocean. In fact, during near twenty years, ever since the termination of the war with France in 1763, the British Flag had scarcely been any where triumphant; while the Navies of the House of Bourbon, throughout the progress of the American contest, annually insulted us in the Channel, intercepted our mercantile Convoys, blocked our harbours, and threatened our coasts. Under these circumstances, the excess of the public exultation was prodigiously augmented by the dejection that pervaded all ranks during the former part of the Month of May, and by the utter apparent improbability of such an Event taking place.

When I reflect on the emotions to which it gave rise in London, I cannot compare them with any Occurrence of the same kind that we have since witnessed in this country. The victory of Lord Howe, gained on the First of June, 1794, glorious and salutary as it was to Great Britain, yet seemed to be more a triumph over Jacobinism and Anarchy, than over the French nation or Navy. It was Robespierre and his Regicide Accomplices, not Louis the Sixteenth, whom we there vanquished. Lord St. Vincent, and Lord Duncan, unquestionably merited, each, the highest Eulogiums; but they destroyed, at Cape St. Vincent, and at Camperdown, the fleets of Spain and of Holland, not those of France. And no Englishman is insensible to the distinction. The sublime victory of Trafalgar, itself, was clouded by the death of Nelson, which checked and tempered the general joy. If I were to mention any naval Action, the news of which seemed to diffuse

sentiments nearly resembling those felt in May, 1782, I should incline to name that of Aboukir. But, in the battle of the Nile, where the destruction of the enemy was much more complete, though we destroyed and blew up the French Admiral's ship, we did not either capture her, or her Commander. There was combined in Rodney's victory, as Lord Loughborough at the time remarked in the House of Peers, all "the pomp, "and pride, and circumstance of war." It commenced with the rising sun, and only terminated with that setting luminary. The elements were hushed, only a light air prevailing, and the contending fleets were very nearly matched. Jamaica, the prize contended for by the two Nations was preserved by the Result; while all the promised Conquests of France and Spain, so near their apparent realization, disappeared, no more to be revived, even in idea. It constituted a sort of Compensation to Great Britain, for so many years of disgrace, for so great an expenditure of blood and treasure, and even for the loss of America itself. The country, exhausted and humiliated, seemed to revive in its own estimation, and to resume once more its dignity among Nations. France, amidst all her past success, declined proportionably in the opinion of Europe, and has never since arrogated the same rank, as a Naval Power. It formed in fact the last triumph of England on the element of the water, over the House of Bourbon, before that great family itself, after reigning eight hundred years over the French, sunk under the torrent of Revolution.

Lord Cranston, one of the Captains of the *Formidable*, Sir George Rodney's ship, who brought over the news to this country; having, in consequence of that Commander's special injunctions, waited on Lord Sackville, though then no longer in office as American Secretary, in order to communicate to him the particulars of the Action; I had an opportunity of hearing Lord Crans-

ton's account of the Engagement. He was sent, after the *Ville de Paris* struck, to take possession of her, as well as to receive De Grasse's sword; and he described the scene which the French Admiral's ship presented, on his ascending her side, as altogether terrible. Between the fore-mast and main-mast, at every step he took, he said that he was over his buckles in blood, the carnage having been prodigious; but as numbers of cattle and sheep were stowed between decks, they had suffered not less than the crew and troops, from the effects of the cannon. On the quarter-deck, which remained still covered with dead and wounded, only De Grasse himself, together with two or three other persons, continued standing. The French Admiral had received a contusion in the loins, from a splinter, but was otherwise unhurt; a circumstance the more remarkable, he having been, during the whole action, for so many hours, exposed to a destructive fire, which swept away almost all his officers, and repeatedly cleared the quarter-deck. He was a tall, robust, and martial figure; presenting, in that moment, an object of respect, no less than of concern and sympathy. Lord Cranston said, that De Grasse could not recover from the astonishment into which he was plunged; the expressions of which he often reiterated, at seeing, in the course of so short a time, his vessel taken, his fleet defeated, and himself a prisoner. He was allowed to pass the night on board his own ship, with every testimony of attention and regard, on the part of the British Commander.

An opinion which became very generally prevalent at the time, and obtained much belief, has made a deep impression on the public mind; namely, that this victory, signal as it must ever be esteemed, might nevertheless have been rendered far more complete, if it had been immediately improved by pursuing, without delay, the flying enemy. The friends of Sir Samuel Hood strongly maintained that position; and partial as I am

to the memory of Lord Rodney, I confess that there always appeared to me to have been some foundation for the assertion. He was, himself, well aware of the charge, and I have heard him defend the line of conduct which he adopted subsequent to the victory, by very plausible, if not by solid and unanswerable reasons. He observed, that it was altogether unwarrantable, and might have been attended with the most ruinous consequences, to have detached twelve or more ships of the line, under Sir Samuel Hood, in pursuit of twenty-five at least of the French; which number remained together, as was believed, after the Action, and still constituted a most formidable force. If any check had been experienced by us, in consequence of such Eagerness or Precipitation, it was obvious that the fruits of the victory itself might even have been lost. Bougainville and Vaudreuil, who commanded under De Grasse, enjoyed a higher reputation for naval skill, than the Commander in chief, and might have repaired the defeat. How far these Facts or assertions may carry conviction to every mind, I cannot venture to determine. Lord Rodney, after his return to England, made no scruple of declaring in mixed company, where I was myself present; and he even wrote home at the time, in his private letters, more than one of which I have seen; that so violent was the spirit of party and faction in his own fleet, as almost to supersede and extinguish the affection to their Sovereign and their country, in the bosoms of many individuals serving under him. To such a height had it attained, that he asserted there were among them, officers of high rank, and of unquestionable courage, who nevertheless bore so inveterate an animosity to the Administration then existing; particularly to the first Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich; as almost to wish for a defeat, if it would produce the dismission of Ministers. Similar assertions were made by Members of the House of

Commons, in their Speeches. However incredible the fact itself may appear, and however lamentable it must be considered, if it was well founded; yet it is not easy to conceive the antipathies, political and personal, that had grown up in the English navy during the American war. They formed one of the characteristic features of the Times, and operated to the inconceivable injury of the British name and nation.

The commencement of Rodney's public letter, addressed to Mr. Stephens, the Secretary of the Admiralty, on this glorious occasion, excited a smile among the Critics and Grammarians; as he stated, that "It had "pleased God, *out* of his divine providence, to grant "to His Majesty's arms a most complete victory over "the fleet of his enemy;" whereas, it seemed rather to have been an act performed *in* his divine providence. This error of a naval Commander, unaccustomed to composition, and whose profession was not the pen, but the sword; did not however attract the same comments, as an official Dispatch which we have since perused, sent from one of His Britannic Majesty's Embassadors, who, addressing the Secretary of State, from *Constantinople*, appeared, by some Act of oblivious Inadvertence, to consider himself in *Asia*. Rodney's enemies, of whom he had a great number, asserted that after the victory was gained, he gave way to a sort of intoxication of mind, on finding himself master of the French Admiral's person and ship. They said that he seated himself in an arm chair, placed on the quarter deck of the "*Formidable*," as the Moon rose, in order to indulge his sight with the view of the "*Ville de* "*Paris*," which lay near him in a disabled state, and whose sides far overtopped those of his own vessel. And they added that he burst into expressions or exclamations of extravagant self praise and complacency; mingled with some reproaches on the want of ministerial gratitude, which he had experienced for

his past services. Even admitting all these facts to be true in their utmost extent, they only prove the infirmity of human nature; and similar instances of weakness occur in the history of the most illustrious Commanders. Rodney, like the celebrated Marshal Villars, so distinguished under Louis the Fourteenth, talked perpetually of himself, and was the hero of his own story. But, posterity will never forget the debt of gratitude due to his services, nor cease to consider him as one of the greatest men whom the English Navy produced in the course of the eighteenth Century. He unquestionably displayed equal coolness and science, on the day of the 12th of April; directed in person every Manœuvre, and preserved during twelve hours that the action lasted, the utmost presence of mind. Lord Cranston said that he never quitted the quarter deck for a minute, nor took any refreshment, except the support he derived from a Lemon, which he held constantly in his hand, and applied frequently to his lips.

If Rodney did not spare his animadversions on the spirit of political enmity and faction, which pervaded the British navy; his opponent, the Count de Grasse, made still louder accusations, and sent home stronger charges to the Court of Versailles, against the jealousies or rivalities which actuated the officers serving under him, on that memorable day. They doubtless, towards the close of the action, abandoned their Commander to his fate, and sought their safety in flight: but, the unforeseen Manœuvre by which Rodney had intersected the French line, at the commencement of the engagement, threw the whole fleet into inextricable confusion; and it is very doubtful, whether by prolonging, or even by renewing the contest, Bougainville and Vaudreuil would have in any measure retrieved the misfortune. De Grasse, it is admitted on all hands, displayed the most unconquerable firmness. But perhaps he highly

merited censure, at a moment when he saw before him in full prospect, so vast an object as the conquest and reduction of Jamaica, not to have suffered one or two ships of the French line to fall into our hands, rather than sacrifice, as he did, the whole plan of the Campaign, to their preservation. I know such to have been the general opinion entertained throughout France, where De Grasse laboured under popular odium to so great a degree, that while, after the ensuing peace, Suffrein always received, on entering the Theatres at Paris, the warmest testimonies of admiration, from every part of the house; De Grasse did not venture to present himself at the public Spectacles, from the apprehension of insult. Even the Court manifested similar sentiments; and though decorated with the Order of the "St. Esprit," he could not obtain permission to walk in the annual "Procession du Cordon Bleu" at Versailles, for several years subsequent to the Defeat in the West Indies.

The effect of so splendid a service rendered to his country, at a moment of such Dejection, and the popularity which it justly produced, in some measure disarmed the meditated attacks of Rodney's opponents at home. Burke, who had heaped the severest accusations upon him, for his conduct towards the inhabitants of St. Eustatius; and who was preparing to bring forward a Motion in the House of Commons, tending to criminate him for his acts while in possession of the island; immediately abandoned the intention. With one of those classic allusions which were familiar to his elegant mind, he observed, that "the great national benefit "performed by the English Admiral, obliterated his "errors; and like the laurel crown decreed by the "Roman Senate to Julius Cæsar, covered, as well as "concealed, his baldness." Even the rancour expressed by the new Ministers and their friends, towards Lord Sandwich, seemed to be blunted, if not mollified, by

this undeniable proof of his meritorious exertions, in sending out a fleet to the West Indies, capable of vanquishing the French Naval Force. It was justly said that *Alexander* had conquered with the troops of Philip. No further mention of impeachment or Prosecution was made, against the late first Lord of the Admiralty. The Cabinet, nevertheless, evincing in every part of their conduct, the reluctance with which they remunerated Rodney's merits; had already superseded him, by naming Admiral Pigot to the command of the fleet in the West Indies. But, as he had not quitted England, before intelligence arrived of the victory gained over De Grasse, it was evidently the wish of the country, loudly expressed, that Rodney should not be recalled, at a moment when he had raised the naval character of Great Britain, humbled France, and saved Jamaica. The new Administration, however, far from paying any regard to this expression of the general opinion; and apprehensive of some Motion being made on the subject, in one or the other of the two Houses of Parliament; instantly sent off Pigot, in a quick sailing Frigate, from Plymouth, with orders to replace the victorious Commander.

Severe comments were passed out of doors, upon the appointment, made under such circumstances; especially as Pigot had been already constituted a member of the new Board of Admiralty. Even the House of Commons, though since Lord North's resignation, the Majority seemed completely subservient to Fox, yet manifested some symptoms of disapprobation. There were not wanting persons in that Assembly, who compared it to the recall of the Duke of Marlborough from Flanders, and the substitution of the Duke of Ormond in his place, under Queen Anne. It was besides commonly asserted, that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, lay under pecuniary obligations to Pigot, of several thousand Pounds, for losses incurred at Play.

And, though such a report might have originated in error or malevolence, yet it was difficult to disprove; as Fox's notorious passion for gaming, had subjected him to similar engagements and embarrassments. Lord Keppel, when questioned in the House of Peers respecting the fact of Pigot's Appointment, felt so conscious of the indefensibility of the measure, that he did not dare to own it; but contrived to evade the enquiry, by stating the want of evidence before them to prove the nomination. It was impossible more clearly to avow how much he was ashamed of such a transaction. The Opposition, during Lord North's Administration, in their anxiety to decry the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, asserted that Sir Edward Hughes was bound to give him a certain proportion of whatever prize-money he might acquire; as a return for being appointed to the naval Command in the East Indies. "Junius" treats the Duke of Grafton, when First Minister, in various letters, with indignation, for having given a Pension of five hundred Pounds a year, to Sir John Moore, whom he designates as a "Broken "Gambler." Nor does he hesitate to add, that the Pension was "probably an acquittance on the part of "the Duke, of Favours upon the Turf." But, how infinitely less culpable were Lord Sandwich, or the Duke of Grafton, had the allegations been ever so clearly proved, than was Fox, if we assume the truth of the fact imputed to him, in acquitting his debt to Pigot, by sending him out to the West Indies?

Rodney's victory, if it had taken place two Months earlier, would probably have operated to retard, or to prevent, Lord North's resignation. Nor did any man doubt that the Admiral himself would have received more distinguishing marks of Ministerial gratitude, as well as of Royal bounty, if Lord North had continued at the head of affairs, than were conferred on him by that Nobleman's successors. Lord Howe and Admiral

Keppel had just been raised by their Party, to the dignity of *Viscounts*, without performing any Naval service. Many persons thought that an *Earldom* would not have constituted a reward too eminent for so important a victory. We have seen that high rank of the Peerage conferred since on Sir John Jervis, for the battle gained over the Spaniards, off Cape St. Vincent's; a victory, as was commonly reported, principally due to Sir Horatio Nelson. Lord Duncan, Lord Hood, and Lord Bridport, have all been created for their Exploits, English *Viscounts*. It was not without evident marks of unwillingness, that a *Barony*, and a Pension of two thousand Pounds per annum, were rather extorted from, than spontaneously given by the Ministry to Rodney; accompanied with his immediate supercession in the Command of the fleet. It must however be admitted on the other hand, that previous to the time of which I am now writing, the most distinguished naval services rarely conducted to the Peerage. Anson, it is true, was raised to it: but neither Saunders, nor Boscawen, nor Pocock, attained to that honor. Even Hawke, far from being called up to the House of Peers, after he had destroyed the fleet of France in 1759, at the mouth of the Loire, was only made a *Baron* by Lord North, near seventeen years afterwards; and then, in company with several other individuals who were raised to the same dignity. It is for posterity to judge how far these circumstances may form some excuse for the apparent want of liberality towards a man who had rendered so critical, as well as so distinguished, a service to his country.

June.] While the victory obtained over De Grasse, produced so vast and beneficial an alteration in the affairs of Great Britain beyond the Atlantic, time seemed rapidly maturing another important change, or rather convulsion, in the domestic concerns of the kingdom. From the first formation of the new Cabinet,

its jarring materials indicated, in the opinions of all discerning men, their speedy disunion and separation. Fox, conscious of the alienation in which the King held him, morally, as well as politically, possessed too much penetration not to foresee, and to predict, an approaching change of Administration. He was not without difficulty restrained from precipitating it, by his open disapprobation of the intended, or imputed measures, of some of his Colleagues. The stern inflexibility of Lord Thurlow, likewise, who as Chancellor, thwarted and opposed, in the House of Peers, many of his measures, greatly irritated him. Nor did the preference shewn towards Lord Shelburne, on all occasions, by His Majesty, tend less to accelerate a rupture. In this situation of things, the decline of the Marquis of Rockingham's health, by incapacitating him to take as active a part in public affairs as he had previously done, removed the only remaining serious impediment: while it facilitated the accomplishment of those objects, which prudence and necessity alone had hitherto compelled the Sovereign to delay, till the arrival of a favourable opportunity.

No rational doubt can exist, that even if death had not carried off the Marquis of Rockingham, yet a change in the Administration would equally have taken place, nearly at the same time, and in the same manner, as it was afterwards effected. The necessity of making such arrangements as might, it was hoped, secure its duration, and enable Lord Shelburne to surmount the Opposition to be expected in Parliament, had solely prevented him hitherto from accepting the place of first Lord of the Treasury. But, as the Session drew towards its close, that difficulty gradually ceased; while the period which must of course elapse between the Prorogation and the subsequent meeting, would afford, in all probability, if well improved, various means of strengthening the new Ministry. Lord Shelburne had

already made advances to, and had sounded Mr. Pitt. His talents, eloquence, and popularity, sustained by his illustrious name, rendered him, notwithstanding his youth, capable of being successfully opposed to Fox, in the House of Commons. His ambition, which had impelled him to disdain and to reject a secondary place under the existing Administration, pointed out to Lord Shelburne the obvious bait, by which he might be induced to lend his powerful support; namely, a Cabinet Office. The decorum and regularity of his private life, altogether untinctured with the vices of Mr. Fox's character, gave him a vast superiority, in the estimation of all those who considered morality as indispensable to a man placed in public situation. In the contemplation of these circumstances, and with these intentions, it is well known that the King had fully determined to displace such Members of the Cabinet as constituted the Rockingham Party; and to transfer the management of the Treasury to the Earl of Shelburne. The lapse of a few days, would perhaps have disclosed and produced this important event, when the decease of the first Minister spared His Majesty the necessity of dismissing him from his post.

1st of July.] Lord Rockingham, though hardly fifty-two years of age, already sunk under an infirm and debilitated constitution. A decay, to which was added a slow fever, or as it was denominated, Influenza, had for some time undermined his strength, without nevertheless appearing to menace his immediate dissolution. Early in June, after the King's birthday, having quitted Grosvenor-Square, he retired to Roehampton, where his recovery was confidently expected by his friends. Indeed, neither Fox nor Burke seem to have been prepared for his decease, though the former, with the manly, but, imprudent decision that marked his political character, instantly determined either to keep possession of the Treasury by Proxy, or to resign his

office. Burke, though he personally detested Lord Shelburne, yet would, I believe, have gladly retained his situation, under a new first Minister of the King's Election: but he could not separate himself from Fox. On that day, they held a long conversation, evidently of the most interesting and serious description, in the Court of Requests, where they continued walking backwards and forwards, long after the Speaker had taken the Chair. At length they both repaired to the House, where the Marquis's death being announced, warm Eulogiums were conferred on his Memory from various quarters. An amiable and a respectable individual, rather than a superior man, nature had not designed him to be the first Minister of a great country. *Junius* well characterizes his formation of mind, when he speaks of "the mild, but determined integrity of "Lord Rockingham." Yet was there, as that Writer elsewhere observes, a degree of "Debility" in his virtue: but the moderation of his character tempered the ardour of Fox, and imposed limits on Burke's enthusiasm.

The state of his frame and health, which, even in his youth had never been robust; and both which were believed to have suffered severely in consequence of some imprudent gallantries, while pursuing his travels in the south of Italy, at an early period of his life; incapacitated him for close or continued application, during the short period of his Administration. The Princess of Franca Villa was commonly supposed to have bestowed on him the same fatal present, which the "Belle Ferroniere" conferred on Francis the First, King of France; and which, as we learn from *Burnet*, the Countess of Southesk was said to have entailed on James, Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. The Princess was still living when I visited Naples in the year 1779; and Sir William Hamilton assured me, that she always expressed the utmost concern for the

unintentional misfortune which the Marquis's attachment had produced, as well as for its supposed results. Leaving no issue, the greater part of his vast landed property, as well as his Borough interests, descended to his nephew, Earl Fitzwilliam. In Lord Rockingham's person too, became extinct the title and Dignity of a British *Marquis*; he being the sole individual in the Kingdom who then possessed that high rank; to which Mr. Pitt has since elevated during his Administration, eleven Individuals; besides creating nine *Irish* Marquises, where there did not previously exist one Peer of that order. Such has been the prodigious encrease of Peerages, during the present Reign! Unquestionably, Mr. Pitt, in thus augmenting the numbers of the House of Lords, was not animated by the same intention as the Romans attributed to the first of the Cæsars, when he encreased the Senate to nine hundred; or as Suetonius expresses it, "Senatum supplevit." But, it will be nevertheless for our descendants to decide, how far he has practically produced a similar effect on the Constitution of Great Britain, with the pernicious consequence which flowed from the augmentation of the Roman Senate by Cæsar.

If Fox would have submitted to retain his Office as Secretary of State, under Lord Shelburne, after the decease of the Marquis of Rockingham, it is not to be questioned that the King, whatever personal objections or dislike he might have felt towards Fox, would from prudential motives, have allowed him to continue in the Cabinet. Nor can it admit of a doubt, that Fox, by consenting to hold his own situation, would have induced Lord John Cavendish, over whom he always exercised an unbounded Ascendant, to follow his example. Burke, who manifested the greatest reluctance to quit the Pay Office, required rather to be impelled in making that sacrifice, than appeared to feel any spontaneous disposition towards resigning so lucrative

an appointment, of which he had scarcely tasted the first fruits. Fox's private circumstances were moreover so desperate, as to dictate some attention to them; and many of his friends stood in a similar predicament. But, his indignation at seeing the helm of the State transferred to Lord Shelburne, when added to his knowledge of the secret machinations which had preceded it, extinguished or superseded every other sentiment in his bosom. He peremptorily demanded, either that the Duke of Portland should be immediately recalled from Ireland, in order to be placed at the head of the Treasury, as the Representative of the deceased Marquis, and the acknowledged Chief of the Whig party; or he tendered to His Majesty, his own instant Resignation. His offer was accepted; and that of Lord John Cavendish, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied it, at the same time.

When we calmly examine the motives by which Fox was actuated in thus throwing up his Office, we must admit that he consulted more his passions than his reason; since he lay under no necessity of sacrificing either his country, or his principles, to the preservation of his employment. Lord Shelburne's insincerity or duplicity could not operate to produce the public ruin, except by the measures that, in his capacity of first Minister, he might bring forward: and whatever repugnance he might individually feel to grant the American colonies unconditional independence, yet the majority of the Cabinet, after Fox's and Lord John Cavendish's secession, compelled him ultimately to adopt that principle. By retaining his place under the new first Lord of the Treasury, Fox would therefore have secured his adherence to the late Marquis's plans; or on his departure from them, Fox would have carried Parliament and the Country with him, by instantly refusing longer to co-operate with a Minister, who evaded or declined recognizing the Sovereignty of

the thirteen States. Nor could Lord Keppel and the Duke of Richmond have then separated themselves from him. If, instead of the violent step that he took, he had acted with temper, he would have advanced the public interests, while he consolidated his own tenure of Office. The King and Lord Shelburne, however much they might have desired to dismiss him, could not have ventured on it, without a pretence. Pitt might probably have become Secretary of State for the Home Department; and a very strong Government must have arisen, from which Lord North, as well as his adherents, would have been altogether excluded. But, in order to have produced this benefit to the State, it was necessary for Fox to begin by obtaining a triumph over himself. He preferred more dictatorial measures, which, in the course of a few months, compelled him either to behold his enemy confirmed in power, after making Peace, while himself and his adherents remained on the Opposition Bench; or regardless of consequences, to form a junction with Lord North, and storm the Cabinet a second time. Such was the injurious result of his intemperate precipitation.

Fox, in taking this decisive step, probably flattered himself that it would have operated to a wider extent, than actually happened. Though he could not rationally hope that either Lord Camden or the Duke of Grafton would resign; and though he ought not to have supposed that General Conway would do so; since not one of these Ministers depended on the late Marquis of Rockingham; yet he certainly calculated that his uncle the Duke of Richmond, as well as Lord Keppel, would imitate his example. In this expectation, he was, however, disappointed. They both expressed, indeed, in the Upper House of Parliament, their great regret at his secession; but they declined following him out of the Cabinet, and stated the

motives for their determination. It remained during some time doubtful, whether Mr. Pitt would have been appointed one of the Secretaries of State, or placed in the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The latter employment was finally conferred on him. Mr. Thomas Townshend succeeded Lord Shelburne in the Home Department; leaving the post of Secretary at War to Sir George Yonge. The Foreign Office, vacated by Fox, was last filled up, and given to Lord Grantham. However inferior in energy and brilliancy of intellect to his predecessor, he possessed solid, though not eminent parts, added to a knowledge of foreign affairs and of Europe, having resided several years with great reputation as Embassador at the Court of Madrid.

Two of the Lords of the Treasury followed Mr. Fox out of Office. One, Lord Althorpe, has since filled with Honor to himself, and advantage to the public, as Earl Spencer, a high Cabinet Office under Mr. Pitt's Administration. Frederick Montagu, the other, a man equally respectable for probity and for talents, afterwards raised to the Dignity of a Privy Councillor; was a devoted adherent of the Cavendish and Rockingham interest. Mr. Richard Jackson, and Mr. Edward James Eliot, succeeded to these Vacancies. The former gentleman, one of Lord Shelburne's intimate friends, bred to the Bar, had obtained, from the universality of his information on all topics, as I have already had occasion to remark, the appellation of "Omniscient Jackson." Mr. Eliot afterwards married Lady Harriet Pitt, sister of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and his father, early in 1784, was created a Peer, while the new first Minister had still to contend against a Majority in the House of Commons. The remaining Member of the Treasury Board, Mr. James Grenville, whom we have likewise seen elevated by Mr. Pitt to the British Peerage, at a later period of his Administration; did

not think proper to imitate the Example of his Colleagues. Mr. Thomas Orde, who became one of the two Secretaries of the new Treasury; like Mr. Grenville, terminated his career as a Commoner, on the very same day, fifteen years afterwards, by a removal to the upper House of Parliament. The Peerage formed, indeed, the Euthanasia, the natural Translation of all Mr. Pitt's favourite adherents, friends, and relations, either by consanguinity, or by alliance. It must be admitted that Mr. Orde had a double pretension to it, from his services, and his matrimonial connection. While a Member of the House of Commons, he had distinguished himself by drawing up more than one of the most able Reports of the "Secret Committee," appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic, of which Committee he was a leading Member. But, his best claim consisted in having married the natural daughter of Charles, Duke of Bolton; in virtue of which union, and from the failure of male issue in the person of the succeeding Duke, Mr. Orde became eventually possessed of some of the finest estates of that illustrious family. The Title itself, diminished to a Barony, was revived in him, together with the name of Powlett. Lord North remained an inactive, though not an unconcerned, or a silent spectator, of this new convulsion in the Councils of the Crown, which had so soon expelled from the Cabinet one of the two parties, by whom he was himself driven from power. Of all those individuals who had supported his Administration, or occupied any eminent situation under it, only two quitted him, in order to be received into Lord Shelburne's confidence and ministry. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, after eight years adherence, now abandoned altogether his antient political leader; and imitating the precedent exhibited by Mr. Pitt, took office, by accepting the Treasurership of the Navy. From this period, they continued for the

remainder of their lives, inseparable in good, as well as in adverse fortune. Lord Mulgrave followed Dundas's example. The Duke of Portland, who, as being devoted to the Rockingham interest, adopted Mr. Fox's line of conduct, was succeeded in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, by Earl Temple; a Nobleman of very considerable talents, though inferior in energy of mind and character, to either of his brothers.

The interruption which so important a change in the Government occasioned in the ordinary business of the House of Commons, prevented any discussion from arising in that assembly during some days, relative to the causes and motives of Mr. Fox's resignation. But an occasion soon presented itself, which enabled him to state all his grievances, to unfold some portion of the mystery that pervaded his conduct, and to bring forward the heaviest charges against the new first Lord of the Treasury. A pension of three thousand, two hundred pounds a year having been granted to Colonel Barré, by the Administration of which Lord Rockingham constituted the head; and another very considerable pension given at the same time to Lord Ashburton, the two principal friends of Lord Shelburne in both Houses of Parliament; these grants, the consideration of which was unexpectedly brought forward, became severely arraigned. It seemed, indeed, impossible not to feel a degree of astonishment at contemplating such profuse donations of the public money, made by men who condemned Lord North's want of economy; who were with difficulty induced to give a pension of two thousand pounds a year to Lord Rodney, for having defeated the French fleet, and saved Jamaica; who, themselves had recently reduced the Household of the Sovereign; and who loudly asserted their personal disinterestedness. Fox admitted that the deceased Marquis, his friend, had concurred in recommending the pensions conferred on Lord Ashburton, and on Barré: but he entreated the

House to observe, that while Lord Shelburne's adherents received such distinguishing marks of the bounty of the Crown, the followers of Lord Rockingham, many of whom could plead equal merit, and equal want, remained without provision of any kind.

After thus in some measure removing the odium attached to the act, from that party of which he formed a member; he accused the new first Minister of the most unworthy duplicity, of the complete abandonment of every political principle on which he professed to have come into Office, and of an intention to protect, as well as to shelter delinquents. Having next enumerated the great points on which Lord Shelburne and he had differed in the Cabinet, among which he particularly specified the question of conceding Independence to America; he concluded by heaping upon that Nobleman, imputations more severe and humiliating, if possible, than the charges with which, during many years, he had profusely loaded Lord North. In the warmth of his indignation, he even ventured to predict the probability, that with a view to maintain possession of the power so acquired, Lord Shelburne would not scruple to apply for support, to the very men whom the House and the nation had recently driven from their official situations. He unfortunately did not then foresee, that within seven Months from the time when he was speaking, he should, himself, in order to re-enter the Cabinet, form a junction with the expelled Minister, whom he had so long held up to national resentment, and towards whom he still professed the utmost alienation. Such were the inconsistencies and contradictions, into which the Ambition of Fox betrayed him; and from which, all the splendor of his talents could not extricate his public character, without eventually incurring imputations, nearly as heavy as those which he lavished on his political opponents.

The members of the new Administration diverged

on this occasion, in widely different lines. General Conway, with that "undetermined discretion" imputed to him by "Junius," contented himself by endeavouring to justify his own line of conduct, and that of the Cabinet Ministers who had declined to imitate the example of Fox; which he did rather with caution and delicacy, than with any asperity or acrimony. But, Pitt, now become Chancellor of the Exchequer, rising in his place, and observing none of these personal managements, boldly accused the late Secretary of State with sacrificing his country to his ambition, his interest, or his enmities; charged him with being at variance, not with principles or measures, but with men; and claimed the support of the House no longer than he should maintain that System, on which the late Administration had been driven from power. For the first time, the country beheld two individuals, who might hitherto be said to have fought under the same standard, openly opposed to each other; and who were destined never more, during their lives, under any change of circumstances, to act in political union. In fact, from this period, though Lord North remained ostensibly at the head of one great party, and though Lord Shelburne, who occupied the place of first Minister, was nominally the chief of another; yet they ceased to be considered as the principal personages in the state. Pitt and Fox attracting far more attention, were regarded by the nation at large, no less than by Parliament, as rival Candidates for the future government of the country.

10th July.] Lord Shelburne, when attacked in the House of Peers, respecting the pensions granted to his two friends, particularly on that given to Barré, which excited the greatest comment; endeavoured to shift the origin, and consequently the odium of having conferred the latter, on Lord Rockingham. In this attempt he proved, however, eminently unfortunate, as his

assertions on the subject, produced in both Houses of Parliament, the most unqualified contradictions from the connexions or adherents of the deceased Marquis. However painful or humiliating such affronts must have been, which impeached his personal veracity, equally as a man, and as a Minister, he nevertheless submitted to them, without making any further effort to justify himself in the opinion of the public; and the circumstances that attended the Prorogation of Parliament, seemed to indicate his impatience under the deliberations of that Assembly, as well as his apprehensions of the impression made on many individuals, by Fox's accusations. Lord Shelburne's courage, which was unquestionable, had been proved in the duel that he fought with Colonel Fullerton. It appeared therefore impossible to suppose that he would have tamely endured such imputations on his private character, if he had possessed the means of effectually repelling them. Even on the subject of granting American Independence, there was so much ambiguity, if not tergiversation and contradiction in all his Parliamentary speeches, as greatly tended to persuade mankind, that Fox's allegations respecting Lord Shelburne's disinclination to concede the point, must have had a foundation in truth. The very principle on which he avowed, when addressing the House of Peers, that he retained his place in the councils of the Crown, seemed incompatible with strict regard to political rectitude. For he declared in the plainest language, that he was not only adverse in his own judgment, to acknowledging the independence of the thirteen Colonies; but that whenever such a recognition should be extorted from this country, "The sun of British "glory was for ever set." Yet in the same moment he admitted, that as the majority of the Rockingham Cabinet were of an opposite opinion, he acquiesced in the measure; which measure, though destructive, as he conceived, to Great Britain, he was now ready, in his

new capacity, if parliament approved it, to carry into execution.

No imputation, affixed on Lord North, had operated with more force in his disfavor, on the minds of the public, than the assertion of his enemies, that he prosecuted the American war in opposition to his own conviction, from a love of place, or from unworthy subservience to the Royal will. But, to a similar charge, the new First Minister appeared voluntarily to subject himself. Lee, who had filled the office of Solicitor General under the late Administration, but who had quitted his employment at the same time with the other adherents of the Marquis of Rockingham; a man of strong parts, though of coarse manners; and who never hesitated to express in the coarsest language, whatever he thought; carried his indecorous abuse of the new First Lord of the Treasury, to even greater lengths than any other individual of the party dismissed from power. He described Lord Shelburne as deficient in probity, integrity, and every estimable quality that ought to be found in a First Minister of Great Britain; though he admitted that Nobleman's external talents, comprehensive information, and specious accomplishments. The House of Commons formed the scene of this extraordinary invective, levelled not so much against the public conduct or measures, as against the moral character of a person placed in the highest office of State. As if to complete their attacks, the daily Newspapers accused him of having undermined Lord Rockingham in the Royal esteem, by the most unworthy arts, in order to get possession of his Office: while the political Caricatures, exhibited in the shops of the Metropolis, represented Lord Shelburne habited as Guy Faux; so notorious for the part that was assigned him in the "Gunpowder Plot," under James the First; holding a dark lanthorn in his hand, advancing under cover of the night, to blow up the Treasury.

11th July.] Amidst these inauspicious and painful symptoms of public opinion, commenced that Nobleman's Administration. Even to the last moment that the House of Commons remained sitting, Burke, among the querulous lamentations that he uttered, on being so suddenly ejected from his Office of Paymaster of the Forces; a misfortune which seemed deeply to affect him; mingled the loudest exclamations against the falsity and defect of Principle in the First Minister. His Philippic was cut short in the middle, by the arrival of Sir Francis Molineux, as Usher of the Black Rod, sent to summon the attendance of the Members, at the Bar of the House of Lords; where the King, already seated on the throne, was ready to prorogue the Parliament. A singular fact, arising out of the late Reforms, accompanied this ceremony. Among the Retrenchments of the Royal household and dignity, which Burke's Bill had made, was included, as has been already observed, the suppression of the Jewel Office; the business of which was principally conducted by Mr. William Egerton, a relation of the Duke of Bridgewater, and a Member of the House of Commons. The Bill having so recently passed into a law, no new official Regulation had been adopted, for the removal or transportation of the Paraphernalia of the Crown. On the occasion of His Majesty going to Westminster, to prorogue the two Houses, it became indispensable to convey thither the Crown and Sceptre, together with various other articles of State. The Master of the Jewel Office being suppressed, in whose Department these dispositions previously lay; application was made to the Lord Steward, and to the Lord Chamberlain, praying that Orders might be issued to the Keeper of the Jewels in the Tower, for bringing them to Westminster on the day of the Prorogation. But, these great Officers of State, not conceiving themselves to possess a power of interference, directions were at

length dispatched for the purpose, from the Home Secretary of State's Office. After some consultation held, relative to the safest mode of conveying these Royal ornaments; none of the King's carriages being sent to receive them, application was next made to the Magistrates at Bow-Street, who detached four or five stout Agents of the Police, for their protection. Two Hackney Coaches being provided, in which the various articles were placed; with a view to render the transportation of them more private, the Procession set out circuitously from the Tower, by the New Road; entering London again at Portland-Street, and so proceeded down to Westminster. The blinds were kept up the whole way; and after the Prorogation, they returned by the same Road, without experiencing any accident. But, it is unquestionable, that eight or ten desperate fellows, had they been apprized of the circumstance, might have easily overpowered the persons employed, and have carried off the Jewels. The memorable enterprize of Colonel Blood, under Charles the Second, who got possession of the Crown and Sceptre, though he ultimately failed, was in fact a far more hazardous undertaking, as he actually entered the Tower; whereas in the present instance, the Attempt might have been made in the Street, or in the New Road. Any accident of the kind would necessarily have thrown some degree of ridicule, as well as of blame, on a system of economy, productive of such consequences in its outset.

Among the interesting features of the Session of Parliament before us, which, on account of a degree of mystery or ambiguity accompanying them, greatly exercised public curiosity; may be reckoned the Proceedings commenced against Sir Thomas Rumbold. I say commenced, because they never were prosecuted to any consummation. This Gentleman returned, as has been already mentioned, from Madras, early in 1781,

under Imputations the most injurious to his fame. He was accused of having, while Governor of that important Settlement, not only amassed by every unbecoming means, an immense fortune; but, of first provoking a war with Hyder Ally, by acts of imprudent agression, and then of abandoning the country entrusted to his care, with pusillanimous or interested precipitation. These charges, which were solemnly brought against him by Mr. Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, as Chairman of the Secret Committee appointed by the House of Commons, to enquire into the causes of the War in the Carnatic, produced a deep impression on the public mind. We have already seen the steps which were immediately adopted by the Legislature, to tie up and impound Sir Thomas's person, as well as his fortune. But, in addition to these precautions, a Bill for inflicting on him pains and penalties, as a man who had been guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, was introduced by Mr. Dundas himself.

Such a measure, which excited general approbation, appeared to be worthy the national justice, exerted in punishing a great public culprit. The line of policy pursued by Hastings, when Governor-General of Bengal, might possibly have led to many misfortunes, and might, perhaps, merit condemnation. But his motives were admitted, even by his enemies, to have been splendid and elevated, however pernicious, as they asserted, in their operation or consequences. The maladministration of Rumbold, on the contrary, seemed only directed to sordid and selfish purposes. Every party, it was therefore hoped, would concur in carrying through such a Bill; and though Mr. Dundas, after the termination of Lord North's Ministry, no longer acted in an official situation, yet, in his capacity of Chairman of "the Secret Committee," he spoke from a great eminence, and might expect universal support. Least of all, it was supposed, could

the Rockingham party, who had just come into power, who professed to call to a severe account, all such as had plundered or injured the Country, and who loudly demanded an Enquiry into East-India delinquencies, attempt to throw obstacles in the path of justice. Under these circumstances, all men expected, and most men hoped, that the Bill in question would have speedily found its way through the House of Commons, and have finally passed into a law. The fact, nevertheless, turned out completely otherwise. Meanwhile the Session advanced: a full attendance, as Mr. Dundas asserted and complained, could not be procured: and whether from the operation of that Cause, or from any other Reason more concealed, no progress was made in the business. Sir Thomas Rumbold's person and property remained, it is true, sequestered or restrained; but, beyond that temporary interposition, no permanent punishment was inflicted on him.

Men who had anticipated much more vigorous and speedy, as well as decisive proceedings, and who beheld the supposed criminal thus elude or escape, as it were, the grasp of national pursuit; reasoned and commented on the Fact. Malignity or Credulity invented reasons for whatever appeared inexplicable throughout the Transaction. Secret springs were asserted to have been touched, which had arrested or paralyzed the exertions of the Prosecutor. Time, place, and circumstances, were even particularized; all which, though perhaps untrue or imaginary, seemed nevertheless, not only in themselves, possible, but, so well fabricated, and so minutely detailed, as to appear highly probable. I shall, however, relate only such Facts as are unquestionably authentic.

Rumbold, though a man of low extraction, and of a mean education, did not by any means want activity, judgment, or talents. I knew him well. In his person he was well made and handsome; but his features,

though regular and manly, contained nothing in them prepossessing. His successful exertions, while Governor of Madras, in reducing Pondicherry, had elevated him to the dignity of a Baronet. On his arrival in England, aware of the storm that impended over him, he immediately contrived to get into Parliament; by which means he came into daily collision and communication with those, who might either injure, or could defend him. That he was not idle, is certain; and he attempted in his place, as a Member of the House, to justify himself from the charges exhibited against him, with some ability. In addition, however, to these efforts, he soon found means to conciliate a Friend, who was supposed to have laboured efficaciously towards his extrication.

That Friend, who was Mr. Rigby, the late Paymaster of the Forces, having enjoyed during a great number of years, one of the most profitable places under the Crown, without any Colleague, had acquired a large fortune. But, his luxurious and expensive manner of living in town; his magnificent Seat at Mistley Hall in Essex, where he maintained a splendid establishment of every kind; when added to his purchases of landed property, had exhausted even means so vast, and left him, as it were, necessitous in the midst of wealth. In this situation of his affairs, the sudden termination of Lord North's Administration, not only deprived him of his Employment; but, in consequence of the system of reform adopted by the new Ministers, and in particular from the Regulations introduced by Burke, his successor in the Pay-office, which compelled him to pay into the Exchequer, the immense Balances of public money remaining in his hands; Rigby became involved in great pecuniary embarrassments. These Balances having been vested by him in Mortgages, or in other securities; and the public Funds suffering then under great depression, it could not be in fact an easy matter, to find the means of answering promptly the

Demands made upon him by Government, for repayment.

Rumbold had brought with him from the East, as Verres did from Sicily, very ample Resources, which he well knew how to use, in time of need, for his own protection; and Rigby's situation, which was generally understood, might render a loan of money peculiarly convenient. That gentleman having no children, his sister's son was destined to inherit his name and property. Rumbold had a daughter, whose age and accomplishments qualified her to be united to him in marriage. The alliance being agreed on, it was supposed that by the Secret Articles, the Governor advanced to his Friend, such a sum as greatly facilitated those payments of the public money, which he was necessitated to furnish without delay. After entering into so close a connection, cemented by such binding ties, it might be esteemed natural, and even venial, that Rigby should lend his reciprocal aid to Sir Thomas Rumbold. Though no longer Paymaster of the Forces, Rigby still possessed great capacities of being useful; and he was not supposed to lie under the dominion of any fastidious scruples. Above all, his intimate friendship with Mr. Dundas, who took the lead in the Parliamentary Prosecution instituted against Rumbold, might enable Rigby to find means and opportunities of diminishing those Prejudices, or softening those Impressions, that operated most injuriously against the accused person. No proof has been, indeed, ever produced, that improper means were used to effect this object; but the public being in possession of certain facts, and observing that the proceedings so vigorously begun in Parliament against Rumbold, seemed unaccountably to languish and expire, instead of being propelled; necessarily inferred, that there must exist some latent cause, which had blunted the edge of the weapon. Rumbold, it is certain, finally extricated himself; though whether the ostensible

reasons assigned for the fact, formed the only circumstances that conduced to his escape; or whether more efficacious and cogent arguments of any kind were used, must always remain matter of conjecture and assertion, like many other obscure points of biographical history.

The Session being now terminated, Lord Shelburne might be regarded as secure in the possession of his newly acquired power, at least for several Months. During that interval, means, it was naturally imagined, could easily be discovered, of cementing and confirming the Ministry. Negotiations for peace were already begun with America, which, if successful, it was probable, must eventually lead to a treaty with our European enemies. The talents of the first Lord of the Treasury, were considered as eminently adapted to diplomatic discussions; in the conduct of which, his knowledge of the foreign interests of Great Britain, and his acquaintance with the Continental Courts, enabled him, it was said, to act at once with vigor and perspicuity. If he had lost the abilities of Fox and Burke in the House of Commons, he had on the other hand secured and attached to him two men no less able, Pitt, and Dundas. He moreover possessed the confidence of the Sovereign, who, as all men supposed, would, from necessity, if not from inclination, support a Minister preferred by himself to his present Office. Lord North might even, it was hoped, feel a far stronger disposition to join the actual Administration, whenever Parliament should meet again, than to unite with the Rockingham Party, his inveterate enemies. Under this aspect of public affairs, though Lord Shelburne neither stood high in the national opinion, as a man of severe integrity and probity, like his deceased predecessor, the Marquis of Rockingham; nor could command that Parliamentary strength, which Lord North still in some measure influenced or led; yet many persons considered

his tenure of Office as by no means precarious, and augured well of its duration.

Burke's invectives against the first Minister, which continued to the last instant that the forms of Parliament permitted, were nevertheless suspended while the Prorogation put an end to the business of the House of Commons. However violent he might be in his place, Burke never carried his complaints to the people. But, Fox, who acted no less as a Demagogue, than as the Representative of Westminster; and who always seemed to take the Gracchi for his model; anxious to appeal from his late dismission by the King, to the popular Suffrage, convoked his Constituents, in order to lay before them the reasons for his resignation. They met, almost immediately after the Session closed, in Westminster Hall, where he reiterated all the heads of accusation against Lord Shelburne, which he had already detailed a few days before, in the House of Commons: but, the general impression, even among that audience, which heard him with partiality, seemed nevertheless to be, that personal ambition and rivality, more than real principle or patriotism, had regulated his conduct. The specious pretence under which the Meeting was assembled, namely, that of petitioning the Crown for a more equal Representation of the People, produced, however, an unanimous assent. He then dismissed them till the ensuing Winter.

August.] Sir Samuel Hood, whom the victorious Admiral in the West-Indies, detached a few days after the defeat of De Grasse, with several vessels, in pursuit of the flying enemy; having come up with some of them, captured two more French line of battle ships, as well as two Frigates, off the east end of the Island of St. Domingo. Though these eminent naval advantages secured Jamaica from invasion or attack, yet, far from regaining any of our insular possessions in that quarter of the Globe, on the contrary, such was our state of

exhausture, that Spain fitted out an expedition against the Bahama Islands, which she easily reduced to her obedience. But, the attention of the Capital and the nation became more powerfully, as well as painfully attracted, by the Catastrophe of the "Royal George," which took place about the same time, than by the loss of any Trans-Atlantic Settlements. This ship, the pride and ornament of the British Navy, to the disgrace of a nation considered as superior to every other people in nautical skill, disappeared in an instant on the 29th of August, as is well known, in the midst of Portsmouth Harbour; carrying with her to the bottom, an English Admiral; and as it was computed, near a thousand persons of both sexes. It is impossible, even at this distance of time, to reflect on such an event, without amazement as well as horror. The gloom and consternation, diffused by the intelligence over the Metropolis, are hardly to be conceived; and the incredibility of the fact, encreased the sense of the disaster. No parallel circumstance is to be found in our naval Annals: probably, not in those of any other European nation. In a superstitious Age, it would, no doubt, have been considered as ominous of the greatest national, or royal misfortunes. That tempests, fire, or rocks and quicksands, should swallow up and destroy the proudest works of human art, is natural; often, unavoidable. When Sir Cloudesley Shovel, under the reign of Queen Anne, perished together with his ship and all his Crew, wrecked on the Scilly Islands; or when the "Victory," under George the Second, foundered in the Race of Alderney, with Admiral Balchen, and eleven hundred persons on board:—such calamities were in the order of things, however much to be deplored. But, in the present instance, only an utter disregard to common prudential precautions, could have produced an event so unprecedented. Her very name, and her superiority in size, as well as in strength,

to every other ship in the service, she carrying a hundred guns; added to the bitterness of the reflexions which her loss occasioned throughout the kingdom. Those who recollect that the "Queen Charlotte," a man of war of the first rate, carrying one hundred and ten guns, with an Admiral's flag, was consumed by somewhat similar negligence, together with near seven hundred of her Crew, on the 17th of March, 1800, near the Port of Leghorn; may find ample reason for speculation on the singularity of two such disastrous events having taken place under the same reign.

September.] The melancholy impression made by the Catastrophe just related, became, if possible, still more strongly excited immediately afterwards, by other naval misfortunes equally afflicting in their nature. If the fact of the "Royal George" going down at her anchors, when no danger was even apprehended, stands without precedent in our maritime records; the fatality which seemed to pursue the ships of the line that had been captured by Rodney on the 12th of April, as well as most of our own men of war, accompanying the French prizes, on their return from the West Indies, can scarcely be equalled in modern History. The chain of shipwrecks and adverse events, that attended Commodore Anson's expedition round Cape Horn, in 1744, which so greatly reduced the numbers of his Squadron; even the disasters, so pathetically related in the same work, that ruined the fleet of the Spanish Admiral Pizarro, nearly in the same Latitudes, and at the same time;—those calamities, however extraordinary and tragical, they appear, yet sink on a comparison with the destruction experienced by our devoted ships, in 1782, when crossing the Atlantic. Captain Inglefield has commemorated the fate of the "Centaur," as well as his own astonishing escape, when she foundered with her officers and Crew. That affecting narrative may serve as too faithful a picture of the misfortunes ex-

perienced by the other vessels. The "Ramillies," a name proverbially unfortunate in the English Navy, was set on fire, when it became impossible any longer either to navigate, or to preserve her. One of the French ships of the line, the "Hector," seemed to be reserved for more severe trials of every kind; in the course of which, all that human fortitude, skill, and courage, when combined, could effect, was performed by our officers and seamen. They were almost miraculously saved, though the "Hector" herself perished.

Over the closing scene of the "Ville de Paris," as well as over the fate of the "Glorieux," an impenetrable curtain is drawn. It is certain that the second, a French seventy-four gun ship, commanded by the Honourable Captain Cadogan, disappeared during the middle Watch, on the night of the 17th or 18th of September, after firing many signals of distress. Her lights had been visible till that time; but, when day appeared, no vestiges of her were discovered, and she doubtless foundered during the storm. Nor was De Grasse's ship, originally purchased with so vast an effusion of blood, and herself the pride of the French navy, ever destined to reach an English port. The hasty repairs given her at Jamaica, could only be slight or partial; and it was confidently asserted, that during the gale of wind which proved so fatal, her guns breaking loose, tore open her side, and accelerated, if they did not cause, her final destruction. Tidings of her were long expected, and the nation continued to nourish hopes for many months, of her re-appearance. About this time, while her fate still remained problematical, a man was brought to the Admiralty, and there examined, who had been taken up at sea, nearly senseless and extenuated; tied to, or floating on a hen coop. He asserted, and his testimony appeared to be entitled to credit; that he served on board the "Ville de Paris," as a common sailor, at the moment when she

foundered. But few, or no particulars, relative to the event itself, could be extracted from this survivor, who, as I was assured by a Flag Officer that questioned him, possessed neither faculties nor memory to recount almost any thing, except the fact of her loss. Admiral Graves, who commanded the fleet, was censured by the popular voice, for having stood some Degrees more to the Northward, in returning home across the Atlantic, at that season, than he needed to have done; or than he was warranted in doing, by Lord Rodney's orders. But, this accusation may possibly have been more severe than just; though I think I have heard Lord Rodney himself state the circumstance, and express his conviction of the injurious consequences that resulted from navigating in too high a Latitude, during a time of Equinoxial gales.

Happily, the gloom which these melancholy events diffused, was speedily relieved and dissipated, by scenes of the most exhilarating nature. Minorca, it is true, had surrendered early in the Summer; but Gibraltar, which still resisted, attracted, no less from the prodigious means employed for its reduction by the enemy, than from the energy and activity exerted in its defence, the attention of all Europe. The two most memorable sieges which are recorded in modern history; namely, that of Antwerp, undertaken by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, in the sixteenth Century; and that of Ostend, begun by Spinola, only a few years later; however illustrious they have been rendered from the long protracted resistance made by the besieged, were both finally crowned with success. Gibraltar, on the contrary, repelled the assailants in the most brilliant manner. All the means that human art, expence, and force, could collect or combine, by land, as well as by sea, were accumulated under its walls; and the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, unconscious of the lamentable destiny preparing for themselves in the

womb of time, seemed to vie in their efforts to accelerate its fall. Charles the Third, who then reigned in Spain, already anticipated the completion of an event, which, as he justly conceived, would render his name and reign immortal in the Spanish Annals. Under the same fallacious expectation, Louis the Sixteenth dispatched his youngest brother, Count d'Artois, to assist at its surrender; while the Barbary Powers, though by no means indifferent, or uninterested spectators of this great contest, and though they are said to have put up prayers in all their Mosques for our success, yet quietly expected the result.

If Lord Rodney acquired so much personal glory by his victory over De Grasse, General Elliot did not establish a less brilliant reputation, by his repulse and defeat of the Spanish floating batteries, on the 13th of September, of the same year. The American war, which at Saratoga, and at York Town, displayed spectacles so humiliating to the British arms, terminated with the most splendid triumphs over our European enemies; and this portion of the reign of George the Third, (like the second Punic war in Antiquity,) exhibits, between 1777 and 1782, the greatest reverses of adverse, and of prosperous fortune. While we lost so vast an empire beyond the Atlantic, we humbled with one hand, the French naval force in the West Indies; annihilating with the other, the combined efforts of France and Spain, which were concentered for the subjugation of a distant Garrison, apparently left to its own capacities of defence, and cut off from the obvious means of relief. But, even after the destruction of the Spanish vessels and batteries, it seemed still impossible to throw into Gibraltar timely supplies of ammunition, competent to recruit the expenditure that had taken place during the siege. Provisions, fuel, cloathing, as well as many other essential or indispensable articles, could only be sent out from England.

Near fifty French and Spanish ships of the line, which occupied the Bay of Gibraltar, appeared to set at defiance all approach. Notwithstanding these apparently insuperable obstacles, the attempt succeeded in opposition to every impediment.

October.] So low had sunk the numerical naval force of Great Britain at this period, as compared with the strength of the enemy, that the utmost exertions of the Admiralty, under the new Administration, could only equip and send to sea, thirty-four sail of the line; which fleet did not quit Spithead, till nearly the day on which General Elliot had already repulsed and burnt the floating batteries, under the walls of the besieged fortress. Yet never was the real superiority of our navy in skill and science, more evidently demonstrated, than in successfully throwing succours into a place invested by sea and land, without committing any thing to hazard, or affording to adversaries so numerous, the slightest advantage. Lord Howe, who conducted and commanded the whole enterprize, manifested such a combination of Tactics and ability in his Manœuvres, as place his name deservedly high in the Annals of his country. If the reputation that he attained on this occasion, seems less brilliant than the fame acquired by Rodney in vanquishing De Grasse, it was not less permanent or solid. Without engaging, he defied the combined fleets; offered battle, but did not seek it; effected every object of the expedition, by relieving Gibraltar, and then retreated; followed indeed by the enemy, but not attacked. They made, it is true, a shew of fighting, but never ventured to come to close action. And with such contempt did Lord Howe treat the Cannonade commenced by the van, composed of French ships under La Motte Piquet, that having ordered all his men on board the "Victory," to lye down flat on the deck, in order that their lives might not be needlessly exposed, he disdained to

return a single shot against such cautious or timid opponents.

Pigot, who had succeeded to Rodney in the West Indies, in defiance of public opinion, by no means emulated his example of Activity and Enterprize. Though placed at the head of six and forty sail of the line, he neither effected nor attempted any object, during more than six months that he held the command. Such inactivity seemed to reproach the Ministry who had sent him thither, and excited severe animadversions on Fox. In the East Indies, and there only, where Sir Edward Hughes was opposed to Suffrein, France still maintained the contest on the water. That active and intrepid officer last named, the most able of any employed by Louis the Sixteenth during the whole progress of the war, made repeated though ineffectual efforts to compel the English squadron to abandon the coast of Coromandel.

November.] While Lord Howe thus placed in security, the most brilliant foreign possession of the Crown in Europe; negociations of a pacific nature were carrying on at Paris, both with America, and with the other Coalesced Powers. The articles concluded with the revolted Colonies, which were first provisionally signed, did not indeed demand either any considerable length of time, or superior diplomatic talents, in order to conduct them to a prosperous termination; where almost every possible concession was made on the part of England, merely to obtain from America a cessation of hostilities. Not only their independance was recognized in the most explicit terms: territory, rivers, lakes, commerce, islands, ports and fortified places, Indian Allies, loyalists; all were given up to the Congress. In fixing the Boundaries between Canada and the United States, ideal limits were laid down amidst unknown tracts. Franklyn, who, as one of the four American Commissioners appointed to manage the

treaty, affixed his name to the instrument of provisional pacification; enjoyed at the advanced period of four-score years, the satisfaction of witnessing the complete emancipation of his countrymen from Great Britain, to effect which he had so eminently contributed by his talents and exertions. Few subjects, born and educated, like him in the inferior classes of society, have, in any age of the earth, without drawing the sword in person, obtained so gratifying a triumph over their legitimate Sovereign, or have aided to produce a greater political revolution on the face of the Globe.

December.] A first Minister who possessed so slender a portion of moral reputation, of popularity, or of influence over the two Houses of Parliament, as Lord Shelburne; would, it was supposed, have employed the interval subsequent to the Prorogation, in strengthening his tenure of power. Unless he either regained the Heads of the Rockingham Party, or conciliated Lord North, which last measure seemed to be more natural; it was obvious that he might, at any moment, be crushed by the union of those leaders. On the opening of the Session, it soon however became evident that no such approximation had taken place, and that the Administration relied for support on its own proper strength. But, on the other hand, Lord North and Mr. Fox, though both acted in opposition to Government, and though both joined in treating with reprobation, or with ridicule, the provisional treaty concluded with America, remained nevertheless still in complete and hostile separation. Scarcely did they refrain, on every occasion that presented itself, from personal reflections on each other; and when Fox ventured to divide the House, on the question of addressing the King, to lay before them some parts of the provisional Articles, he was left in a Minority of only forty-six; while the Ministry, supported by Lord North, displayed an imposing Majority of two hun-

dred and nineteen. Neither the peace made with the American States, nor even the recognition of their Independance by Great Britain, being however in themselves complete, till a Treaty should be likewise concluded with France, attention became wholly directed to the issue of the pending negociations with that Court. On their termination, whether it should prove hostile or pacific, all men foresaw that the two great parties, who now stood at bay, without joining each other, or uniting with Lord Shelburne; would necessarily take some decisive step, most beneficial, or most injurious in its results, to the Administration.

Though Parliament sat for only a very short period during the month of December, scarcely exceeding a fortnight, previous to their adjournment till after Christmas; yet one very interesting Debate, which arose in the House of Commons, produced a material operation on some articles of the peace then negotiating with the House of Bourbon. Rumours which acquired considerable, if not implicit credit, were circulated throughout the Metropolis, stating that Lord Shelburne had not only manifested a disposition, but had even consented with the approbation of the Cabinet, to cede Gibraltar to Spain, on certain conditions. They were indeed of such a nature, as in the estimation of many able men, would have fully justified Ministers in restoring to the Catholic King, that expensive fortress. I have been assured that Charles the Third, in his eagerness to re-annex Gibraltar to the Spanish Monarchy, offered in exchange for it, the Canary Islands, together with Porto Rico in the West Indies: the former of which possessions, from their situation in the Atlantic, their Climate, and productions, might be rendered most valuable acquisitions to Great Britain; while the latter Island must be considered as scarcely inferior to Jamaica in extent, fertility, and political importance. Gibraltar, however dear to the national

vanity, and whatever flattering recollections the late glorious defence might awaken, could not, it was imagined, be put in competition with the Canaries and Porto Rico. Sir George Howard, who was himself a General Officer, having nevertheless unexpectedly provoked, and brought forward in the House of Commons, a discussion relative to that fortress, and the possibility that its cession or alienation to Spain, might be in contemplation; it soon appeared that men of all parties were imbued with partialities so warm and violent in its favor, and such indignation was manifested at the bare idea of ceding it, even for any equivalent however valuable, that the intention was relinquished. The substance of the Debate having been taken down in short hand, by a person stationed in the Gallery, and immediately communicated to Lord Shelburne, he dispatched a Messenger with it, the next morning, to our Minister at Paris, Mr. Fitzherbert, now Lord St. Helens; enjoining him to lay it before the Count de Vergennes, and the Count D'Aranda. I know from good authority, that the latter Nobleman, who was then the Spanish Embassador at the Court of Versailles, had received the most positive instructions not to sign any peace with Great Britain, however favourable the terms might be in other respects, unless the cession of Gibraltar constituted one of the articles of the treaty. Finding nevertheless, after the communication above mentioned, that no equivalent would be accepted for its Restitution; D'Aranda, in disobedience to these orders, finally affixed his name to the Act, taking on himself the risk and the responsibility.

January, 1783.] Throughout a considerable part of the month of January, the greatest fluctuation of public opinion prevailed relative to the final success of the Treaties agitating at Paris; and as late as the 18th, the Queen's Birth-day, the prevalent ideas in the Drawing-room, were generally adverse to the probability of a

favorable issue: but, five days afterwards, intelligence arrived of Peace having been signed at Versailles. Lord Keppel, either repenting of his conduct in having quitted Fox after the Marquis of Rockingham's decease; or suspicious of the approaching Dissolution of the actual Ministry; or, as he asserted afterwards on the Debate which took place in the House of Peers, disapproving the Articles of the Treaty recently concluded; immediately resigned his employment of First Lord of the Admiralty. He was succeeded by Lord Howe, and early in the month of February, the Marquis of Carmarthen was named Embassador to the Court of France. Though the House of Commons had met on the 21st of January, pursuant to its Adjournment, yet no business of moment was brought forward, either by Ministers, or by their Opponents, during the considerable interval of near a Month which elapsed, previous to the Day fixed for discussing the Articles of the Peace, in both Houses of Parliament. They had intermediately been exchanged and ratified by the two Governments. A more than ordinary interest was excited on the subject throughout the Nation; the stability or dismission of the Administration, evidently depending on the parliamentary approval or disapprobation of the Treaty. In the House of Lords, there seemed to be, indeed, little danger of incurring a Vote of Censure. But, it was otherwise in the Lower House, where the Minister, in addition to his own slender personal strength, and the individuals holding Offices under the Crown, could only expect support, either from persons inclined to maintain indifferently every government; or from those independent Members, who disregarding all motives of party, might be induced to approve the treaties, on the ground of their abstract merits, and their just claim to national gratitude.

Facts such as these, which were palpable to all, could

not possibly escape the attention of him who was most deeply interested in their result. And it has always appeared to persons uninformed, one of the most inexplicable events of our time, that Lord Shelburne, who must have perceived the impossibility of maintaining himself in power, after the conclusion of peace, without the aid of one or of the other of the two great parties in Opposition; yet allowed Parliament to meet, for the express purpose of discussing the merits of the peace, without conciliating previously the leaders of either side. Was he then indifferent to the preservation of that Office, which he had acquired with so much address, and not unaccompanied with a degree of obloquy? No person can believe or suppose it. Neither his adherents nor his enemies ever maintained such an opinion. How therefore are we to interpret a conduct so contrary to all the dictates of ambition, policy, and self-interest? In order to explain it, I shall state such circumstances as have been related to me, from persons well informed, which will at least throw considerable light upon the subject.

It seemed certainly most natural, that of the two parties excluded from power, Lord Shelburne should have addressed himself to that body of men which still considered Lord North as it's head. To many of the individuals composing it, I know that he did in fact make advances, either personally or by his friends. The American war being terminated, the principal object of disunion between the late and the present First Minister, was at an end. Lord Shelburne was moreover known to have pertinaciously resisted the concession of Independence to America. His reluctance and duplicity, or ambiguity, relative to granting *unconditional* Independance to the thirteen Colonies, formed one of the most prominent points of accusation against him, on the part of Fox and the Rockingham party. It could not be doubted that the King, who, availing himself of favor-

able circumstances, had elevated the First Lord of the Treasury, to the place that he held; and who deprecated nothing so much as being a second time compelled to take Fox into his councils; would secretly approve, and would sincerely promote, any measure tending to exclude him from Administration. Of all political unions that could be effected, an alliance between Lord North and Lord Shelburne, it was therefore assumed, must be most agreeable to the Sovereign. Nor, as I have been assured, did there exist any insurmountable personal antipathies or impediments between those two noble persons, which could have prevented such an event taking place. But, though *they* might have been willing to coalesce, there were other individuals in the Ministry, not of so tractable or so conciliating a disposition. Mr. Pitt, and the Duke of Richmond, both inflexibly refused to sit in Cabinet with Lord North, whom they considered as the chief author of the American war; and they remained firm upon that article. Such an obstacle was neither to be surmounted, nor to be removed. The Duke of Richmond might, indeed, have been dismissed, without any apprehension of very injurious results: but Mr. Pitt was essential to the existence and duration of the Ministry. His high character and his name, joined to his eminent talents, formed the best security that Lord Shelburne possessed, for carrying any measure through the House of Commons. If, therefore, in order to gain Lord North, he had thrown Pitt into Opposition, no exertions could have long resisted his and Fox's united attacks, fighting side by side. And the House itself would probably have reprobated such a junction, when attained by the expulsion of Pitt from power. These causes prevented any attempt being made to gain Lord North's support, by admitting him and his principal friends to places in the Cabinet; and his friendship, it was obvious, could not be obtained on any inferior terms.

February.] In this perplexing Dilemma, overtures

of Conciliation were made to Fox, on the part of Administration, offering to replace him and his connexions in Office, under Lord Shelburne, as First Minister. The King was induced, though reluctantly, to allow and to approve of the Proposals, on the ground of State necessity; it being esteemed a less evil, to admit Fox into the Cabinet by negociation, than to incur the risk of his entering it by storm. In the first case, he would remain still in a Minority, while the Treasury would be completely independant of him; whereas in the second event, he would dictate the law. But Fox, though he professed himself willing to make a part of an Administration formed upon a broad Basis, and therefore disposed to listen to the proposition, exacted one indispensable preliminary; namely Lord Shelburne's dismission or resignation. Unless the Treasury were placed in the hands of the Duke of Portland, as the new recognized head of the Rockingham Party; and unless Lord Shelburne were wholly excluded from a place in the Cabinet, he peremptorily refused to accede to any terms of accommodation. With all the other principal individuals composing the Ministry, he declared his readiness to act; but, personally to Lord Shelburne, his repugnance continued insurmountable, and could not be removed by any efforts.

Such, as I have always understood, were the two leading principles on which was subsequently reared that celebrated junction between Lord North and Fox, which, from its extraordinary nature, and more extraordinary effects, has obtained in English History, by way of distinction from all other political unions or alliances ever contracted in our time, the name of "*The* "*Coalition.*" The proscription of Lord North by Pitt, and of Lord Shelburne by Fox, of necessity drove these two excluded Ministers into each others arms; at once obliterated all past causes of offence between them; and

impelled them, banishing every retrospect, as well as in some measure setting public opinion at defiance, only to look forward to the joint possession of power. As the 17th of February stood fixed for the consideration of the Articles of Peace, in both Houses of Parliament; and as Lord North disapproved of many of those Articles, no less strongly than Fox; it became obvious that they must, in all cases, divide together on that night, against the Administration. And if they should find themselves in a Majority, as was highly probable, it seemed to follow that the Ministers must retire from Office. But, in order to avail themselves of their triumph, and to form a new Administration, some mutual understanding, if not some principles of permanent accommodation, became absolutely necessary to both Individuals. Otherwise, however victorious they might prove in Parliament, they would probably derive no benefit from their superiority; and Lord Shelburne, though vanquished in the House of Commons, might still contrive to retain his seat in the Cabinet, as First Minister.

These considerations, in themselves most forcible, acquiring hourly strength as the day approached for the discussion of the Peace, produced some symptoms of mutual tendency towards reconciliation. Never, perhaps, did two men exist, more inclined by nature to oblivion of injuries, or to sentiments of forgiveness, than Lord North and Fox! The latter, whatever might be his defects of character, possessed in an eminent degree, placability and magnanimity of mind. "*Amicitiæ sempiternæ, Inimicitiæ placabiles*," was a Maxim always in his mouth. The former, too indolent to retain the burthen of enmity, and conscious that Fox's hostility towards him had always been more political than personal; gladly deposited his resentments and his injuries, at the feet of his interest and ambition. Both equally concurred in the necessity of

agreeing on some plan of concerted action, before they took their places, side by side, on the Opposition Bench. But, however deeply they might be impressed with these feelings, they nevertheless abstained from any direct interview, leaving all matters to the intervention of mutual friends. The Honorable George Augustus North, eldest son of Lord North, then Member for Harwich, and afterwards himself Earl of Guildford, acted as the Negociator for his father on this occasion: while the Honorable Colonel Fitzpatrick, Fox's intimate friend and companion, conducted the treaty on the other part. Mr. North by no means wanted talents; but in address, capacity, and accomplishments, the latter possessed an infinite superiority. Each, actuated by a warm desire to conduct the business to a successful issue, exerted his utmost efforts for the purpose. Two or three days elapsed in conferences and discussions: Nor was it till a very late hour of the night of the 16th of February, that, after many visits to and fro, between St. James's Street and Grosvenor Square, where Lord North then resided, they finally settled the outlines of a Convention; by which, on the part of the two principals it was stipulated, that if they effected a change of Administration, the Treasury should be given to the Duke of Portland; that Lord North should likewise take a Cabinet Office; that a fair partition of the spoils, in other words, of the great posts and emoluments of the State, should be made between the two parties, who agreed henceforward to coalesce. And, lastly, that in the Debate of the approaching Evening, they should speak, act, and divide in concert.

17th February.] Such were the general Preliminaries of the "Coalition." Many difficulties on both sides, which impeded the progress of the negociation, protracted its termination; nor did either Lord North or Fox retire to rest till four or five o'clock in the Morning, when the business was at length concluded.

Fox, accustomed to pass the greater part of the night at Brookes's, appeared in the House of Commons with his usual freshness on the ensuing Evening; and manifested during the Debate that ensued, neither inattention, lassitude, nor fatigue. But, Lord North, whose natural somnolency was encreased, by having sat up for so many hours of the preceding night, under circumstances of considerable agitation, as well as by the prodigious heat arising from a crouded house; after taking his seat near his new ally, on the Opposition Bench, found himself so overcome by sleep, that its effect became irresistible. Unwilling, probably, to exhibit such a Spectacle, at such a moment, which would have excited matter of animadversion, or of ridicule, to both parties; he at length quitted his seat, and came up into the Gallery. I had placed myself there; immediately over the Treasury Bench, every part of the House below being filled. Lord North having seated himself by me, made various efforts to keep himself awake; but to accomplish it, exceeded his power. As the discussion had already taken a very personal turn; severe sarcasms, as well as reproaches, being levelled from the Treasury Bench, against the unnatural Coalition just formed; particularly by Mr. Dundas, who stigmatized it with the strongest Epithets; he requested me to awaken him, as often as any such expressions should be used by Ministers. I did so many times; but, when he had listened for a few Minutes, he as often relapsed into repose. At the end of about an hour and a half, during the greater portion of which time he seemed scarcely sensible to anything that passed, he began to rouse himself. By degrees he recovered his perception; and having heard from my mouth, some of the most interesting, or acrimonious passages that had taken place while he was asleep, he went down again into the body of the House, placed himself by Fox on the floor, and made one of the most

able, brilliant, as well as entertaining Speeches, that I ever heard him pronounce within those walls. No man who listened to it, could have imagined that he had lost a single sentence of the preceding Debate, or that his faculties had been clouded by fatigue and want of rest.

Lord John Cavendish, whom Fox always selected for special and important occasions; as his high character for integrity and uprightness, spread a sort of veil over the irregularities of his party; moved an Amendment on that night, to the Address proposed by the friends of Administration. Lord John's Amendment was however couched in terms so guarded, with a view to secure as many Votes as possible, that it might rather be termed a hesitation in approving, than any direct censure on the Peace. Even Lord North, who afterwards proposed a second Amendment, in which he recommended the American Loyalists to His Majesty's consideration; implied, more than he asserted, that they had been forgotten or abandoned by the framers of the Articles of Pacification concluded with the thirteen Colonies. The Coalition, avowed by Fox, was not only defended with the boldness and decision that marked his character; but he retorted on the Lord Advocate, all the acrimonious expressions which fell from the latter, upon the sudden union of two such inveterate Opponents. Mr. Townsend, as Secretary of State, excelled himself in his defence of the Peace, and may really be said to have in some measure earned on that night, the Peerage which he soon afterwards obtained. I never saw him display so much animation, nor heard him manifest such ability. Nor was Pitt wanting to himself, or to his party. But, all their efforts proved unavailing to sustain an Administration, which had been originally established on too shallow foundations. After a Debate, protracted till eight o'clock in the Morning, they were left in a Minority

of sixteen. Only nine Votes therefore, taken from the Coalition, and transferred to Ministers, would have given them a Majority; and above four hundred and thirty Members voted on the occasion.

I composed one of the Majority, on that memorable night. But I owe it nevertheless to truth and to candour to acknowledge, that when I consider the articles of the Peace concluded by Lord Shelburne, after the lapse of thirty years, I am inclined to view it through a more favourable medium, than I did at the time. Unquestionably, of the *three* Treaties, namely, those signed with *France*, *Spain*, and *America*;—for with *Holland* nothing definitive had been arranged;—the American Treaty was much the most humiliating, as well as injurious to Great Britain. Besides the unconditional recognition of the independance of the Colonies, and the cession of so many fortified places, which it is difficult to suppose that the Americans could ever have taken from us by force of arms; our abandoning the Loyalists seemed, in the estimation of people the most dispassionate, to affix a degree of degradation and dishonour on the Nation itself. To Spain we likewise ceded East Florida, in addition to West Florida and Minorca, of both which, that power had already obtained possession. But, in recompence for these sacrifices, it must be remembered, that France restored to us all our captured Islands in the West Indies, with the single exception of Tobago; while we possessed nothing to offer her in return, except the restitution of St. Lucie. All the stipulations respecting our possessions in the East Indies; those relative to the Gum trade, on the coast of Africa; and the Articles regulating the right of fishery on the banks of Newfoundland; if not favourable or advantageous in themselves, might yet have been signed between two Crowns treating on equal terms. Nor, when we consider the exhausted state of England at the close of the American War, could they

justly be regarded as unbecoming us, in order to dissolve the formidable combination then leagued against this country.

While, however, I thus readily admit Lord Shelburne's title to national approbation, if not gratitude, for the Peace of January, 1783; I must maintain, and I trust satisfactorily to prove, that if Lord North, instead of going out, as he did, in March, 1782, had remained in Office ten months longer, he would have concluded at least as advantageous, if not a more beneficial Treaty. We shall in fact find on examining the subject, that Lord North either adopted or laid down all the foundations, on which his Successor in Office reared that superstructure. In other words, that Lord Shelburne only used the materials left or provided him by his predecessor. The Peace rested on seven distinct grounds or principles, of which the first was the Recognition of American Independence. But, Lord North manifested a much greater readiness to obey the wishes of the House of Commons on that leading point, than was afterwards shewn by Lord Shelburne, who did not yield, till he was outvoted in the Cabinet: whereas Lord North, after General Conway's successful Motion of the 22d of February, declaring "the Attempt to reduce the "Colonies to obedience by force, impracticable," immediately took Measures for the purpose. On the 5th of March, a fortnight before he laid down his power, Wallace, then Attorney-General, moved in his place, for leave to bring in a Bill, "to enable His Majesty to "conclude a Truce or Peace with the revolted Colonies "in America." Fox affected to treat it with derision, because he feared, its operation on Parliament, and on the public mind, might prolong the existence of an Administration which he had so nearly run down: but no impartial man questioned the First Minister's sincerity; and the Victory of Congress in compelling Lord North to treat with America as a Sovereign

Power, would have been more gratifying to the States, than the same triumph obtained over any other Minister of Great Britain.

The second cause that produced Peace, was Sir George Rodney's victory over De Grasse, which at once overturning all the plans of Vergennes in the West Indies, secured Jamaica from any further Attack on the part of France. Of this splendid victory, though Fox reaped all the benefit, Lord North and Lord Sandwich had unquestionably the whole merit. We may even safely assert or assume, that if the Rockingham Administration had forced their way into Office three Months earlier, the Action of the 12th of April 1782, would never have taken place, or might have had a very different termination. It is not pretended that Pigot possessed any other merit than his connexion with Fox, cemented at Brookes's. The Measure itself, of sending him out to deprive Rodney of the Command, excited just indignation: nor did he perform a single act of energy after his arrival, which could have accelerated or facilitated the negociations of Peace. I believe, he never captured any thing except a Spanish Polacre. Elliot's destruction of the Spanish Gun-boats before Gibraltar, on the 13th September; by overwhelming all the Projects of Charles the Third for the reduction of that Fortress, laid the third foundation of the Treaty, as it disposed the Cabinet of Madrid to terminate the war. Happily, Fox did not recall Elliot, as he had done Rodney, nor send Burgoyne to supersede him. Lord Howe's most able Manœuvres, in supplying Gibraltar with Stores of every kind, notwithstanding the opposition of France and Spain, formed the fourth groundwork of the Peace. In the nomination of that great Naval Officer to the Command of the Fleet, and in that Measure solely, had Lord Shelburne any participation or share, as contributing to terminate the contest. Nor would it be candid to deprive him of the merit which he may thereby

claim; but, neither ought we to forget that Admiral Darby had effected the same service in the preceding year, and had relieved Gibraltar, under nearly similar impediments.

The three last foundations of general pacification were laid in the East; where, as early as 1778, Lord North had ably anticipated the French machinations, by getting possession of Pondicherry. Of these leading causes, the most essential, perhaps, may be deemed the separate Peace made with the Mharattas; a measure exclusively due to that First Minister, who in the Spring of the year 1781, sent out Mr. Macpherson, since Governor General of Bengal, and created a Baronet, as a Member of the Supreme Council. I know that his secret Instructions were, to endeavour by every exertion in his power, and even if necessary, by considerable sacrifices, to terminate the Mharatta War. In compliance with those directions, on his arrival at Madras in October, 1781, without waiting to consult Hastings, who was then at a distance from Calcutta; Mr. Macpherson, together with Lord Macartney, Sir Edward Hughes, and the Nabob of Arcot, Mahommed Ally, acting together in concert, addressed letters jointly to the Peshwah, at Poonah, expressing to him, in the name of the Sovereign and Ministry of England, their sincere and ardent inclination to Peace. It followed in a very short space of time, and flowed immediately from this source. Lord Sandwich, who sent out Sir Edward Hughes to command the British Fleet in the East Indies, may claim the principal or exclusive merit of having laid the sixth Basis of the pacification of January, 1783. For, though that naval Commander did not vanquish Suffrein, as Rodney defeated De Grasse, yet he repulsed the French Admiral, when we were inferior to him in number of ships; disabled the enemy's vessels, and finally compelled him to postpone his projects of co-operation with Hyder Ally; thus protracting the

contest, till intelligence of a general pacification reached India. The last groundwork of peace, was due to Hastings, as Governor General of Bengal, and to the Supreme Council, for the promptitude with which, after Hyder's successful irruption into the Carnatic in 1780, they dispatched Sir Eyre Coote with military and pecuniary supplies, to the aid of that nearly subverted Presidency. He first arrested the progress of the Sultan of Mysore, and finally compelled him to retreat across the Mountains of the Ghauts, into his own dominions. The vast fabrick of British power in the East, originally convulsed by the errors or incapacity of the Bombay Government, degraded by Rumbold's mal-administration, and perhaps exposed to hazard by Hastings's ambition, was ultimately preserved and strengthened. When we fairly examine and appreciate these facts, we shall see that though Lord Shelburne signed, or rather *concluded* the Peace of 1783, yet Lord North's Administration *made* it. In fact, though no Minister, however able or popular, could have longer prosecuted the war for subjugating the Colonies, after near seven years of a ruinous and disgraceful contest; any Minister, however moderately endowed with talents, having in his hands the means possessed by Lord Shelburne, might have terminated the struggle with our European enemies, on making the Recognition of American Independance. Unquestionably Lord Shelburne obtained from the French Government, great restitutions in the West Indies: but the enemy kept possession of Tobago, and we restored St. Lucia; which last Island, considered as a military post, was inestimable to France.

Spain reaped the principal benefit of the Treaty; as in addition to Minorca, she retained or acquired the two Floridas: these advantages were however dearly purchased by her severe losses before Gibraltar, in men, money, and ships. Louis the Sixteenth, besides Goree and Senegal on the Coast of Africa, which Possessions

rendered him master of the Gum Trade, recovered the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon situate in the River St. Laurence. Pondicherry, together with the French Factories throughout Hindostan, were likewise restored by us: but Holland, in recompense for her unwise, as well as unjust Aggression, lost Negapatam, her only Settlement of importance on the Coast of Coromandel. America triumphed in the contest; and the greatest Statesmen whom England had produced, though they concurred in scarcely any other political opinion, yet agreed on the Point, that with the defalcation of the thirteen Colonies from the Crown, the glory and greatness of Britain were permanently extinguished. This sentiment pervaded Lord Chatham's last Speech, pronounced on the 7th of April, 1778. "I will never "consent," exclaimed he, "to deprive the Royal Off-"spring of the House of Brunswic, the Heirs of the "Princess Sophia, of their fairest Inheritance. Where "is the man who will dare to advise such a measure?" He considered it as a consummation pregnant with the greatest misfortunes. Lord Shelburne even surpassed him in the expressions of despair, at contemplating the consequences inevitably resulting, as he conceived, from the loss of America. Not once, but many times, he repeated this sentiment, in the House of Peers, previous, as well as subsequent, to his becoming First Minister. On the 10th of July, 1782, when constituted first Lord of the Treasury, he declared that "when-"ever the British Parliament should recognize the "Sovereignty of the thirteen Colonies, the Sun of "England's Glory was for ever set.—He looked for a "Spark at least to be left, which might light us up in "time to a new Day. But if independence were once "conceded, if Parliament considered that measure to "be advisable, he foresaw in his own mind that Eng-"land was undone." It seemed impossible to clothe his ideas of despair, in stronger or more energetic

Language. Lord George Germain entertained, as I know, similar apprehensions. Speaking in the House of Commons, on the 12th December, 1781, he maintained, as a Position admitting of no doubt, that "from "the instant when American independence should be "acknowledged, the British Empire was ruined." Here we have three persons distinguished by pre-eminent political talents, denouncing national ruin, as inseparable from the loss of America. The same sentiment pervaded all classes of men throughout the country. How are we to account for the non-fulfilment of these predictions? How was the threatened calamity averted; and by what measures was Great Britain, after losing thirteen Colonies, rendered more formidable, wealthy, commercial, and great, than before her misfortunes? Three Causes appear to me to have principally produced so extraordinary a Phenomenon, which has no parallel in the history of nations.

The first and leading cause was, the preservation of the British Constitution. Lord North, though he lost Armies, commercial Fleets, Garrisons, Islands, and Provinces; yet defended and preserved the Palladium of Civil Liberty. He transmitted to Lord Rockingham, in March, 1782, as he had received from the Duke of Grafton, in January 1770, that invaluable possession, inviolate. Our obligations to him are great and indelible: for never perhaps did any Minister surmount more severe attacks than he endured. The losses and disgraces of the American war, followed by heavy annual Loans, gave rise to Meetings and Associations, whose professed object was not only a change of Administration, but to effect reforms and alterations in the parliamentary Representation. These convocations of Freeholders, which began in the County of York, towards the end of 1779, soon spread over the Kingdom, and were adopted in the Capital at an early period of the year 1780. Their Resolutions, patriotic in pro-

fession, and perhaps in their intention, were not the less revolutionary in practice. Like the Clubs at Paris in 1790, they immediately appointed *Corresponding Committees*, whose duty it was to prepare *Plans of Association* for ameliorating the Constitution. Men of the highest rank, of the largest property, and of the most unsullied character, carried along by the torrent, and impatient to overturn the Ministry, lent themselves to the accomplishment of this work. As early as February, 1780, Sir George Savile, when presenting in the House of Commons, the York Petition, accompanied it with language such as Ireton or Fleetwood might have used, when addressing the Rump Parliament in 1652: Language calculated to intimidate, and appealing obviously to external interference. These menaces were outdone by Sir James Lowther, in April of the same year, on bringing up the Petition from Cumberland. He, whom, "Junius" denominates "the little "contemptible tyrant of the North," threatened in his Place, that if, "the Grievances enumerated were not "redressed, the Subscribers would withhold the Taxes;" thus attempting to overawe the Legislative Body whom he addressed. Fox, as might well be imagined, far exceeded his adherents, in the violence of his appeal to the People. On the 6th of April, 1780, the *Corresponding Committee* having convened the Inhabitants of Westminster, in Palace Yard, Fox read and commented on the Report presented by that Committee; while the Dukes of Devonshire and of Portland were present at his side: but the Marquis of Rockingham absented himself. Government having very properly ordered out a Body of the Military Force, for the protection of Parliament, and suppression of tumult or violence; Fox proceeded so far as to declare in the House of Commons, that "if Soldiers were thus let loose on the constitutional "Assemblages of the People, all who attended them, "must go armed." The Cardinal de Retz, when con-

ducting the Parisian populace, and attempting to overturn the first Minister of that day, held and practised precisely the same doctrine. So would Mirabeau have done in our time; or Sir Francis Burdett, and Horne Tooke.

Nor were these the only adversaries with whom Lord North had to contend, when defending the Constitution. "The coldest bodies," says Junius, "warm with opposi-
"tion; the hardest sparkle in collision." Burke, who ten years later, drew forth his powerful artillery in defence of Monarchy, lent himself too much, at this period of his political life, it must reluctantly be owned, to the machinations of Party. Many of his parliamentary Speeches between 1779 and 1782, breathe the Spirit of Faction, blended with intemperance of language, sometimes descending even to invective. Dunning, though brought up to the Bar, and possessed of an ample fortune acquired by his profession, yet levelled a vital blow at the Constitution of his Country, when, on the 24th of April, 1780, he moved in the House of Commons, "not to dissolve Parliament, or to pro-
"rogue the Session, till proper measures should be
"adopted for diminishing the influence of the Crown,
"and correcting the other evils complained of in the
"Petitions." It is obvious that if such a resolution had passed, the King would have stood in the situation of Charles the First in 1641, as the Parliament would have been placed in the very Position of the House of Commons at that awful period of our history. Happily, Dunning's proposition was rejected by a Majority of fifty-one Votes, in a very full House. Fox, irritated to the most violent degree at the subversion of his hopes to drive Lord North from power, attributed his disappointment to the operation of ministerial corruption among the Members who voted on the occasion. But, it unquestionably resulted from the alarm excited among the moderate, independent part of the Assembly,

who desired, indeed, to limit and to reform, but not to annihilate, the power of the Crown. No man can doubt that if the prerogative of Prorogation and of Dissolution had been taken from the Sovereign, till every alledged grievance had been redressed, the Constitution must have been from that moment subverted, and a renewal of the Calamities of Charles the First's reign, must almost inevitably have followed. To Lord North, therefore, sustained by the King's firmness of character, we owe our Preservation from all the evils of a republican, if not a revolutionary Government. Since 1688, down to the year 1792, when we were menaced with the horrors of French Fraternization, it may be safely asserted that the British Constitution never incurred so imminent a danger of subversion, as in 1780.

To Mr. Pitt we are indebted for the second leading cause or principle of our national Resuscitation and recovery, after losing America. His Institution of the Sinking Fund of a Million Sterling, in the Spring of 1786, by its beneficial operation on the public Credit, Commerce, and Finances, might be said to revivify the State, and still continues to dispense with augmenting powers, its salutary influence. The third source of our prosperity came from the East, where, without a Metaphor, the Sun of Britain rose, as it set in the West. Since 1783, our acquisitions and possessions in that portion of the Globe, have been perpetually in a State of Progression. All our losses on the Delaware and on the Chesapeake, have been more than compensated by our Conquests on the Ganges, or on the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The augmentations of territory in Oude, as well as in Corah and Döoab, including Dehli itself, the Metropolis of the Mogul Princes; the seizure of the Carnatic; the dissolution of the Mysore Monarchy in the person of Tippoo Sultan; the reduction of Ceylon, and of the Cape of Good Hope, not to mention many inferior objects of attention;—

these prodigious accumulations of Power and Wealth have obliterated almost the recollections of the American struggle, and have closed all the wounds caused by that unfortunate War. An annual Revenue of more than fifteen Millions Sterling raised in India, payable, not in Paper, but in Specie; together with the Commerce of the East, continually poured into our Harbours; have enabled us, after contending for nearly twenty years with the power of France, successively wielded by Robespierre and by Bonaparte, to terminate the conflict in the most triumphant manner. I return to the progress of public affairs.

However much the Treaty of 1783, may be entitled to national approval, yet the members of that Administration at the head of which *Lord North* had so long presided, might, nevertheless, be fully justified in severely arraigning a Peace, which relinquished to America almost every point or object, for the maintenance of which *they* had contended, from 1775 down to 1782. *They* might justly feel indignant at the dereliction of the Loyalists; at the evacuation of New York and Charles Town; and at the sacrifice of immense tracts of territory, extending through near twenty degrees of Latitude, and as many of Longitude; including Indian Nations our Allies, and containing incalculable commercial advantages. When Lord Sackville and Lord Stormont, in the House of Peers, compared such a Treaty with past periods of our history, and accused the Ministry of doing acts more culpable, than even Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke had committed at Utrecht; they might at least be considered as speaking with consistency, and in conformity to their avowed principles. But, it seems more difficult to conceive, and to explain, upon what ground *Fox* could reprobate such preliminaries. *He* had loudly and repeatedly declaimed for successive years, on the indispensable necessity of obtaining almost any Peace, how-

ever comparatively bad, as imperiously demanded by the fallen condition of Great Britain. *He*, who, considering the Americans as originally justified in resisting the mother country, had often undertaken their defence in the House of Commons: while he always stigmatized the Loyalists with every opprobrious or contemptuous Epithet. *He*, whom I had, myself, heard declare from the same side the House, not twelve Months before, on the fifth day of March, 1782, that "whenever he should enter into any terms with an "individual of Lord North's Cabinet, he would rest "satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind." Adding, that "he never could nourish the idea of "coalescing with Ministers, who had proved themselves "devoid of honour and honesty; as in the hands of "such men, he would not for a moment entrust his own honour." To varnish over, therefore, so complete a change of language, sentiments, and system, required all those talents, that bold eloquence, and disregard of public opinion, which met in *him*. I never indeed regarded him as animated by any other motives, in his opposition to the Peace of 1783, than ambition and desire of power. Personally odious to the King, as he well knew himself to be, on account of his private irregularities, not less than from the line of political action which he had embraced during many years; he beheld no mode or chance of speedily entering the Cabinet, except by uniting at once with Lord North. Those persons who think that abilities such as his, ought not to have been lost to his country, or excluded from the Councils of the Crown, will however see cause probably, to justify in some degree, his sacrifice of political principle, to an over-ruling necessity. But, it became apparent by the events that soon followed the Coalition of 1783, how different a sentence the majority of the nation passed on that memorable union. The people beheld in it a complete renunciation of

every object for which Fox had affected to contend; and they regarded, not merely with indifference, but with satisfaction, his subsequent expulsion from Office.

Lord North's junction with the party which had so long opposed him, has always appeared to me to admit of much more palliation, than the conduct of Fox and his adherents. The former Nobleman, by no means in very affluent circumstances, encumbered with a numerous family, saw himself proscribed and excluded from the Cabinet, for having unsuccessfully maintained the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Supremacy of Parliament, against the American Insurgents. In this situation, unprotected by the Sovereign, who was unable to extend any assistance to him; and unpopular with the nation, because he had been unfortunate; Fox opened his arms, and offered him an alliance. Was he bound to reject it, and thus pass a sentence of political exclusion on himself?—But, even if he had so done, worse evils presented themselves in prospect. A union between Fox and Pitt, would have eventually produced, in all probability, his own impeachment, and that of other members of his former Cabinet. Nor could he have found any security from such a prosecution, either in the royal authority, in the adherence of the House of Commons, or in the affection of the country. He might have been made the victim and the sacrifice, for the loss of empire, for the disgraces, defeats, capitulations, and ruinous expenditure of an unfortunate war. Fox and Burke had a hundred times menaced him with the block. Pitt, who, it was evident, entertained similar opinions respecting his Administration, did not at all conceal them. By accepting the overtures of the Rockingham party, Lord North, therefore, at least secured his personal safety, and opened to himself an avenue to the resumption of power. It was not, as I have always thought, the act of uniting with Fox, that in itself disgraced him; but, the too ready subserviency

with which he afterwards lent himself to every measure, which that enterprizing and ambitious Statesman, having again forced his way into the Cabinet, thought it necessary to adopt, in order to maintain himself in a situation, which he had attained, contrary to the wishes of his Sovereign.

The victory obtained by the new Coalition, over Ministers, in the House of Commons, however flattering it might be to their hopes, yet being by no means decisive; and the Peace having been approved in the upper House; in order to compel Lord Shelburne's resignation, it became necessary to express in more affirmative language, a parliamentary disapprobation of the Preliminaries. For this purpose, four days after the first Debate, a second discussion took place, when a Motion or Resolution to the effect above mentioned, was brought forward; Lord John Cavendish lending himself again to introduce the business. It was indeed a service of some danger and delicacy, requiring all the reputation which that Nobleman enjoyed for political rectitude, to protect his friends from the imputations excited by the late Coalition. He endeavoured to justify it against the severe animadversions of Powis, and of other Members who had generally voted with the Rockingham Party; by comparing Fox's union with Lord North, to the Administration formed in June, 1757, when the first Mr. Pitt coalesced with the Duke of Newcastle, whom he had during many years opposed and reprobated. But, however analogous in many respects that transaction might be, yet it failed in carrying the moral conviction to the minds of his hearers, which Lord John aspired to produce by his comparison. The Peace was again attacked and defended on its own proper merits, at great length, with equal ingenuity, asperity, and profound knowledge of the subject. Those who heard Mr. Pitt address the House on that evening, cannot easily forget the impression made

upon his audience, by a Speech which might be said to unite all the powers of argument, eloquence, and impassioned declamation. He seemed to fight, indeed, as Cæsar did at Munda, not merely for empire, or for power; but, for life. After defending, article by article, the Treaties concluded; he finished by deprecating "the "ill omened and baneful alliance" which had just taken place between Lord North and Fox, as teeming with pernicious effects of every kind to the country. Then reverting to the consequences which it might produce personally to himself, he professed his readiness to retire to a private station without regret. Alluding to so material an impending change in his own condition, he exclaimed,

"Fortuna sævo læta Negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertas honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem: si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit."———

With an admirable presence of mind, which never forsook him, he here paused; and conscious that the words of the Roman poet immediately following, "*et mea virtute me involvo*," might seem to imply a higher idea of his own merit or disinterestedness, than it would become him to avow, he cast his eyes on the floor. A moment or two of silence elapsed, while all attention was directed towards him from every quarter of the House. During this interval he slowly drew his handkerchief from his pocket, passed it once or twice across his lips, and then recovering as it were from his temporary embarrassment, he added with Emphasis, striking his hand on the table,

"———probamque
"Pauperiem sine dote quæro."

Perhaps a more masterly and beautiful piece of oratorical acting, is not to be found in Antiquity. Even if we suppose the whole passage to have been studied and prepared, yet the delicacy of the omission is not less admirable. I believe, however, that both the lines which he cited, and the one which he suppressed, were all equally suggested to him by his feelings and his judgment at the time. Its effect on that part of the House which perfectly understood it, corresponded to its merit. But Mr. Pitt, who well knew how large a part of his audience, especially among the Country Gentlemen, were little conversant in the writings of the Augustan Age, or familiar with Horace, always displayed great caution in borrowing from those classic sources. In the lapse of fourteen years that I have heard him almost daily address the House of Commons, I question if he made in all, more than eight or ten citations. Fox and Sheridan, though not equally severe in that respect, yet never abused or injudiciously expended the stores of antient literature that they possessed. Burke's enthusiasm, his exhaustless memory, and luxuriant imagination, more frequently carried him away into the times of Virgil and Cicero: while Barré usually condescended, whenever he quoted Latin, to translate for the benefit of the County Members.

21st February.] A minority of *seventeen*, in which the Ministry remained at the close of the Debate, which took place at a very late hour, and in a very crowded House of Commons, where near four hundred Members voted; seemed to secure the triumph of the Coalition. Yet, as no direct censure had hitherto been passed upon the Administration; and as the condemnation expressed relative to the Peace, was couched in very moderate terms; simply stating that "the con-"cessions made, were greater than our adversaries were "entitled to demand;" it did not by any means follow, that a change in the government would take place.

Lord North himself had sufficiently demonstrated, during the two Sessions of 1779 and 1780, how little effect a majority had, in compelling him to retire from Office; and the political, if not moral disapprobation, felt at the recent junction of two men who had so long condemned and reprobated each other, pervaded to a certain degree, all ranks. Even the very majority which had disapproved of the Treaties, as inadequate to our just expectations, yet might not follow up their Vote by any personal attack on Ministers; or if they did, might fail to carry the House with them. And if so, the Coalition would remain seated, as before, on the Opposition Bench, without deriving any benefit from their late success. A first Lord of the Treasury, who, to conscious integrity, joined fortitude and resources of character, seemed exempt from any necessity of resigning, on account of the danger of Impeachment; and might still, by protracting the struggle, terminate it advantageously to himself. Such were the opinions at that time generally entertained, and the expectations formed, both in, and out of Parliament.

But, all these political speculations were suddenly overturned by Lord Shelburne's immediate resignation. Without waiting for any broader hint, or trying by any exertions to perpetuate his possession of power, he retired from Ministry, as so many of his predecessors had done during the present reign. There has always appeared to be something mysterious in the motives which impelled him thus precipitately, if not prematurely, to abandon a situation which he had attained with so much labour, as well as address, and from which he can scarcely be said to have been driven. So singular a fact was variously explained or interpreted at the time. As even his opponents neither attributed to him want of ambition, nor any defect of firmness, it became requisite to discover and to assign other reasons for his conduct. Rumours, which sunk deep in the

public mind, were not only spread, but remained uncontradicted, asserting that Lord Shelburne had not scrupled to avail himself of his official situation, and the knowledge of various kinds that it conferred, for purposes of private emolument. It was pretended, that during the period which preceded the late Peace, and while the Negociations were still pending; persons, subsequently ascertained to have acted by his secret directions, had speculated largely, as well as advantageously, in the public Funds. The active malignity of his enemies impelled them to trace these concealed agents, and to obtain proofs, real or fictitious, of the fact. Even the names of Brokers, and the sums actually purchased, to an immense amount, which were maintained to have been done on Lord Shelburne's account, were accurately specified. Similar accusations had been, indeed, made, as I have before observed, against Lord Bute in 1762; who then inhabited the House in Berkeley Square, which the actual First Minister had purchased of him, and now occupied. It was commonly said "to have been constructed by one "Peace, and paid for by another." If these reports originated only in political hostility, it must be admitted that Lord Shelburne was most unfortunate; no such imputations having been ever thrown on Lord North, on Fox, or on Pitt while in power, even by their most implacable adversaries.

In addition to the pretended facts above related, others were invented or enumerated, strongly corroborating them. It was said to be matter of notoriety, that previous to his coming into office as First Minister, Lord Shelburne's landed property in Ireland, as well as his estates at Bowood in Wiltshire, were all greatly encumbered. His enemies asserted, that soon after the conclusion of Peace, the mortgages were paid off, and his debts discharged. But, a circumstance which made a greater impression, arose from the weight which Pitt

himself involuntarily gave to these allegations, by his own line of conduct towards Lord Shelburne. There seemed, indeed, an internal evidence in Pitt's mode of acting, which implied his disapprobation, either of that Nobleman's general character, or of some censurable act done by him while in employment. For, though scarcely ten months elapsed before Pitt came again into power, yet he never associated Lord Shelburne to any share of it, nor would even consent to give him a place in the Cabinet, as Lord President, or as Lord Privy Seal. So pointed an exclusion of the man, who had first called him up to the Councils of the Sovereign, and placed him there as Chancellor of the Exchequer, at three and twenty, can scarcely be explained or accounted for, except by some such supposition. It is true that Pitt pronounced, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, from the Treasury Bench, the highest Encomiums on his principal, during the course of the discussions relative to the Peace. In his memorable Speech of the 21st of February, he even alluded with indignant warmth, to the "arts of "defamation" which Lord Shelburne's enemies adopted, for the purpose of degrading him in the national estimation: arts, of which Pitt professed his scorn, as well as his conviction of their falsehood. But, either he subsequently altered his opinion, or his actions contradicted his professions. That towards the end of 1784, when Pitt was established in power, he advised His Majesty to raise Lord Shelburne to the rank of a British Marquis, must likewise be admitted. But, that Title was understood to be given, (like the Earldom of Lonsdale, conferred by Pitt on Sir James Lowther, earlier in the same year), as payment in full from the first Minister, for all past obligations or services. Lord Shelburne, after his resignation, seemed in fact to be regarded as politically extinct, though still in the full enjoyment of all his faculties of body and mind, nor at all supposed to want ambition. The Marquis of Lans-

down, as a Peer of Parliament, sometimes took a part in the Debates of the upper House; but he never openly aspired again to become first Lord of the Treasury, nor even to enter the Cabinet.

March.] Throughout the whole proceeding of the Ministerial change that took place at this time, there was something personal, which attached exclusively to himself. *He* resigned, almost immediately after the second Debate, of which I have spoken; but *the Administration* was by no means on that account, at an end. Pitt, far from following his example, remained in office more than five weeks, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, after the first Lord of the Treasury had retired; a circumstance unprecedented in our History!—An extraordinary and anomalous interval of time followed Lord Shelburne's resignation, during which, the functions of government may be said to have suffered a suspension; while the King, the Ministry, and the Candidates for power, stood looking at each other. William the Third never displayed more steadiness or determination, at any period of his life, either when Prince of Orange, or after his elevation to the Crown of England, than George the Third manifested, throughout the whole of this "Interregnum," as it was denominated. Though his first Minister had quitted him, he did not abandon himself, or forsake those individuals who remained faithful to him. On the contrary, he made the most desperate efforts to avoid passing under a yoke, which he considered as equally painful to himself, and pernicious to his people.

The *Coalition* having twice defeated Administration in the House of Commons, and having compelled Lord Shelburne to retire, considered the business as effected, and their triumph secure. Resting therefore on their Arms, without attempting to push their advantages farther, they waited till the King should send to the two leaders, in order to form a new Ministry. But, in this expectation, however natural, they greatly deceived

themselves. That Prince, as if conscious that Lord Shelburne constituted the principal, and the most vulnerable object of attack, having disembarrassed his Councils of the weight that encumbered them, endeavoured to repair the breach, and to form a new rampart against Lord North and Fox. It might perhaps have been imagined, that the presence of the former Nobleman in Cabinet, and the share of Power which must necessarily be allotted to him and his friends, in the formation of a new Government; would have tranquillized the King's mind, by affording a security against the attempts or character of the latter statesman. But, he knew by the experience of many years, the pliability and easiness of Lord North's nature: nor was he unacquainted with the energy of Fox's mind, or unapprized of the efforts that he would probably make, in order to cement, and to perpetuate that elevation, which he had now nearly attained with so much difficulty. The King, who considered Fox as a man ruined in Fortune, of relaxed morals, and surrounded with a crowd of followers resembling him in these particulars; deprecated as the severest misfortune to himself and to his Subjects, the necessity of taking such a person, however eminent for capacity, into his confidence or councils. When we consider these circumstances, we shall not wonder at the long, though ineffectual resistance made by His Majesty, before he submitted to receive the Law from the "Coalition."

During the course of the Month of March, every Measure was adopted on the part of the King, that promised to avert so great an evil, and to frustrate the hopes of the new Confederates. Earl Gower, to whom the place just vacated by Lord Shelburne, was offered, manifested the utmost readiness to accept it, if the probable means of maintaining himself there, could be demonstrated. But, by what expedient could a Minority of the House of Commons, be converted by him at once

into a Majority? The difficulties being considered as insuperable, the experiment was therefore at length abandoned. Meanwhile, the *Coalition*, indignant at so long a delay, began to manifest symptoms of impatience. Mr. Coke, Member for the County of Norfolk, a gentleman equally respectable for character, and distinguished for his immense property, having given notice on the 19th of March, that if no Ministry should be formed in the course of two days, he would move an address to the Crown, on the subject; the King, conceiving it dangerous, as well as useless, to protract the contest, sent his Commands to the Duke of Portland and Lord North, to wait upon him at St. James's. I have been assured that at the Audience which took place, His Majesty offered to concede every point in litigation, except one; namely, that Lord Thurlow should not be deprived of the Great Seal. If that Nobleman, he said, were permitted to remain in Office, he would allow the new Ministers to dispose of all other Employments at their pleasure. But, no arguments could induce the *Coalition* to relax upon so essential an Article. Fox equally disliked and dreaded the Chancellor, whose intractability, when added to his influence over the Royal mind, in a place which rendered him the Director of his Sovereign's conscience; exposed the new Candidates for Office, to perpetual danger. They insisted peremptorily on putting the Great Seal into Commission. Their proposition being as firmly rejected by His Majesty, the Conference terminated without any progress or beneficial result.

19th March.] Just at this critical juncture died the Honourable Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury; a man of amiable character, though not distinguished by eminent virtues or talents. The King, who well knew that the *Coalition*, or in other words, that Fox, had destined that great ecclesiastical Elevation, for Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, or for Hinch-

cliffe, Bishop of Peterborough; probably, for the former of them; and who was also aware that if he wished to dispose of it, himself, he had not an hour to lose; immediately sent for Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester. That excellent Prelate, whose piety and learning rendered him one of the ornaments, as well as pillars of the Anglican Church, having waited on His Majesty, was informed by him, that the See of Canterbury had become vacant; and that, as he knew no person, in his opinion, more worthy to fill the Metropolitan Chair, he wished the Bishop to accept it. He added, that in the actual position of public affairs, when he might, every day, be compelled to take new Ministers into his Councils, he hoped that the Bishop would interpose no unnecessary delay. But, Dr. Hurd, far from desiring a dignity so much sought after, besought the King to excuse him for declining it: stating, that neither his health, nor his frame of mind, were adequate to the extended duties of the Metropolitan See, though equal to fulfilling the more limited Functions of his own Diocese. His Majesty having, not without great reluctance, yielded to these reasons, then insisted that the Bishop should at least name the person, whom he conceived most proper to succeed Dr. Cornwallis. Hurd, without long hesitation, mentioned Dr. Louth, Bishop of London: and a messenger was instantly dispatched to find him, at his house in St. James's Square. The Bishop arriving in a very short time, had no sooner entered the Closet, than the King made him the same proposition which he had done to Hurd. Extraordinary as it may appear, he met from that Prelate with a similar refusal; and one not less sincere, as well as inflexible, than the former. In this unexpected predicament, the King addressing himself to them both, said, "My "Lords, I will not press either of you further: but, "before you leave this room, you must recommend a

" proper successor to the deceased Archbishop; and " whomsoever you shall agree to name, I will accept." The two Prelates having requested to be allowed a short time for consulting together, after a few minutes deliberation, without quitting the royal presence, united in nominating Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Bangor. Being sent for to St. James's, on his arrival, to his no small astonishment, he learned the reasons for which he had been summoned to Court. He accepted the preferment; but, the requisite forms incident to the Congé d'elire, and other ceremonies indispensable to the Election, prevented the Translation from being completed, before the second of the following Month; the very day on which the King having surrendered at discretion, the *Coalition* actually took possession of the Government.

Dr. Moore, whom we have beheld during two and twenty years Archbishop of Canterbury, and who owed his elevation to that high dignity, to the joint recommendations of Hurd and Louth; was a Prelate of an irreproachable life, added to a solid understanding. But, his first advance in the ecclesiastical profession, arose from one of those accidents, which, whatever Juvenal may have said to the contrary, sometimes seem to determine, no less than merit, the color of our fate. The Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, after the late Duke's decease in 1758, having occasion for a tutor to superintend the education of her youngest son, the present Lord Robert Spencer; applied to the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, requesting him to recommend a proper person to her for the purpose. I have been assured, that Mr. Moore, then a Servitor of that College, of very obscure birth and connections; happening to cross the Quadrangle, at the precise moment of this application; it immediately occurred to the Dean's mind, that he would answer the description of the tutor demanded by the Duchess. He hesitated nevertheless

for some time, whether he should make the proposition to Mr. Moore; her Grace having positively insisted on his stipulating, that whatever individual she should receive into her family, in quality of Preceptor to her son, should not be admitted to have the honor of dining at her table. The offer, when made by the Dean, was however accepted under that exclusion: but, so rapid became Mr. Moore's progress in her personal esteem, no less than in her affection, that within a very short time she found herself unable to dine without him. Her preference assumed even so decided a character, as to leave him no room to doubt of her inclination, if he had encouraged it, notwithstanding the prodigious disparity of their respective situations in life; to have bestowed her hand on him in marriage. Instead of thus acting, as a meaner man would have done, his sense of honor and delicacy of sentiment led him to communicate the advances made him by the Duchess, to her son the present Duke. A conduct so highly disinterested, and principles so elevated, could not fail ultimately to meet their just reward. By the Duke of Marlborough's interest, being promoted in the Church, he was in progress of time made Dean of Canterbury; from which situation he soon became Bishop of Bangor: passing through no other intermediate Episcopal stage, 'till he attained to the Metropolitan dignity. Such an impression indeed had his merit and character produced, while he remained at Canterbury, that on his promotion to the See of Bangor, all those persons who came to take leave of him, expressed their full conviction of his returning to them again as Archbishop. "We console ourselves, Mr. "Dean," said they "for losing you at present, by the "confident expectation which we entertain of your "speedy restoration to us." I return to the course of public affairs.

On the complete failure of the first attempt already

mentioned, which His Majesty made to form a new Administration; many propositions were suggested to prop and renovate the still existing Ministry, however difficult such a work might justly be esteemed under the actual circumstances. Mr. Pitt, desirous to meet the King's wishes on a point which coincided with all his own objects of personal elevation and ambition, suffered himself to be persuaded to promise that he would accept the post of First Lord of the Treasury, in addition to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and during twenty-four hours, he might be said to have in some measure actually held both those offices. But, at the end of that short time, finding it impracticable, after full examination, to set up any Government which promised duration, or which could make head against the "Coalition" in the House of Commons, he reluctantly retracted his engagement. Reduced almost to despair by so many disappointments, and unable to effect his emancipation, the King unquestionably meditated the extraordinary project of visiting his Electoral dominions, and relinquishing for a time to the "Coalition," the power of which they had forcibly possessed themselves. But, on communicating his intentions to the Chancellor, that Minister, far from encouraging the proposition, gave it his strongest disapprobation. "There is nothing easier, Sir," said he, with his characteristic severity of voice and manner, "than to go over to Hanover. It may not however "prove so easy to return from thence to this country, "when your Majesty becomes tired of Germany. "Recollect the precedent of James the Second, who "precipitately embraced a similar expedient. Your "Majesty must not think for a moment, of adopting "so imprudent and hazardous a step. Time and "patience will open a remedy to the present evils." The King, happily for himself, acquiesced in Lord Thurlow's wise and wholesome advice.

24th March.] While these interesting scenes passed at St. James's, the House of Commons, completely in the hands of the "Coalition," proceeded, though with great caution and external testimonies of respect, to press the Sovereign by every constitutional means, that he would put an end to the Interregnum, which Fox denominated "the most insolent domination that ever "disgraced a free country." On the Motion of Mr. Coke, an Address to that purpose being voted, was carried up to the foot of the Throne: but the King, neither terrified nor shaken, replied to it in general and vague, though in gracious terms. The debate which took place in consequence of Mr. Coke's Motion was attended with a curious and interesting circumstance. Irritated by the delays and impediments to their attainment of Power, the "Coalition," affecting to consider them as caused by the operation of secret influence on the Royal mind, and clearly applying the imputation itself to Jenkinson; that gentleman, who was present on the occasion, repelled the charge, so often preferred against him in the course of the present Reign, with the most decided and peremptory denial of the fact. He candidly admitted indeed, that he had seen His Majesty repeatedly in the course of the preceding month: but he justified the act, as, in his quality of a Privy Councillor, he was bound to obey the summons of his Sovereign, and to repair to St. James's, whenever officially required. The idea of secret influence he reprobated, as only a bait for the multitude, invented to delude the Nation, and brought forward on the present occasion, merely to serve political purposes. Having exculpated himself, he conjured Lord North, though now allied with Fox, to state as a man of honour and veracity, whether during his Administration of many years, when they acted together, his Lordship had ever found or felt such a pretended influence lurking behind the Throne. Jenkinson added, that so

implicit a reliance had he on Lord North's principles of honour, as willingly to abide the issue of his declaration respecting the point. Thus called on, that Nobleman rose, and in terms the most explicit, confirmed all that Jenkinson had asserted; disdaining to swell the popular cry, and protesting that he never had experienced any concealed agency or interposition between himself and the Sovereign, while he had presided in the Councils of the Crown. It was not possible for a declaration to be less equivocal, or better calculated to undeceive the believers in secret influence; but, the opinion had taken too deep a hold of the public mind, and was sustained with too much art, to be eradicated even by such concurring testimonies.

No impression having apparently been made by the Address, and His Majesty remaining inflexible, Lord Surrey spoke out in stronger language: while Lord North, on the other hand, preserving more deference for the royal feelings, deprecated any harsh measures, and advised to wait with patience for the King's pleasure. Fox, however, less delicate, did not hesitate to accuse Lord Thurlow, if not by name, yet by description, as the cause of so culpable a suspension of all Government; stigmatizing him with the severest epithets, as the grand adviser of the Crown in the other House. Lord Surrey, whose manner, person, and character, seemed all well fitted to so rough a task, rising again in his place, proposed more affirmative steps, in order to compel the King to listen to the wishes of the Commons, by forming immediately a new Administration. He nevertheless consented to postpone them, on receiving Mr. Pitt's information and assurance, given from the Treasury bench, that he had resigned his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This Event, which took place on the last day of March, terminated the struggle; and forty eight hours afterwards, His Majesty finding it vain to protract his resistance, surrendered at dis-

cretion, by sending a second time for the Duke of Portland.

2d April.] If we consider, by the abstract principles of the British Constitution, as recognized at the Revolution of 1688, which compels the Sovereign to listen to the voice of the Majority of the House of Commons; the Conduct of George the Third, in resisting, for near six weeks, their votes, and their addresses:—if we reflect moreover, that the consequence of his pertinacity, produced a suspension of many of the essential and vital functions of the executive Government; at a moment too, when the exertions of a vigorous Administration were peculiarly demanded, in order to reduce various of the military and naval establishments, to the Standard of Peace:—if we try his actions by these Criterions, we may be tempted to accuse him of sacrificing national objects, to the gratification of his private resentments or prejudices. But theory and practice are often found to be so much at variance, that it becomes unsafe to reason always from the former, however solid may appear the foundations. It is certain, that though the country anxiously desired to see an efficient government established, and deeply lamented the want of it for so long a time; yet, the King by no means suffered in the estimation of his people at large, on account of the desperate contest that he had maintained against the "Coalition." The nation in general regarded the union formed between Lord North and Fox, as a mutual sacrifice of moral and political principle, to ambition, or rather, to the love of Office. In vain did those leaders endeavour to justify it, by recurring to past periods of our History, when similar Coalitions were said to have been made between contending Factions. The interval of eleven months, which had scarcely elapsed since Fox and Burke were accustomed, day by day, to denounce their new Ally, as the most incapable and wicked of Ministers,

appeared too short; and the transition from enmity to friendship, seemed too sudden, to admit of being easily or satisfactorily explained to vulgar comprehension. His Majesty's principles, however mistaken they might be, were admitted to be upright, and intentionally directed always to the felicity of his Subjects. America, which had so long formed the object of contest, being lost; with the termination of the war, terminated likewise the King's unpopularity, which had principally originated from that source: while on the other hand, Fox, who during several years had stood so high in the estimation of the people, as a Patriot; now in his turn attracted severe observations on his recent junction with a Minister, the Author, as he asserted, of all the misfortunes which he had eloquently depictured, and which were deplored throughout the country. These sentiments and opinions, which began already to operate, and which only required time to mature, protected the King against any effects of popular disapprobation. But, they could not prevent, or longer protract his surrender to the combined leaders, who now compelled him to receive them into his counsels, without further delay.

In the Audience that he gave the Duke of Portland, for the purpose of forming a new Administration, he did not affect to conceal, or even to disguise, the emotions by which he was agitated on the occasion. He observed to that Nobleman, that the ministerial Arrangement to which he now submitted, being altogether compulsory, the new Ministers might dispose of the Cabinet places and other offices, as they should think proper: that he would not oppose, or refuse his signature to any Act presented to him officially for his sanction; but that the responsibility of advising such measures, must wholly rest with them. And he added, that he would not create any new British Peers, at their recommendation; a circumstance, of which he gave

them distinct and early notification. The "Coalition" having acquiesced, at least tacitly, in these principles of the King's Conduct, took possession of the Government; the Duke of Portland being placed at the head of the Treasury; and Lord John Cavendish a second time becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fox returned to the Foreign Office, as was naturally to be expected; leaving to Lord North, the Secretaryship of State for the Home Department. Lord Keppel, who disapproving of the Conditions of the late Peace, had resigned the post of First Lord of the Admiralty, immediately after its conclusion, in which high employment he had been replaced by Lord Howe; was reinstated in his antient functions: while Lord Stormont became President of the Council. I have been assured that the Nobleman last mentioned, did not accept that situation, till he had clearly understood, as he conceived, the King's pleasure upon the subject; who not only approved, but wished him to take the Office, as it would exclude an enemy from occupying so important a place. Yet it is difficult to reconcile this asserted permission and approbation, with the resentment that His Majesty is known to have subsequently expressed, at Lord Stormont's thus actively joining the *Coalition*. The Privy Seal was lastly given to the Earl of Carlisle.

By this new Ministerial arrangement, the Cabinet, which under Lord North had consisted of *nine* individuals; and which, under the two succeeding Administrations, was augmented to *eleven*; became reduced to *seven* persons. At first inspection, there seemed however to be something like an equal distribution of power between the two leaders and parties who had recently coalesced; the Rockingham party reckoning *four*, and their new Allies counting *three* Votes. But, on closer examination, the fallacy became palpable, and it was evident that Fox in reality possessed

the whole authority of Government. Not only he commanded a numerical majority: he likewise held the Treasury under his complete influence. Nor was this the single circumstance, that gave him a preponderating weight in every measure or deliberation. The energy and activity of his talents, when contrasted with the flexibility and indolence of Lord North, doubled his personal, as well as political consequence. His three friends in the Cabinet, were moreover incapable, if they had even been desirous, of setting limits to his ambition, or of restraining his ascendancy. To Fox, the Duke of Portland might indeed be said to owe his elevation to the post of First Lord of the Treasury; an eminence to which his own very moderate abilities could not of themselves, have conducted him. In like manner, Lord Keppel stood indebted for both his place and his Peerage, principally to Fox. Lord John Cavendish, from his great family connexions, and recognized integrity of character, might be esteemed indeed an honor and an ornament to any Ministry: but, though independant in mind and in fortune, yet he appeared to be not the less under Fox's intellectual dominion, who on all occasions propelled and guided him, in, and out of Parliament. Lord North likewise by no means possessed, or exerted the same influence over his two Cabinet adherents, as Fox maintained among his Co-adjutors: Lord Stormont in particular, might be considered as wholly independant of Lord North's controul. Nor did the Offices of President, and of Privy Seal, in themselves confer the same active rights of Ministerial interference, as the Treasury, the Exchequer, and the Admiralty; all which Departments lay in Fox's partition of Employments. These circumstances are not unessential, when we speculate on the state of things under the Duumvirs; and may partly explain the causes, from which arose some of the most affirmative measures, subsequently adopted by the "Coalition."

If Fox, however, took effectual care to secure the real power of the State in his own hands, he in return allowed Lord North to bestow many of the great ostensible Offices about the Court, among his immediate friends. The Earl of Dartmouth, instead of Privy Seal, as he had formerly been, was made Lord Steward: while the Earl of Hertford appeared again in the Drawing Room, re-invested with his white Wand of Lord Chamberlain. Lord Townshend, restored to his antient employment, replaced the Duke of Richmond at the head of the Ordnance. He was a Nobleman of very considerable ability, but, of great eccentricity of manners and character. Cheerful in his disposition, affable, facetious, and endowed with uncommon powers of conversation, he was formed to acquire popularity. He eminently possessed the dangerous talent of drawing Caricatures, which faculty he did not always restrain within the limits of severe prudence, though he no more spared himself, than he did others. In Ireland, while administering the affairs of that kingdom during five years, he gave general satisfaction; and I remember Courtney eulogizing him in the House of Commons, as Lord Lieutenant, in the language of Horace to Augustus.

> "Longas, o utinam, Dux bone, Ferias
> Præstes *Hiberniæ*; dicimus integro
> Sicci manè die, dicimus uvidi,
> Quum Sol oceano subest."

Indeed, not one of the Viceroys sent over to Dublin in the course of twelve years, between 1772 and 1784, could compete with Lord Townshend in the affection of the Irish. Lord Harcourt was too grave and measured in his manners; the Earl of Buckinghamshire had too cold, stiff, and lofty a deportment; Lord Carlisle was too fine a Gentleman, and too highly bred; the Duke of Portland and Earl Temple, both, either from disinclination or from physical inability, observed too

rigorously the virtues of temperance and abstemiousness; virtues by no means congenial to the soil:—lastly Lord Northington was too infirm in his health, to acquire general attachment in a country, where no virtues, however eminent, could recommend to national approbation, unless accompanied by personal sacrifices of various kinds. The Duke of Rutland, whom Pitt sent over to the Sister Kingdom, early in 1784; by the magnificence of his establishment, the conviviality of his temper, and the excesses of his table, obliterated or superseded Lord Townshend in their regard: but he paid for the triumph with his life, falling a victim in the vigor of his age, within four years, to his irregularities.

Mr. Charles Townshend, commonly called "Spanish "Charles," whom Pitt created with nine other individuals, a Peer in 1797, by the title of Lord Bayning, was made Treasurer of the Navy. Wallace became once more Attorney General. Lord Sandwich, instead of presiding over the Admiralty, and directing that great Department of State, dwindled into Ranger of the two Parks: but as some compensation for this official degradation, his son Lord Hinchingbrook, a Nobleman deservedly acceptable to His Majesty, as well as one of the most honest, loyal, frank, and friendly men in the kingdom, was made Master of the Buck Hounds. Sir Grey Cooper, who had been one of the joint Secretaries of the Treasury, obtained a seat at the Board. Not that Fox appeared by any means oblivious of his friends; a fault which never could be imputed to him. Burke went back with great alacrity to the Pay Office; as did his brother Richard Burke, to the joint Secretaryship of the Treasury. Mr. Frederick Montague resumed his place at that Board: while the Earl of Surrey, whose recent services and prominent merit in Parliament, could not be passed over without remuneration, filled the remaining vacancy. Considerably more

than two Centuries had elapsed, since the gallant and distinguished Earl of that name, so well known under Henry the Eighth, the last who bore the Title, had occupied a situation in the Councils of the Crown.

Colonel Fitzpatrick was made Secretary at War; and though his talents always appeared to me, to be of a description more elegant than solid; more adapted to entertain, than fitted for the Desk, or for the Cabinet; yet I have been assured, even by those who were not partial to him among his own Profession, that he gave great, as well as general satisfaction, while he held that Employment. His person, tall, manly, and extremely distinguished; set off by his manners, which, though lofty and assuming, were nevertheless elegant and prepossessing; — these endowments added grace to the attractions of his conversation. No man's society was more eagerly courted among the highest Orders, by persons of both sexes. He possessed no mean poetic talents, peculiarly for compositions of wit, fancy, and Satire, in all which he far exceeded Fox. They had been brought up together from early life, remained inseparable to the last, and were strongly attached to each other. Fitzpatrick, like his friend, was a constant votary of Brookes's Club, and became during many years, a victim to play; but he possessed one advantage over Fox, namely the support arising from a Profession. As a Member of the House of Commons, he obtained no distinction for eloquence; though he never betrayed, when addressing Parliament, any want of ideas, language, or ability. Under Charles the Second, he would have been more in his element and in his place, than under such a Prince as George the Third; of whose Court he must nevertheless always be considered to have formed a Constellation and an ornament. In the "*Memoires* "*de Grammont*" he would assuredly have filled a very distinguished nitch. I witnessed the painful spectacle of his surviving almost all the personal and intellectua'

graces, which nature had conferred on him with so lavish a hand. During the last twelve or eighteen months of his life, it might be said of Fitzpatrick, as the King of Prussia observes of Prince Eugene in the Trenches before Philipsburgh in 1734, "*Ce n'étoit que l'ombre du grand Eugene.*" His mind and body, perhaps impaired by excesses, had equally fallen into a state of premature decay.

Sheridan became the other Secretary of the Treasury, and Lee was replaced in his former situation of Solicitor General. For the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, the Earl of Northington was selected by Fox. His person, unwieldy, vaccillating, and destitute of grace, seemed to disqualify him for any active exertions of body; nor were his faculties brilliant: but I have always heard that he gave great satisfaction, and was as much beloved, as his infirmities permitted, during the period of his short residence in that kingdom. The embassy to Paris, Fox destined for the Duke of Manchester. His figure, noble; his manners, affable and corresponding with his high rank, prepossessed in his favor: but his fortune bore no proportion to his dignity. Though a man of very dissipated habits, and unaccustomed to diplomatic business, he did not want talents. Such were the leading Arrangements made by the "Coalition," on their coming into power. The Great Seal, which no expostulations on the part of the King, could induce them to leave in Thurlow's hands, and which Wedderburn wisely declined accepting under the circumstances of the time, was put into commission; Lord Loughborough being placed at its head. He constituted a valuable acquisition to the new Ministry in the House of Peers.

Lord North, it must be reluctantly confessed, however circumstances may justify his union with Fox, on principles of policy, of personal safety, or of necessity; did not perform in this great Drama, the most dignified

they no longer beheld, nor could have had daily access to their leader. Neither would he have attracted the same consideration in the other House, as he excited in his actual situation. Pressed between the amity of Fox, and the hostility of Pitt, with the loss of America about his neck, he saw himself obliged, after having so long performed the first figure, to become only the third personage in the State.

The public business of every kind, which had been nearly two Months delayed by the extraordinary occurrences that we have contemplated, at length began in Parliament. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer opened his financial Administration with a Loan; the terms of which, if not as beneficial or advantageous to the Country as might have been wished, were nevertheless, he said, as good as could be procured under the circumstances of urgency and retardment, in which the culpable obstinacy of the late Ministers had involved every Department. Mr. Pitt, who had now taken his place on the Opposition Bench, and who from this time, notwithstanding his youth, was justly considered as the head of that party in the House of Commons; opposed and censured the terms of Lord John Cavendish's Loan; but without venturing to divide the House upon it, as the "Coali-"tion," he was aware, would have much outnumbered him. Nor did he prove more successful in an attempt which he soon afterwards renewed, to effect a Parliamentary Reform, than he had been in the former Session. He pronounced indeed, a most eloquent address upon the subject, and was supported in his Motion, by Fox. Two Proselytes likewise, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and Mr. Dundas, having read, each their political recantation, adopted his principles for rendering the Representation more extended, as well as more pure and incorrupt. But, the House remained deaf to all these arguments, though illustrated by examples; the

latter of which did not even appear to have obtained for those who exhibited them, the praise either of disinterestedness, or of sincerity. Fox and Sheridan, while they sustained Pitt's proposition, yet treated with contempt and derision, the pretended sacrifice of the Borough of Old Sarum, which Mr. Thomas Pitt affected to offer up at the shrine of the British Constitution, as a victim to its renovated purity. If we reflect on the close degree of consanguinity that existed between William and Thomas Pitt, who were Cousins-german; a relationship strengthened by personal friendship:—and if we likewise recollect that Thomas represented the elder Branch of the family; we may perhaps incline to think that he relied on being speedily raised to the Peerage, for this mark of devotion, as effectively took place scarcely eight months afterwards. Dundas, who had a long and a keen political sight, having already determined on attaching his future political fortune to Pitt, probably thought a speculative political Tenet, undeserving of contention. But, the recantation pronounced by both, rather tended to throw a ridicule on the proposition, than to recommend it to the House. Lord North made ample amends for his passive inactivity during the preceding session, when a similar discussion took place. He spoke with uncommon ability, wit, and force of argument, against all representative innovation. Powis, who rarely coincided with him on any point, joined him on this occasion. Mr. Pitt's Resolutions were finally negatived by a far greater majority than in the preceding year; out of near four hundred and fifty Members who voted, only one hundred and forty-nine, having divided with him.

May.] No man in Office made a more conspicuous figure, or attracted more attention, during the Session under consideration, than Burke: but it was not by any means such as his friends and admirers could in all respects contemplate either with pride, with pleasure,

or with approbation. It excited indeed great regret, that a person endowed with parts so eminent, and animated by Philanthropy so extended, should nevertheless allow himself at times, to be led into the most unjustifiable deviations from ordinary prudence and propriety of conduct. In the present instance he involved his party, as well as himself, in equal embarrassment, by his intemperate precipitation. Two individuals, Powell and Bembridge, the one, Cashier, the other, Accountant, of the Military Pay Office, having been accused of malversation in the discharge of their functions, had been dismissed by Colonel Barré from their Offices, while he was Paymaster of the Forces, under Lord Shelburne's Administration. On Burke coming again into that Employment, one of his first acts, without previously consulting Fox upon the subject, was to reinstate both those persons in their respective situations. Such a proceeding relative to Functionaries laboring under heavy charges, and about to become subjects of criminal prosecution in the Court of King's Bench, naturally formed an object of discussion in the House of Commons, where it excited very pointed animadversion. Burke, petulant and irritable, defended with warmth the step that he had taken, though a measure in itself evidently contrary to the judgment of all parties. Fox, while he tacitly lamented and disapproved the Act, yet as he never abandoned his friends in distress, endeavoured to justify its author. The interference was nevertheless, peculiarly painful and delicate on his part; Powell, who had risen under his father, the late Lord Holland, being supposed to have connived at some of the appropriations of public money, committed, by that Nobleman, while Paymaster of the Forces; or of which appropriations at least, he stood loudly accused by popular prejudice. It was for the corrupt concealment of a sum exceeding forty eight thousand Pounds in the Accounts of Lord Holland,

that Powell and Bembridge were now about to undergo a trial. No circumstance therefore could have been less agreeable to Fox, while standing in the conspicuous situation of Secretary of State, than to be thus compelled by Burke's imprudence in restoring them to their places, to come forward as the Advocate and Apologist of such a transaction.

The House of Commons, however much they shewed on every occasion, a disposition to approve and to sanction the general measures of Administration; manifested nevertheless strong disapprobation of Burke's conduct in this instance, by compelling him to accept the Resignation of Bembridge. Powell, overcome either by the weight of his own reflections, or by his inability to sustain the public opinion of his culpability; after losing in a great measure the use of his faculties, put an end to his existence with a razor. Bembridge, of a firmer mind, or stronger nerves, was reserved for the infamy of a public trial and condemnation, before Lord Mansfield. The prosecution, reluctantly, but ably and fairly conducted by Lee, the Solicitor General, terminated in the complete exposure of the fraud imputed to Bembridge, for which the Court sentenced him to a severe fine and imprisonment. Every exertion which the purity of our Jurisprudence will allow, was made to soften, or to avert, the Severity of the Stroke. Burke, who did not hesitate to appear in Court, seated upon the Bench, during the proceedings, gave the strongest attestations to Bembridge's character for integrity. He was accompanied there by Lord North, who likewise condescended to join in a similar testimony to the good conduct and probity of the accused, during the time that he had, himself, formerly held the Post of joint Paymaster of the Forces. But, these efforts, which proved unavailing, only attracted censure towards the persons who thus attempted to screen from punishment, a conspicuous delinquent: while

the proofs exhibited of his guilt, impressed the public mind with opinions highly unfavorable, not merely to Burke himself, at least in a prudential point of view; but to the Ministry in which he filled so distinguished a place.

3d June.] Scarcely had this affair ceased to occupy attention, when Burke plunged himself into a second embarrassment, hardly less painful to his friends. A Bill for the regulation of the Pay Office, having been brought into the House of Commons by himself, which gave rise to much discussion and difference of opinion, in its passage through the Committee; the contending parties agreed to fill up the Blanks amicably, after the House rose, round the Speaker's Chair. Burke being Paymaster General, of course took an active part, as did many other Members; and the Clauses were understood to have been settled in the way specified, by mutual consent. But, Mr. Estwick, Member for Westbury, on a Motion for the third reading of the Bill, to the astonishment of the House, rising up in his place, preferred a formal charge against Burke; accusing him of having gone into the engrossing room, after the Bill in question had been carried there; of expunging three Clauses, and altering a fourth, which he re-modelled to his own taste. Such an act, if it had been proved, might have led to very grave consequences; and must in any case have attracted public censure, or produced a reprimand from the Chair. Fox immediately came forward with his characteristic manliness, to the aid of his friend, whose conduct was severely arraigned by Pitt. The House admitted the Secretary's justification, and did not inflict any mark of its disapprobation on Burke; though the excuses offered, or reasons alledged, for his Conduct, were by no means such as completely exculpated him in the opinions of impartial men. It appeared however by the testimony of Cornwall the Speaker, that Burke had not, as he

was accused of doing, either expunged or altered any Clause in the engrossing Office. The Speaker at least asserted, and the House lent credit to his assurance, that the misconception had arisen from the circumstance of his having put the Question on the four Clauses, in so low a tone of voice, that they all passed without notice. Pitt contended that even though this extraordinary fact were true, yet the expunged Clauses must be restored, and debated anew by the House. As the proposition could not be refused, they were therefore brought up, and negatived without a Division. The Speaker's testimony extricated Burke, and Fox manifested the generous ardor of his mind throughout the whole transaction; an ardor which always impelled him to cover the errors of those with whom he was connected in politics or friendship. But, he did not the less in private condemn Burke's imprudence; and he was said to have warned the Paymaster of the Forces, as he valued his Office, not to involve his friends, and the Administration of which he composed so conspicuous a Member, in a third similar Dilemma, during the remainder of the Session.

Among the persons of Eminence who have "strutted "their hour," under the reign of George the Third, and who about this time disappeared from the great public Theatre, may be named General Sir John Irwin. His person, manners, and conversation, were all made for the Drawing Room, where he seemed always to be in his native element. Though declining in life, yet his figure, tall, graceful, and dignified, set off by all the ornaments of Dress, accompanied with a Riband and a Star, rendered him conspicuous in every company. He always reminded me of a Marshal of France, such as they are described by St. Simon, under Louis the Fourteenth. His politeness, though somewhat formal, was nevertheless natural and captivating. Perhaps, at least so his enemies asserted, his military

talents were not equally brilliant with his personal accomplishments; but he had not risen the more slowly on that account, to the honors, or to the eminences of his profession. Besides a Regiment and a Government conferred on him by the Crown, he had held during several years, the post of Commander in Chief in Ireland, with very ample appointments and advantages. But, no income, however large, could suffice for his expences, which being never restrained within any reasonable limits, finally involved him in irretrievable difficulties. The fact will hardly obtain belief, that at one of the entertainments which he gave to the Lord Lieutenant in the year 1781, at Dublin, he displayed on the table, as the principal piece in the Dessert, a representation of the Fortress of Gibraltar invested by the Spanish forces, executed in Confectionary. It exhibited a faithful view of that celebrated Rock, together with the works, Batteries, and Artillery of the besiegers, which threw sugar plumbs against the walls. The expence of this ostentatious piece of magnificence, did not fall short of fifteen hundred Pounds; and so incredible must the circumstance appear, that if I had not received the assurance of it from Lord Sackville, I should not venture to report it in these Memoirs.

The greatest intimacy subsisted between that Nobleman and Sir John, who owed much of his advancement and success in life, to the protection of Lionel, Duke of Dorset. Lord Sackville's disinterested friendship still continued to bring him into Parliament, as his Colleague for East Grinstead, after Irwin's return from Ireland, on the dissolution of Lord North's Administration, down to his final departure from England. Decorated with the Order of the *Bath*, which then conferred much distinction, and of which he never failed to display the insignia whenever he went to the House, his personal appearance was imposing. Even of

a morning, in his greatest undress, he wore a small Star embroidered on his frock, without which he rarely appeared any where; and his travelling Hussar Cloaks bore the same brilliant badge of Knighthood. No man better knew the value of external figure, aided by manner; and Philip, Earl of Chesterfield himself, had not more successfully studied the Graces. It was impossible to possess finer manners, without any affectation; or more perfect good breeding. With such pretensions of person and of address, it cannot surprize that he attained to a great degree of favor at St. James's. The King considered and treated Irwin, as a person whose conversation afforded him peculiar gratification. He often delighted to protract the discourse with a Courtier, whose powers of entertainment, however extensive, were always under the restraint of profound respect; and who never forgot the character of the Prince whom he addressed, even for a single moment. Irwin, though so fine a gentleman, loved all the indulgencies of conviviality, in which gratifications he never restrained himself. The King, not unacquainted with these particulars, having said to him one day, at the Drawing Room, when conversing on his common mode of life, "they tell me, Sir John, "that you love a glass of wine;" "Those, Sir, who "have so reported of me to Your Majesty," answered he, bowing profoundly, "have done me great injustice. "They should have said a Bottle."

Sir John Irwin's first wife, a daughter of the celebrated Physician Sir Edward Barry, who wrote with so much elegance and information on the "Wines "of the Ancients;" brought him no issue: but he afterwards contracted a more obscure matrimonial connexion. On his return to England, his debts became so numerous, and his creditors so importunate, that, though as a Member of Parliament, his person remained secure, he found it impossible to reside longer

with comfort in this country. Quitting therefore privately his elegant house in Piccadilly, he retired to the Continent; and landing in France, he hired a Chateau in the Province of Normandy, where his military rank secured for him every testimony of respect from the surrounding gentry. He nevertheless soon experienced such pecuniary difficulties, that having no hope of ever revisiting his native country, he removed over the Alps into Italy. I believe he died at Padua, about the month of May, 1788, in great obscurity, though not in distress. The King, who sincerely regretted his departure from England, and who well knew the causes of it, often expressed his concern for Sir John Irwin's misfortunes: which he endeavoured to alleviate by sending Sir John, the sum of a thousand Pounds from his Privy Purse, in two separate payments. I know this fact from the late Sir Charles Hotham; who was, I think, himself, the channel through which His Majesty transmitted the first donation of five hundred Pounds.

Lord John Cavendish, though he had negotiated and brought forward the *Loan*, soon after he entered on Office, yet did not propose the Taxes which were to pay the Interest of it, untill many weeks later in the Session. He at length laid them before the House of Commons, where, on the whole they appeared to meet with general approbation, and even attracted some Encomiums. But, Lord John, whose talents were not eminently adapted for the discussion of Measures of Finance, having stated his Ways and Means with tolerable precision, left the task of explaining and defending them, principally to his Associates in power. Fox and Lord North, who undertook it with great ability, repelled the comments made from the Opposition side of the House, on the new Taxes: while the Chancellor of the Exchequer, quitting his seat on the Treasury Bench, retired during a consider-

able part of the Debate, behind the Speaker's Chair; from which retreat he peeped out on either side, as individuals rose for the purpose of approving, or of censuring his *Budget*. Lord John's acknowledged purity of character, when joined to his many virtues; not to dwell on his high Descent; rendered him universally respected: and the advantage which his Party derived from those qualities, in the public estimation, was incalculable. The Nation even seemed silently to demand some such Guarantee, when the interests of the Country were committed to a man of Fox's ruined Fortune, and dissipated habits of life. Mr. Pitt, it is true, who had been so recently placed at the head of the Exchequer, scarcely possessed more property than his rival. But the people of England knew how to discriminate between their respective deficiency. Pitt, though not more distinguished by habits of economy than Fox, yet had not dissipated his small paternal fortune in any ostensible vices: while Fox, besides a landed Estate, and a lucrative Office, both which he sold, had squandered an immense sum of ready money. Indeed, though Fox always appeared to me, whenever *Loans* or *Budgets* were discussed in Parliament, to display a capacity for arithmetical Calculation, and all the talents for a Minister of Finance, scarcely, if at all inferior to Mr. Pitt's ability in that line; yet, I believe, it never occurred to any man's mind, to place Fox in the controul of the Treasury, or of the Exchequer, at any period of his life. Almost as well might Henry the Fifth have placed Falstaff there. Fox himself seemed not to emulate a higher post than Secretary of State, always interposing Lord John Cavendish in the guardianship of the public money. Nor could the British people confide their interests to more incorruptible integrity, than distinguished the Chancellor of the Exchequer: but he could not sustain the slightest comparison with

of a description so singular, as to excite not only astonishment, but even to produce a degree of ridicule. They served to shew what extensive depredations had been committed upon the public, in many, or in all the principal Offices, previous to the period of Lord North's resignation. That Nobleman formed the mark, at which Pitt levelled his severest censures; nor could the House altogether refrain from laughter, at one of the charges, specifying a sum of three hundred and forty Pounds, paid to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the article of *Whipcord*. The annual expence of the first Minister for his individual *Stationary*, did not fall short, as it appeared, of thirteen hundred Pounds. Lord North, when called on, made nevertheless not only a plausible, but a very satisfactory defence, to most of the alledged Items. Relative to the consumption of Whipcord, which had excited a great deal of mirth, having professed however his total ignorance, Robinson undertook to give some sort of explanation, which however ingenious or even well founded, nevertheless diverted, more than it satisfied his hearers.

It is certain that during the period antecedent to 1782, the Abuses practised in many great official Departments, which exceeded all reasonable limits, loudly demanded parliamentary regulation. I have, myself, had occasion to hear, if not to see, specimens and instances of depredation; (for they well merited the name; which will hardly obtain belief in the present days. I knew with some degree of intimacy, a Lord of Trade, who possessing a Borough, and a very large fortune, was himself a Member of the House of Commons in successive Parliaments. On his being sworn in at the Board of Trade, he issued an order to provide a great number of pewter Inkstands for his own use; which he afterwards commuted into one composed of Silver. I have seen him at the Levee, dressed in a suit of green Velvet, fabricated, as fame reported, out

of the materials ordered in his public character, for the ostensible purpose of making bags to contain Office papers. His friends and correspondents could recognize the Stationary, of which he had made an ample provision, more than ten years after the Board of Trade itself, abolished by Burke's Bill, had ceased to have any existence. Even *since* 1782, similar facts are said to have taken place. This Gentleman, or rather his wife, formed one on the List of British Peerages, intended to have been either revived or created, by Lord North and Fox; the number of which, as I recollect, amounted to thirty two, or thirty three; if the "Coalition" had forced their way a second time into the Cabinet, in the beginning of 1784, as they confidently expected.

Nor were these the only official and Ministerial appropriations of the Public Money, to private purposes, that distinguished the Times under our review. From the Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, down to the conclusion of Lord North's Government, few places of considerable emolument, in any Department, were given, wholly unfettered, to the nominal occupant. Even under Lord Rockingham's first Administration in 1765, we find Wilkes *quartered* on the whole of the Treasury and Admiralty Boards, to the annual amount of 1040l. a year; the Marquis paying him 500l.: the inferior Lords of the Treasury, 60l. each; and the Members of the Board of Trade, each 40l. This curious fact is stated in Horne's Letter to "Junius," of the 31st July, 1771. It was not attempted to be denied. When the Duke of Grafton, in June of the same year, 1771, accepted the Office of Privy Seal, which had been previously destined for Lord Weymouth; "Junius" more than insinuates, that the last mentioned Nobleman was *quartered* by the Duke upon Rigby, who, from 1768 to 1782, nominally occupied the sole Paymastership of the Forces. I knew a Lady of Quality, who having been daughter to a

person high in Office, was commonly said to have *rode* sixteen persons at one time; to whom her father had given places, under that express condition or reservation. I believe she outlived them all. Governments, military Appointments, Offices in the Excise and Customs; in a word, places of every description, at home and abroad, were frequently loaded with *Riders*. These practices were disdained by Mr. Pitt, when he became First Minister; but he was necessitated in many cases to commit a greater inroad on the Constitution, by distributing Honours and Dignities, as a substitute for emoluments.

July.] The fruitless attempt made by Pitt, to regulate the abuses of Fees in the public Offices, did not constitute the only unsuccessful parliamentary effort undertaken by him, during the Session. A short time before its close, Lord John Cavendish having, as it would appear, somewhat incautiously or inadvertently laid on the Table of the House, a List of public Accountants, from whom Balances of money exceeding in the whole forty-four Millions, were due to Government; Pitt endeavoured to induce the House to vote an Address to the Crown, requesting His Majesty to take measures for compelling the persons named, to account for the sums so remaining in their hands; and for preventing a future recurrence of the same Abuse. He seemed authorized to assume, that such a Motion would be too analogous to the avowed disposition and professions of the Rockingham party, to experience from them any resistance. All the ability, eloquence, wit, and ingenuity of the Ministerial Benches, were nevertheless called out, in order to invalidate the authenticity of the very Document, laid by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Table; which his Colleagues now declared to be destitute of proper authority, and consequently, an unsafe, as well as inefficient basis, on which to found the proposed Address to the Throne.

This treatment of Lord John in his official capacity, as Minister of Finance, by his own friends, in the face of the House of Commons, did not appear at first sight, either the most respectful to him, or even the most decorous to themselves. Sheridan, with consummate Address, contrived, however, to render it in some measure palatable, by a delicate mixture of compliment to his integrity, and of censure on his prudence: while Lord North and Fox played their whole Artillery upon Pitt. The two Secretaries of State seemed on that day, to act in perfect concert, and to be cordially united. Having thus extracted almost every Clause from the Address, which rendered it efficient or useful, they allowed it, when mutilated and harmless, to pass the House.

16th July.] The Session, protracted to the middle of July, now drew towards a termination. During the space of about three Months that Parliament remained sitting after the formation of the new Ministry, both Houses, in particular the Commons, had manifested the utmost disposition to give them every support. The Opposition, though conducted by Pitt and Dundas, while it was tacitly, as well as powerfully, sustained by Jenkinson; yet rarely ventured on a Division, which only exposed the paucity and inferiority of their numbers. Lord North, however obscured he might be by the superior energy of Fox, still remained the nominal leader of a very numerous body, who looked to him for protection against the violent Members of the Rockingham Party. But his Colleague, without the title, was already become the real First Minister; as the great Earl of Chatham had been formerly, under the late and present Reign, when only Secretary of State, or when holding the Privy Seal. The strength of Fox's character, the activity of his mind, the warmth of his friendship, and the splendor of his talents;—this combination of endowments naturally attracting ad-

herents, enabled him to absorb the whole power of Government. Burke, ardent, indefatigable, and never losing sight of his object, impatiently looked forward to the great task of reforming and remodelling India. The advanced season of the year at which the Administration came into power, and that circumstance only, had induced him, as well as his Colleagues, to allow the present Session to elapse, without immediately availing themselves of the patronage, and multiplied sources of advantage, which the Indian Empire offered to their avidity. It presented a rich harvest, which they devoured by anticipation; and the enjoyment of which they reluctantly postponed, even for a few Months. But, the magnitude, importance, and complicated nature of the political machine by which India was governed, demanded mature deliberation, before they ventured to reconstruct it, as they meditated, entirely on new principles. It was therefore finally determined in the Cabinet, to call Parliament together early in the approaching Autumn, for the purpose; and the King was expressly made to declare the Intention, in his Speech pronounced from the Throne on the Prorogation. Sheridan, by a wonderful combination of almost all talents which can meet in man, under the controul of unalterable equality of temper, began already to compete with Burke in parliamentary estimation; and frequently obtained a more ready or patient hearing from the House. Every day, while it confirmed the ascendant which he had there acquired, placed him higher among the most distinguished supports of Administration.

If the *Coalition* looked round at home, they beheld at this period, a docile Parliament, originally called together by Lord North; and of which he still retained in his hands, many of the secret Springs or Keys, in both Houses. Abroad, every thing announced the continuance of Peace. America was indeed lost; but

the emancipated Colonies had ceased to be hostile to Great Britain. France, exhausted even by her late advantages beyond the Atlantic, weak in her Government, and altogether convulsed or deranged in her Finances; already nourished in her vitals the seeds of that fatal Revolution, which since overturned order, religion, morals, and the antient fabrick of Europe. Joseph the Second, Emperor of Germany, suppressing Monasteries and religious Establishments with one hand; with the other, in direct violation of all subsisting Treaties, rashly and wantonly demolished to their foundations, the works of the Garrison cities of the Austrian Netherlands. I witnessed, myself, during the course of that Summer, the expulsion of the last remains of the Dutch troops maintained in the Barrier towns, and the destruction or demolition of the Fortifications themselves. Except Luxembourg, placed at one extremity; and the Citadel of Antwerp situate at the other, it was obvious that scarcely any obstacle remained to exclude France from overrunning the Low Countries at her pleasure. If these reflexions appeared however to cause no uneasiness to Ministers, yet, a domestic source of just anxiety which they could not surmount, presented itself in the fixed and unconquerable Alienation of the King. In vain did they endeavour to insinuate themselves into his favour. He received with formality and coldness, all their advances; allowed them to dictate measures; gave them Audiences, signed papers, and complied with their advice; but he neither admitted them to his confidence, nor ceased to consider them as objects of his personal aversion. The consciousness of this sentiment existing in the royal bosom, which sunk deep into Fox's mind, naturally impelled him to substitute other foundations, on which to construct, and to perpetuate, his ministerial Greatness.

No man who has enjoyed the opportunities of studying Fox's character, or of being informed respecting

his political line of action, to which I have had access; can however doubt that he would have preferred gentleness before force, and conciliation in preference to harsher methods of confirming his power, if the means of accomplishing it had been open to him. He well knew how difficult it was to retain Office in defiance of the Sovereign; and he could not be ignorant that by his junction with Lord North, though he had stormed the Cabinet, he had lost his popularity. All his original principles were monarchical, and even his ambition partook of the pliability of his nature. His very necessities rendered him ductile, and loudly called on him to bestow some attention on his private fortune. In fact we may question whether a more complying Minister, or one more disposed to have gratified his Master in every legitimate object of royal desire, could have been found among His Majesty's Subjects. Mr. Pitt manifested by no means the same acquiescence, or the same suavity and ready submission, on a variety of occasions, when afterwards in Office. He was on the contrary, often intractable and pertinacious, even upon points painfully interesting to the King. But, if George the Third did not regard him with affection, he at least considered him with esteem; and unfortunately for Fox, it was not easy to acquire the royal favour, except through the Channel of his moral approbation. "*Hoc fonte derivata Clades.*" It was in vain that the Secretary watched for a moment of weakness, of which he would no doubt have profited. There was no Mistress to facilitate his approaches, to soften asperities, and to form the medium of reconciliation. Under George the First, the Duchess of Kendal, or the Countess of Darlington, would have performed that office, though not gratuitously; as Mrs. Howard, or Madame de Walmoden, would equally have done with George the Second.

Nor can we reasonably question on the other hand,

that His Majesty justly appreciated the Secretary's character, and was well aware that he would not prove more intractable or rigid while in Office, than other men. But he did not choose to avail himself of such assistance. I know that some three or four years after the time of which I now speak, the King finding himself alone with the Duke of Queensberry, who had been one of the Lords of his Bed-chamber ever since his Accession to the Crown, and with whom he was accustomed to converse unreservedly on many subjects; the discourse turned on the Coalition Ministry. "Sir," said the Duke, "Your Majesty might safely have "allowed Mr. Fox to remain in Office, and you would "have found in him every disposition to comply with "your wishes. I can assert as an undoubted fact, that "there was scarcely any proof of his personal devotion, "or any sacrifice that he would not have made, to "acquire your favour." "He never said as much to "me," answered the King. "No, Sir," replied the Duke, "assuredly he did not, because Your Majesty "never gave him any encouragement to venture on "taking such a step." George the Third, during the eight or nine months of his captivity, only looked to emancipation, and never attempted to gain his Ministerial Jailors.

Meanwhile emerging, as the Duties of his high Office compelled him, from the dissipation and society of Brookes's; Fox, during this brilliant, but transitory portion of his life, fulfilled with universal approbation, I might even say, admiration, all the essential, no less than the ostensible functions of Secretary of State. At his house in Grafton Street, he received and entertained the foreign Ministers then resident in London from the various European Courts, with distinguished Eclat. They, who were never weary of his conversation, respected his talents, while they admired the immense variety of his information on all diplomatic points.

Delighted at the facility with which he wrote or conversed in French, they were not less gratified by the liberal hospitality of his table, added to the amenity and frankness of his manners. Nor can it be sufficiently regretted, that a man so much formed to have done Honor, and to have rendered essential service to his Country, as Fox; should, by the errors or imprudencies of his own conduct, have rendered himself obnoxious to his Sovereign, and thus have excluded himself from Office. We cannot reflect without concern, that in the course of a life prolonged to its fifty-eighth year, Fox sat only about nineteen months in the Cabinet, taken all together: while Pitt, who terminated his comparatively short career at forty-seven, passed almost his whole life after he attained to manhood, in the first employments; or rather in the highest situation of State, that of Prime Minister. However we may dispute as to the superiority of *Talents* in these two extraordinary and illustrious men, posterity will be at no loss to decide respecting the superiority of their *Judgment*.

August.] Pitt availing himself of this Interval of political Leisure, afforded him by the Triumph of the "Coalition," and the Recess of Parliament, endeavoured to catch a hasty glimpse of the Continent, which he had scarcely ever before visited. As if he foresaw that no other occasion would ever again present itself for the gratification of his curiosity, he crossed over to Calais, and directed his Course in the first instance, to the Low Countries. Mr. George Rose, who had been one of the two Secretaries of the Treasury, when Pitt filled the Post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who has since deservedly risen by his financial talents or services, to much higher official situations, accompanied him. I met them by accident, at Antwerp. Pitt proceeding afterwards to Paris, was presented by our Embassador, the Duke of Manchester, to Louis the

Sixteenth, at Fontainbleau, where the French Court always passed a considerable portion of the Autumn. His Name, and the fame of his distinguished abilities, which had preceded his appearance, disposed all to admire him; but the King, in compliance with the stupid Etiquette, that interdicted him from speaking to Foreigners, when presented at Court; added to his natural shyness; did not, I believe, exchange one word with Pitt. The Queen, whose superior energy of mind emancipated her from such restraints, treated him with the utmost distinction. Marie Antoinette entered into conversation with him, as far as his cold manner, encreased by an imperfect knowledge of the French Language, would permit her to engage him in discourse. "*Monsieur*," said she to him, on his retiring, with a manner even more expressive than the words, "*Je suis* "*charmée de vous voir, et de vous avoir vue.*" Pitt took care to return to London from his short excursion, in time to attend the Meeting of Parliament.

While the two leaders of Ministry, and of Opposition, were thus respectively occupied, the one in his official duties at home, and the other on the Continent; the King became a prey to habitual dejection. Throughout all the troubles of his reign, when Wilkes and when "Junius" excited disaffection among his Subjects, as well as during the most distressful periods of the American War; or when the Capital exhibited scenes of outrage and of popular violence; he had maintained a serene countenance, and manifested an unshaken firmness. But, his fortitude sunk under the bondage to which "the Coalition" had subjected him. His natural equality of temper, suavity of manners, and cheerfulness of deportment, forsaking him in a great measure, he became silent, thoughtful, taciturn, and uncommunicative. Sometimes, when he resided at Windsor, mounting his horse, accompanied by an Equerry and a single footman; after riding ten or

twelve miles, scarcely opening his lips, he would dismount in order to inspect his hounds, or to view his farming improvements: then getting on horseback again, he returned back to the Queen's Lodge in the same pensive or disconsolate manner. From time to time, he admitted Mr. Jenkinson and Lord Thurlow, both of whom were Privy Councillors, to pay their respects to him. He even repeated to the latter of those distinguished persons, his wish already expressed, of going over to his Electoral Dominions for a few months; and abandoning to the Ministers, the power of which they had got possession. But Lord Thurlow, after again dissuading him from having recourse to any strong or violent expedients for procuring present emancipation; exhorted him to wait for a favorable occasion, which Fox's impetuosity or imprudence would probably furnish, to liberate himself from the yoke of the *Coalition*. Time soon presented the propitious moment for putting this advice into execution.

September.] His Majesty remaining inflexible in his resolution not to create any *British* Peers on the ministerial recommendation, they contented themselves with tendering him a list of eight or nine *Irish* peerages. However reluctantly, he yet consented to exercise this act of the Prerogative. Nearly about the same time, the definitive Treaties of Peace were concluded with France and Spain; while David Hartley, who had been sent to Paris for the purpose, signed another Treaty with America. Hartley, who was Member for Hull, though destitute of any personal recommendations of manner, possessed some talent, with unsullied probity, added to indefatigable perseverance and labour. His sight which was very defective compelled him always to wear spectacles. The Rockingham Party had not among them a more zealous adherent; but in Parliament, the intolerable length, when increased by the dullness of his Speeches, rendered him an absolute

nuisance, even to his own friends. His rising always operated like a dinner bell. One day, that he had thus wearied out the patience of his audience; having nearly cleared a very full House, which was reduced from three hundred, to about eighty persons, half asleep; just at a time when he was expected to close, he unexpectedly moved that the Riot Act should be read, as a document necessary to elucidate, or to prove, some of his foregoing assertions. Burke, who sat close by him, and who wishing to speak to the Question under discussion, had been bursting with impatience for more than an hour and a half; finding himself so cruelly disappointed, bounced up, exclaiming, "The Riot Act! my dear "friend, the Riot Act! to what purpose! don't you "see that the mob is already completely dispersed?" The sarcastic wit of this remark, in the state of the House, which presented only empty Benches; encreased by the manner and tone of despair, in which Burke uttered it; convulsed every person present except Hartley, who never changed countenance, and insisted on the Riot Act being read by one of the Clerks.

I have heard the late Earl of Liverpool, then Mr. Jenkinson, say, that Hartley having risen to speak, about five o'clock, during the Session of the year 1779, in the month of June, or of July; and it being generally understood, that he would undoubtedly continue a long time on his legs, as he was to conclude with making a Motion; Mr. Jenkinson profited of the occasion to breathe some country air. He walked therefore, from the House, to his residence in Parliament Street; from whence mounting his horse, he rode out to a place that he rented, some miles from town. There he dined, strolled about, and in the evening returned slowly to London. As it was then near nine o'clock; before he went down a second time to the House of Commons, he dispatched a servant to Mrs. Bennet, the Housekeeper, requesting to be informed of the names of the principal

persons who had spoken in the course of the Debate, and likewise to know about what hour a Division might probably be expected to take place. The footman brought back for answer, that Mr. Hartley continued still speaking, but, was expected to close soon; and that no other person had yet risen except himself. In fact, when Mr. Jenkinson entered the House soon afterwards, Hartley remained exactly in the same place and attitude as he was, near five hours before; regardless of the general impatience, or of the profound repose into which the majority of his hearers were sunk. However incredible this Anecdote appears, I have related it without exaggeration.

October.] Autumn produced universal tranquillity; a Peace with Holland, following the Treaties made with France, Spain, and America. In India, hostilities had been long terminated with the Mharattas; and the death of Hyder Ally, the most formidable enemy with whom we had to contend in the East, which took place in December, 1782, enabled us to continue the contest with France in that quarter of the world, till the arrival at Madras, of the intelligence of a general pacification in Europe. I availed myself of a fortunate circumstance, to convey the first information of this event to India, and thereby stopped the further effusion of blood. Lord Walsingham, who had been newly sworn in a Member of the Privy Council, in January, 1783, possessing in virtue of his Office, two "Extraordinary "Gazettes," gave me one of them; which Gazette I forwarded on the 25th of that Month, by the common Post overland, through Vienna, Constantinople, Aleppo, and Bussora, to a friend at Madras. It contained the Preliminaries of Peace just signed at Paris, between Great Britain, France, and Spain. The King's Ministers, as well as the East India Company, were equally bound by every principle of humanity and policy, to have anticipated that Gazette. But, Lord Sydney, then

Secretary of State for the Department, having delayed, on account of the unsettled nature of the Administration, which remained during many weeks in a species of suspension, after Lord Shelburne's resignation to dispatch the "Crocodile" Frigate, with the intelligence; and the Court of Directors remaining from the same cause equally torpid; my letter reached Madras about the middle of the following Month of June. Full six weeks elapsed subsequent to that time, before any official information, either from the Court of Versailles, from the British Government, or from the East India House, arrived on the Coast of Coromandel. Our position, at the moment when my account was received in that Quarter of the Globe, might be esteemed most critical, as we had formed the Siege of Cuddalore, and were under hourly apprehension of a Sally being made on the part of the enemy; whose Force within the Walls, far exceeded our own Troops stationed in the Trenches before the place. Under these circumstances, Lord Macartney, then Governor of Madras, having dispatched his Secretary, Sir George Staunton, to Cuddalore, with the Gazette which my friend had laid before him; Bussy, who commanded the French Forces, recognized its authenticity, and consented to publish an immediate Cessation of Arms. When the account of so extraordinary a fact was received in London from Madras, early in 1784, together with the recognition of its beneficial results to the East India Company; a Member of the Court of Directors, who then enjoyed great Consideration in Leadenhall Street; impressed with a sense of the public Benefits that had accrued from it, evinced a desire of procuring for me, as its author, some honorary Mark of the Company's satisfaction or gratitude. But, on his mentioning the subject to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, they observed, that to thank me for sending out intelligence of the conclusion of Peace, must imply a tacit condemnation

of their own delay in so long withholding, or rather, in neglecting to forward, the information. The business remained therefore in oblivion: but I do not the less reflect upon it, as one of the most gratifying acts of my whole Life.

Hyder Ally, who had raised himself, like Buonaparte, from the rank of a military Officer in the service of his native Prince, the Rajah or Sovereign of Mysore, to the possession of Supreme Power in that Country; was, beyond all competition, the greatest man whom India had beheld, since the entry of Nadir Shaw into Dehli; or perhaps since the death of Aurung Zebe. It was twice the lot of Hyder, to overrun the Carnatic, and to penetrate to the Gates of Madras. His first irruption, which took place in 1769, may even be said to have dictated the Treaty of Peace, concluded under the very walls of the City. Governor Du Pré, who then presided over the East India Company's affairs on the Coast of Coromandel; held more than one interview with Hyder, while the Negociations were pending, in order to adjust, or to accelerate the Conditions. Insensibly, during these personal conferences, as their mutual distrust and distance wore off, the Nabob put many questions to Du Pré, indicating equally the enlargement of his mind, and displaying the easy familiarity of his manners. One of the circumstances which most excited the English Governor's astonishment, was to see that Hyder had no eye-brows; nor, indeed, a single hair left on any part of his face. A man constantly attended near him, whose sole function and employment consisted in pulling out, with a pair of nippers, the first hair that made its appearance on the Sultan's countenance. Hyder perceiving the surprize which this fact occasioned in Du Pré, said to him, "I observe, that you wonder at my "having no eye-brows; as well as at my attention to "cause every hair that appears on my face, to be "immediately eradicated. The reason I will explain

" to you. I am the Nabob of Mysore, and it is an " object of policy with me, that my Subjects should see " no face in my dominions, resembling the countenance " of their Sovereign." Du Pré assured Sir John Macpherson, to whom he related this Anecdote, that he believed Hyder's practice proved him to possess a consummate knowledge of human nature, especially of his own subjects. "For," added he, "the impression " which the Nabob's physiognomy made upon myself, " was not a little encreased by its singularity." From the universal testimony of all those Europeans who had opportunities of knowing this extraordinary Prince, it is unquestionable that his manners, voice, and deportment, were the most soft and ingratiating to be imagined, whenever he wished to please, or affected to be gracious and benign: but he was terrible, and often ferocious in his anger, like the Caliph Haroun-Alraschid, or like Peter the First of Russia. He died of Abscesses, or Cancers, in his loins; probably, the consequences of debauchery; which carried him off before he attained to old age. After a war, which from its commencement at Lexington in 1775, had lasted near eight years, the world began to enjoy repose: but the efforts made by the Coalition to consolidate their political Power, soon produced at home the most violent convulsions, which terminated in their total downfall.

Two great legal characters finished their course nearly together, in the Autumn of 1783. Dunning, in August; and Wallace, in November. Both were eminent in their profession; but all the intellectual superiority lay on the side of the former. Yet fortune had a greater share than merit or talents, in elevating the one to the Peerage, while the other failed of attaining to that Eminence. If Lord North's Administration had continued two or three years longer, and consequently if Lord Shelburne had been excluded from Office, their destiny might probably have been reversed. I have

been assured, that a short time before Lord Ashburton's decease, these two distinguished Lawyers finding themselves by accident in the same inn at Bagshot, the one, on his way down into Devonshire, and the other returning from thence to London; both conscious that their recovery from the disorders under which they laboured, was desperate; expressed a strong mutual wish to enjoy a last interview with each other. For that purpose, they were carried into the same apartment, laid down on two Sofas nearly opposite, and remained for a long time in conversation. They then parted, as men who could not hope to meet again in this world. By Wallace's decease, Lee became Attorney-General, and Mansfield was replaced in his former situation of Solicitor-General, which he had filled under Lord North's Administration.

I passed a considerable part of the Autumn with Lord Sackville, at Drayton in Northamptonshire. Though in his sixty-eighth year, he possessed activity of body, chearfulness of temper, and the perfect possession of all his faculties. Drayton had formerly belonged to the Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough, from whom it passed into the possession of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, by his marriage with Lady Mary Mordaunt, under the reign of William the Third. He did not however long retain it, having been divorced from the Duchess, on account of a criminal connexion which she carried on with Sir John Germain: and as the Duke had no issue by her, Drayton reverted to the lady. The room which had been occupied by Sir John Germain, when a visitor there in the Duke of Norfolk's time, communicated by a spacious dark closet, with a large apartment, then the Duchess's bedchamber. This closet was divided by a wooden partition, of about six feet high, which did not however reach to the ceiling. Sir John having, through the closet in question, gained access to the Duchess's bed, was one day nearly sur-

prised by the Duke; who, coming unexpectedly to the door, which he found shut and fastened, demanded admittance. The lover, thus interrupted, had only time to jump out of bed in his shirt, to reach the closet, and to mount astride on the partition; where he sat, not daring to descend on the other side, because the noise would have disclosed the place of his retreat. As if to encrease his apprehensions, the Duchess's lap-dog, which lay near her bed-side, alarmed at the accident, followed him to the door of the closet, barking violently all the time. The Duke, nevertheless, it seems, did not discover him, and he reached his own room in safety, after passing some minutes in a most perilous, as well as awkward situation.

Lord Sackville having, as is well known, assumed the name of Germain, and having inherited the Estate of Drayton, it was natural to enquire how he came to be called to that succession. He has frequently related to me the particulars, which I shall recount in his own words.

"Sir John Germain's extraction," said he, "which "was uncertain, and variously reported, has given rise "to much discussion. His reputed father bore Arms, "as a private soldier, in the guards of William the "Second, Prince of Orange: but his mother, who "possessed great personal charms, fame asserted to "have been that Prince's mistress; and her son was be-"lieved to stand in a very close degree of consanguinity "to King William the Third. Other circumstances "confirm this opinion. Sir John Germain inherited "no paternal Coat of Arms; but he assumed, or rather "used, as his seal and armorial bearing, a red Cross: "meaning thereby probably to imply, that his preten-"sions ascended higher than his ostensible Birth. Even "when, by the provisions of his widow, Lady Betty "Germain's Will, I inherited Drayton, on the condition "of assuming the *Name* of Germain, no mention was

"made of the *Arms*, as is customary in almost all "similar cases. King William, with whom Sir John "came over here from Holland, in 1688, unquestionably "regarded him with distinguishing affection, and ad- "vanced him in life. He became a Member of Parlia- "ment, received the honour of Knighthood; and various "pecuniary grants or donations to a considerable "amount, were conferred on him by that Prince.

"Sir John Germain, who possessed a very handsome "person, was always a distinguished favourite of the "other sex. His connexion with the Duchess of Nor- "folk, finally procured him this place and Estate, she "having married him, after obtaining a Divorce from "her first husband. They lived together several years; "but no children being left alive, and the title of "Peterborough having reverted to a collateral branch "of the Mordaunt family, she bequeathed to him, by "her will, in the year 1705, the house and property of "Drayton, which lay entirely in her own disposal. Sir "John, who, though naturalized, and become by long "residence in this country, in a great degree an English- "man, retained nevertheless many of the habits and "particularities of a native of Holland, attached him- "self much to my mother. She being the daughter "of Marshal Colyear, brother to the first Earl of "Portmore, who had entered early into the Dutch "service, and who was an old friend of Sir John "Germain; he always called her his countrywoman, "visited frequently at my father's house, and was "kindly received by the Duke and Duchess of Dorset. "Finding himself in possession of a considerable landed "property, after the death of his wife; and desirous of "transmitting it to his own descendants, but being "destitute of any natural connexions, he meditated "to engraft himself on some distinguished family of "this kingdom. For the purpose, while resident at "Bristol Wells, on account of his health, he cast his

" eyes upon Lady Betty Berkeley, a daughter of the Earl " of Berkeley, whose birth, character, and accomplish- " ments, rendered her every way worthy of his choice. " She was indeed, many years younger than Sir John; " but, as she possessed a superior understanding, added " to the most correct deportment, she acquired great " influence over him. Having been, herself, intimate " with the Duchess of Dorset, the friendship between " the two families became cemented by the alliance. " Sir John Germain had several children by her, who " all died young; and in the evening of his life, be- " coming a martyr to the gout, as well as to other dis- " eases, Lady Betty, assiduously performed every duty " of an affectionate wife, and of a careful nurse, about " his person.

" A short time before his decease, which happened in " the year 1718, having called her to his bedside; 'Lady " Betty,' said he, 'I have made you a very indifferent " husband, and particularly of late years, when infirm- " ities have rendered me a burden to myself: but I " shall not be much longer troublesome to you. I " advise you never again to marry an old man: but " I strenuously exhort you to marry when I am gone, " and I will endeavour to put it in your power. You " have fulfilled every obligation towards me in an " exemplary manner, and I wish to demonstrate my " sense of your merits. I have, therefore, by my Will " bequeathed you this Estate, which I received from " my first wife; and which, as she gave to me, so I " leave to you. I hope you will marry, and have " children to inherit it. But, if events should deter- " mine otherwise, or if you should not have issue that " survive you, it would give me pleasure to think, that " Drayton descended after your decease, to a younger " son of my friend, the Duchess of Dorset.' In con- " sequence of this *Wish*, expressed by Sir John Germain " on his death-bed, I now enjoy the Estate. Lady

"Betty, though young when left a widow, and though "she survived him above fifty years, never married a "second time. Her friendship for my mother, always "continued, without diminution; and her respect for "the desire manifested by her husband, induced her to "fulfil his wishes, to the exclusion of any of her own "relations."

While writing on this subject, I shall endeavour to throw into one point, some of the numerous particulars relative to his own family, which in the course of conversation I heard from Lord Sackville. They all may be said to hold, more or less to English History. In order to give them more verity and accuracy, I shall, as nearly as I am able, present them in his own words.

"The Sackvilles," said he, "who came into England "with the Conqueror, and who derived their name from "a small village of Low Normandy, have never branched "in the lapse of more than seven Hundred years. During "the two last Centuries, the family has produced three "distinguished men, of whom the first was the Lord "Treasurer Buckhurst, whom our great Elizabeth "thought worthy to succeed Lord Burleigh in that "high Office, and whom James the First created Earl "of Dorset. It would have been fortunate for the "Scottish King, if he had presided longer in the "Councils of the Crown; but he soon followed his "royal Mistress, and made way, after a short interval, "for those favourites, Carr and Villiers, who covered "James with disgrace. His grandson, Edward, Earl "of Dorset, the friend and contemporary of Lord "Herbert of Cherbury, but, better known by his Duel "with Lord Bruce, performed an eminent part under "Charles the First. He accompanied that Prince "during the civil wars, and fought in most of the "actions, from Edge Hill, down to Naseby. But, like "the virtuous Lord Falkland, he regretted and lamented

" the very advantages to which he contributed by his " sword. Many of his letters, written between 1643 " and 1646, which are preserved among the Dorset " Papers; descriptive of the scenes of havock then " acting in every part of the kingdom, convey a high " idea of his principles. His days were embittered and " abbreviated by his royal Master's tragical end, which " he only survived about three years.

"My Grandfather, Charles, commonly called the " witty Earl of Dorset, died about ten years before " I was born, after having survived in a great degree " his faculties. He was during his whole life, the " patron of men of genius, and the dupe of women. " Bountiful to both, though he inherited not only the " paternal Estate of the Sackvilles, but likewise that of " the Cranfields, Earls of Middlesex, in right of his " mother; yet at his decease, my father, then eighteen " years of age, possessed so slender a fortune, that his " guardians, when they sent him to travel on the " Continent, allowed him only eight hundred Pounds " a year, for his provision. Charles, Earl of Dorset, " married three times; but only one of these marriages " contributed either to his honour, or to his felicity. " His first wife was the celebrated Countess of Falmouth, " well known by her gallantries; the Miss *Bagot* of " "Grammont's Memoirs," whom Dryden has designated " as 'a teeming widow, but a barren wife.' Happily " she left him no issue; and in his second matrimonial " connexion he consulted not only his inclination, but " his judgment, when he gave his hand to a daughter " of the Earl of Northampton. He had then nearly " attained his fiftieth year; and as he was only twenty- " three at the time of Charles the Second's Restoration, " the excesses of that dissolute reign, in which Lord " Dorset led the way, had already enfeebled his con- " stitution. Strongly attached to the principles of civil " liberty, he quitted James the Second, when that in-

"fatuated Prince attempted to introduce Popery; and "conducted the Princess Anne of Denmark from her "father's Palace at Whitehall, to the Coach which "waited for her in St. James's Park, in order to convey "her to Nottingham. While crossing over from the "Palace to the Park, by night, and in Winter, one of "her Royal Highness's shoes sticking fast in the mud, "the accident threatened to impede her escape: but "Lord Dorset immediately drawing off his white glove, "put it on the Princess's foot, and placed her safely in "the Carriage. To King William, my Grandfather "rendered himself not less acceptable, than he had "been to Charles the Second; and I have always been "assured that it only depended on himself, to have "been raised to a Dukedom under William's reign: "but his wife's relations, the Comptons, treating the "matter, when he mentioned it to them, with great "indifference, he said, 'the Earldom of Dorset was "quite good enough for him.' In fact, my father only "attained to that Dignity, near thirty years afterwards, "under George the First.

"Extenuated by pleasures and indulgencies, the Earl "of Dorset sunk under a premature old age; though "not as early as Rochester, Buckingham, and so many "others of his contemporaries had done, including "Charles the Second himself; all of whom fell victims "to their immoderate pursuit of enjoyments. A few "years before he died, he married a woman named "Roche, of very obscure connexions, who held him "in a sort of captivity down at Bath, where he expired "at about sixty nine. She suffered few persons to "approach him during his last illness, or rather decay; "and was supposed to have converted his weakness of "mind, to her own objects of personal acquisition. He "was indeed considered to be fallen into a state of "such imbecility, as rendered it necessary to appoint "guardians, with a view to prevent his injuring the

"family Estate: but the intention was nevertheless "abandoned. You have no doubt heard, and it is a "fact, that with a view of ascertaining whether Lord "Dorset continued to be of a sane mind, *Prior*, whom "he had patronized and always regarded with predilec- "tion, was sent down to Bath by the family. Having "obtained access to the Earl, and conversed with him, "Prior made his report in these words. 'Lord Dorset "is certainly greatly declined in his understanding; "but he *drivels* so much better sense even now, than "any other man can *talk*, that you must not call me "into Court, as a witness to prove him an idiot.'

"My father having lost his own mother when very "young, was brought up chiefly by the Dowager "Countess of Northampton, his grandmother; who "being particularly acceptable to Queen Mary, she "commanded the Countess always to bring her little "grandson, Lord Buckhurst, to Kensington Palace, "though at that time hardly four years of age; and he "was allowed to amuse himself with a child's Cart in "the Gallery. King William, like almost all Dutchmen, "never failed to attend the tea table every evening. "It happened that Her Majesty having, one afternoon, "by his desire, made tea, and waiting for the King's "arrival, who was engaged on business in his Cabinet, at "the other extremity of the Gallery; the boy hearing "the Queen express her impatience at the delay, ran "away to the closet, dragging after him the Cart. "When he arrived at the door, he knocked; and the "King asking 'Who is there?' 'Lord Buck,' answered "he. 'And what does Lord Buck want with me?' "replied His Majesty. 'You must come to tea "directly,' said he, 'the Queen is waiting for you.' "King William immediately laid down his pen, and "opened the door; then taking the child in his arms, "placed Lord Buckhurst in the Cart, and seizing the "pole, drew them both along the Gallery, quite to the

" room in which were seated the Queen, Lady North-
" ampton, and the company. But, no sooner had he
" entered the Apartment, than, exhausted with the
" effort, which had forced the blood upon his lungs,
" and being naturally asthmatic, he threw himself into a
" chair, and for some minutes was incapable of uttering
" a word, breathing with the utmost difficulty. The
" Countess of Northampton, shocked at the con-
" sequences of her grandson's indiscretion, which threw
" the whole Circle into great consternation, would have
" punished him: but the King interposed in his
" behalf; and the story is chiefly interesting, because,
" (as serving to shew how kindly he could behave
" towards a troublesome child,) it places that Prince in
" a more amiable point of view, than he is commonly
" represented in History. Henry the Fourth of France,
" when playing with his own children, could not have
" manifested more amenity. The Queen being ac-
" customed to take Lord Buckhurst in her arms, and to
" caress him when he came to Kensington; his Nurse,
" aware of the circumstance, gave him secretly a
" written paper, which she charged him to deliver
" privately to Her Majesty. He did so, without ac-
" quainting Lady Northampton, who being present,
" would have interposed to prevent him: but the
" Queen insisted on perusing its contents. It contained
" a petition drawn up by the woman, in favour of her
" brother, then condemned to death for a capital crime.
" Queen Mary, touched with the incident, laid it before
" the King, who caused enquiry to be made into the
" circumstances of the case, with a view of extending
" mercy to the culprit. On examination, the crime
" from its magnitude, not admitting of pardon, the
" Queen, as the only alleviation left in her power to
" bestow, gave Lord Buckhurst a purse containing ten
" Jacobusses; enjoining him to present it to his Nurse
" from herself, with the assurances of her concern at

" the impossibility that existed, of saving her brother's " life."

" I was born," continued Lord Sackville, " in the year " 1716, in the Haymarket, where my father then " resided; and received my name from George the " First, who was my godfather, having honoured the " ceremony of my baptism by his personal presence. " One of the earliest circumstances which made an " impression on my mind, was that of being carried, at " five years of age, by the servants, to the gate of St. " James's Palace, in order to see the great Duke of " Marlborough, as he came out of Court. He was then " in a state of caducity; but still retained the vestiges " of a most graceful figure, though he was obliged to be " supported by a servant on each side, while the tears " ran down his cheeks, just as he is drawn by Dr. " Johnson. The populace cheered him, while passing " through the crowd to enter his carriage. I have " however heard my father say, that the Duke of Marl- " borough by no means fell into irrecoverable or settled " Dotage, as we commonly suppose; but manifested at " times a sound understanding, till within a very short " period of his Decease; occasionally attending the " privy Council, and sometimes speaking in his official " capacity, on points of business, with his former ability.

" No man manifested greater zeal than my father, " for the succession in the House of Brunswic. After " Queen Anne's death in 1714, he was sent to Hanover, " returned with the new King from Heren Hausen to " England in September, and had the honour to ac- " company George the First, in the Coach which con- " veyed him on his landing, from Greenwich to London. " Thirty-three years before, he had been a suitor for " the hand of the Queen, whom he then succeeded; " having come over with that view from Germany to " this country in 1681, by permission of his father, " Ernest Augustus; but the proposition failed of

"success. On his return, riding a common post horse "from London to Gravesend, where he took shipping "for Holland, the horse and the road being equally "bad, he got a severe fall, and arrived at Gravesend "covered with mud. The King, who related this cir- "cumstance to Lord Dorset, as they came up together "in the Coach, recognised and pointed out the spot "where the misadventure befel him.

"When the intelligence of his decease, which took "place near Osnabrugh, in the end of July, 1727, "arrived in London; the Cabinet having immediately "met, thought proper to dispatch the Duke of Dorset "with the news, to the Prince of Wales. He then "resided at Kew, in a state of great alienation from the "King; the two Courts maintaining no communica- "tion. Some little time being indispensable to enable "my father to appear in a suitable manner before the "new Monarch, he sent forward the Duchess his wife, "in order to announce the event. She arrived at Kew, "just as the Prince, according to his invariable custom, "having undressed himself after dinner, had lain down "in bed. The Duchess having demanded permission "to see him immediately, on business of the greatest "importance, the servants acquainted the Princess of "Wales with her arrival; and the Duchess, without "a moment's hesitation, informed her that George the "First lay dead at Osnabrugh; that the Cabinet had "ordered her husband to be the bearer of the in- "telligence to his successor, and that the Duke would "follow her in a short time. She added, that not a "moment should be lost in communicating so great "an event to the Prince, as the Ministers wished him "to come up to London that evening, in order to "summon a Privy Council, issue a Proclamation, and "take other requisite measures at the commencement "of a new Reign.

"To the propriety of all these measures, the

"Princess assented; but at the same time informed "the Duchess, that she could not venture to go into "her husband's room, as he had only just taken off "his cloaths, and composed himself to Sleep. 'Besides,' "added she, 'the Prince will not give credit to the "intelligence; but will exclaim that it is a trick, "designed for the purpose of exposing him.' The "Duchess continuing nevertheless to remonstrate with "Her Royal Highness, on the injurious consequences "of losing time; and adding, that the Duke of Dorset "would expect to find the Prince not only apprized of "it, but ready to accompany him to London; the "Princess of Wales took off her shoes, opened the "Chamber door softly, and advanced up to the Bed-"side, while my Mother remained at the threshold, till "she should be allowed to enter the Apartment. As "soon as the Princess came near the Bed, a voice from "under the cloaths cried out in German, 'Was is das?' "'I am come, Sir,' answered she, 'to announce to you "the death of the King, which has taken place in "Germany.' 'That is one damned lye, one damned "trick von my father,' returned the Prince, 'I do not "believe one word of it.' 'Sir,' said the Princess, 'it "is most certain. The Duchess of Dorset has just "brought the intelligence, and the Duke will be here "immediately. The Ministers hope that you will "repair to town this evening, as your presence there "is indispensable.' Her Royal Highness then threw "herself on her knees, to kiss the new King's hand; "and beckoning to the Duchess of Dorset to advance, "she came in likewise, knelt down, and assured him of "the indisputable truth of his father's Decease. Con-"vinced at length of the fact, he consented to get up "and dress himself. The Duke of Dorset arriving in "his Coach and six, almost immediately afterwards, "George the Second quitted Kew the same evening, for "London." I return to the progress of public affairs.

November.] When we reflect on the manner in which Fox had attained to Power; as well as on the long, though ineffectual Resistance made by the King; followed by his sullen Resignation under a Yoke which he found it impossible to elude, or to throw off;—when we consider these Facts, it cannot excite Surprize, that Fox should meditate the Means of confirming and perpetuating his precarious tenure of Office. He felt himself personally odious to the Sovereign, whom he had too deeply offended, easily to obtain Forgiveness. From that Quarter therefore, he well knew that he might be undermined or subverted; but he could not hope to receive a cordial Support. Unfortunately, he had likewise recently lost in a very considerable Degree, the Confidence and Attachment of the People. So long as the American War lasted, he retained, in Defiance of his private Irregularities, their ardent Affection. Of this Sentiment, they gave him many Proofs; particularly after his Duel with Mr. Adam, when the Wound which he received, exciting Apprehensions for his Life, the Populace surrounded his Lodgings, with Testimonies of clamorous Anxiety, as well as of corresponding Resentment against his ministerial and personal Opponents.

Since that Time, the Inhabitants of Westminster manifesting the same Partiality, had elected him one of their Representatives in Parliament; a Situation which enabled him not only to defend their Liberties in the House of Commons; but, conferred likewise the Means of convoking, haranguing, and propelling them in tumultuary Assemblies, convened in Westminster Hall. To a Man of Fox's Energy and Talents, this additional Facility of thus presiding in a species of Mob, at the very Door of the two Houses of Parliament, as well as at a very inconsiderable Distance from the royal Residence, doubled his Consequence; and might be said to render him a Tribune of the

People, in the most literal sense of the Word, nearly as that Office was exercised in ancient Rome, previous to the Subversion of the Common-wealth. Nor had his Popularity suffered at all in the general Estimation, by his Acceptance of Office under Lord Rockingham; though the Fallacy and Delusion of many of his Promises or Assertions had become sufficiently manifest, even during his short Stay in the Cabinet, under that Administration. On the Motives, and on the Propriety or Necessity of his Resignation, after Lord Shelburne's Elevation to the Head of the Treasury, Mankind seemed indeed divided; some applauding it, as an Act of magnanimous public Virtue and Self-Devotion; while others beheld in it only personal Rivality, Enmity, and Resentment.

But, relative to his Junction with his present Colleague Lord North, the Suffrages of the World, from the highest down to the lowest Classes, united to reprobate it in a greater, or in a less Degree. And I have always thought that Fox himself, in his Impatience to regain Office, miscalculated, or did not sufficiently appreciate the Operation on the public Mind, of his Conduct, in thus taking to his Bosom in March, 1783, the very Minister, on whose Head, in March, 1782, he had invoked the utmost Vengeance of an offended and ruined Nation. Some longer interval of Time was required to reconcile Men to such an apparent Dereliction of Principle, and total Sacrifice of Decorum, at the shrine of Ambition. Here the Transmutation had been so rapid, as not only to shock the most ordinary Understanding; but even to impress with secret Concern or Disgust, many of those who, nevertheless, affected to justify, and to support the measure. Pope says,

"Lust, through some certain Strainers well refin'd,
"Is gentle Love, and charms all Female kind."

But it must pass through those Refiners, and leave its Dross behind, or conceal it, before Love can charm, or challenge Respect. I have heard Colonel Macalister, late Governor of the island of Penang in the East Indies, frequently assert, that there existed in the Town of that Colony, a Receptacle or Space of Ground, surrounded by walls, into which was commonly thrown every species of corrupted and putrified Substance. In a hot Climate, the process from Dissolution to Revivification, we know, is very quick. Maggots in immense numbers, of a prodigious Size, were speedily generated or produced from this Filth; which the Chinese Inhabitants of the Settlement, who possessed no Means of regular Subsistence, and who therefore, were not fastidious about their Diet, used to collect with Rakes, from off the Heaps of Carcases, and to devour immediately, after frying them in Ghee, or melted Butter. Colonel Macalister indeed added, that the Chinese who used such Aliments, became subject to cutaneous and leprous Diseases of the most inveterate Kind. We perceive however, that all animal and vegetable Substances perpetually change their Forms; and disgusting as this Recital may be, that Sentiment only arises from the Rapidity of the Metamorphosis. Precisely of the same Kind, in a political Sense, appeared the Coalition between Lord North and Fox; a Transformation, which being consummated in the Space of a few Hours, was then imposed upon the House of Commons and the Nation. But, the English, indignant at such a compact, rejected in general with Abhorrence, the Dish served up to them, and dismissed the State Cooks who had prepared it for the Country.

Well aware as Fox was therefore, that though he had a second time forced his way into high Employment, yet that he neither enjoyed the favor of the Crown, nor any longer possessed the affection of the

people in general; it was natural he should look to some other Quarter, for permanent support. In the two Houses of Parliament, where he commanded a decided majority, he beheld the foundation on which he might construct a Citadel, unassailable, as he conceived, either by the Sovereign, or by the Nation. India, which presented the materials for his edifice, seemed to invite his exertions to re-model that vast Empire, convulsed and half subverted by internal discord or corruption, added to external hostilities. Burke, whose friend or relation of the same name, William Burke, was already stationed in the East, as Agent with the Rajah of Tanjore; and who had, himself, taken a most active part in all the Parliamentary Discussions arising out of the Reports of the Secret and Select Committees, during the two preceding Sessions; aspired with equal ardor, to second Fox in this great undertaking. It had even been announced from the Throne, when the King terminated the sitting of Parliament, in the preceding month of July, that India would form the first object of their Deliberations, on their again meeting for business.

During the course of the Autumn, Fox and Burke therefore drew up, and prepared the memorable Bill, which it was intended to introduce, as soon as the Session should commence in November. They communicated all the heads and outlines of it to Lord North; with whom, indeed, as being in his Department, the Measure ought strictly to have originated: but, who was induced in this instance, as in many other cases, to allow the superior energies of his Colleague, added to the superior information possessed by Burke on the subject, to supplant, and in some measure to supercede him in his official functions. The Bill, thus far organized, and having been approved in the Cabinet, was then submitted to the King, for his perusal and sanction; accompanied with becoming expressions of

the wish and desire entertained by Ministers, to accommodate it to His Majesty's ideas upon every point, before it should be brought into Parliament. Unable of himself, without some assistance, to form a competent judgment upon its complicated provisions, operation, and general results, it was understood and believed that the King had early thought proper to lay it confidentially before Lord Thurlow; desiring at the same time to know his legal opinion respecting its nature. Common rumour added, that the opinion delivered by Lord Thurlow, represented it as calculated to render Ministers independent of the Crown, and as containing many Clauses injurious to, or nearly subversive of the British Constitution itself; but that His Majesty was advised to wait for its more complete development, before he expressed any disapprobation, or attempted any resistance. Such might be considered the general state and aspect of things in the first days of November, when a curious incident which unexpectedly took place at St. James's, and which excited no little speculation, seemed to shew that the ground on which the Ministry stood, was hollow and treacherous.

Sir Eyre Coote, who long commanded the armies of the East India Company, on the Coast of Coromandel, with distinguished reputation; after repulsing Hyder Ally, and rescuing the Carnatic, expired at Madras, worn out and extenuated by disease, on the 26th of April, 1783; having survived his Antagonist Hyder, scarcely five months. The intelligence of his Decease, which was transmitted overland, reached Leadenhall Street, early in November. No sooner had it been communicated to Fox, than he immediately destined the Riband of the Order of the *Bath*, which became vacant on Sir Eyre's death, for one of his intimate friends, Mr. Bielby Thompson. This Gentleman, who possessed a very fine Estate in Yorkshire, at Wetherby

Grange, near the town of that name, sat at the time in Parliament, for Thirske in the County of York. Fox, after conferring on the subject with the Duke of Portland and Lord North, whom he acquainted with his intentions, repaired to St. James's; where having gone into the Closet, he announced to the King the event that had taken place in India. He then mentioned Mr. Thompson, as the person whom he wished, on the part of Ministers, to recommend for the vacant Riband; and His Majesty in answer, seems to have expressed that species of acquiescence, more probably tacit, than couched in precise words, which the Secretary interpreted, whether judiciously or not, to constitute full compliance. Without waiting therefore, for any more explicit declaration from the King on the subject, as prudence seemed to dictate, Fox informed Mr. Thompson, of his having received the royal assent, and added that the Investiture would take place at the next Levee. Directions were accordingly issued to Norroy King of Arms, and the proper officers belonging to the Heralds' College, to attend at St. James's for the purpose. The circumstance being publickly known, Mr. Thompson was felicitated by anticipation, on the honour destined for him; but the sequel proved that Fox had either miscalculated or misunderstood, the whole transaction.

On the day fixed, His Majesty went to St James's at the usual hour, to prepare for the Levee. After he had finished dressing, he sent out the Groom of the Bed Chamber in waiting, as was his frequent custom, to bring him information relative to the number of persons who were arrived. The Gentleman returning, acquainted the King, that besides a great croud come to attend the Levee, the Officers of the *Bath* stood likewise without, ready for the Investiture. With some surprize marked in his countenance, the King asked, what Investiture he meant? To which question

he replied, not without hesitation, that he understood it was intended to confer the Order of the *Bath* on Mr. Bielby Thompson, who was there in person for that express purpose. His Majesty made no answer; and immediately afterwards, the Duke of Portland entering, went into the Closet. In the course of his Audience, the King observed to him that no *official* account having been as yet received from India, of Sir Eyre Coote's death; however authentic the information of that event, transmitted from Madras, might prove; and his Riband, together with the other Insignia of the Order, not having been hitherto delivered back to himself; he apprehended it informal to fill up the vacancy, till those points were previously ascertained and executed. The Duke, taken by surprize, after attempting respectfully to bring His Majesty to another way of thinking, withdrew; and finding Mr. Fox in the next room, communicated to him this most unexpected and mortifying piece of information.

The Secretary, equally astonished, instantly went in, when a long conversation took place between him and the Sovereign. In its progress, Fox stated that having, some days preceding, laid the business before His Majesty; and conceiving that he had obtained his royal approbation and consent to confer on Mr. Thompson the vacant Red Riband, it had been so signified to that gentleman; who, together with the proper Officers, were then without, in readiness for the Ceremony. He added, that no possible doubt could be entertained of Sir Eyre Coote's death; and that a disappointment, after the preparations and publicity of the affair, could not fail to be attended with very unpleasant consequences to Administration in the general opinion. To all these arguments and expostulations, the King, after alledging his own reasons, remained inflexible. Fox therefore quitting the Closet, returned to his Colleagues, various of whom, assembled in the outer room, were waiting

under considerable anxiety, and imparted to them the result of his Audience. No little confusion ensued among them. Mr. Thompson, apprized of the fact, returned home. The officers of the *Bath*, ordered to withdraw, were acquainted that the Ceremony expected, would not take place on that day. Every person present, formed his own comments or conjectures, respecting the scene which had just passed; and the old Courtiers did not fail to draw inferences from it, highly adverse to Ministers. It was obvious that the King, who felt no disposition to oblige them, had got possession of the advantage ground in the contest; whereas Fox had acted with some degree of indiscretion, in presuming upon an assent, rather implied or assumed, than unequivocally expressed. Many men considered the whole proceeding as concerted, and the result of deeper causes than were apparent to common observers. By exposing the Administration to ridicule, as well as to mortification, it unquestionably served to prepare the public mind, for some approaching convulsion or alteration in the government.

If the business of Sir Eyre Coote's Riband was attended with these unpleasant results to the Ministry, they received on the other hand, just at this time, a prodigious accession of strength and consideration from the avowed junction of the Prince of Wales; who having attained his twenty-first year in the preceding month of August, had recently established his Court and residence at Carlton House. Nature had bestowed uncommon Graces on his figure and person. Convivial, as well as social in his temper, destitute of all reserve, and affable even to familiarity in his reception of every person who had the honor to approach him; he presented in these respects, a contrast to the shy, correct, and distant manners of the King his father. Endowed with all the aptitudes to profit of instruction, his mind had been cultivated with great care; and he

was probably the only Prince in Europe, Heir to a powerful Monarchy, competent to peruse the Greek, as well as the Roman Poets and Historians, in their own language. Humane and compassionate, his purse was open to every application of distress; nor was it ever shut against Genius or Merit. Even if these virtues were mingled with alloy, yet his facility, his love of pleasure, and his inattention to Economy, all might derive some Apology from his youth, and the Elevation on which he stood; circumstances that necessarily exposed him to great, as well as corresponding temptations of every kind.

Nor ought we, if we candidly examine the subject, to feel either surprize, or any degree of moral disapprobation, at the predilection and preference which he had imbibed, and which he openly manifested for an Administration, odious to his father. When he looked back on the twenty-three years of George the Third's Reign, he beheld little matter of admiration, though ample reason for regret. At the peace of 1763, Lord Bute had sacrificed or restored to France and Spain, almost all the acquisitions of Pitt. Wilkes and "Junius," aided by Churchill and Mason, had covered with Opprobrium or with Ridicule the Ministers employed between the Treaty of Fontainbleau, and the commencement of the American War: nor had the Sovereign himself escaped their severe animadversions on his personal conduct and government. In the gulf of the American contest, the treasures of England had been expended, her Navy disgraced, her commerce nearly destroyed, her public burthens accumulated, her national Debt immensely augmented, her Armies defeated or made prisoners, and we had finally lost a vast Empire beyond the Atlantic. Precisely as this calamitous Consummation took place, the Prince of Wales, emerging from the restraint under which he had been hitherto held, made his appearance on the theatre

of public life, and emancipated himself from parental superintendance or controul. It was not merely natural, but almost unavoidable, that he should view those events through the Optics and representations of Fox and Burke, rather than through any other medium. Neither George the Second, nor Frederick his son, could plead the same Apology, or exhibit such causes to justify enlisting, as they respectively did, under the party adverse to the measures of the Crown. Fox and his Friends, who well knew how to improve these favourable circumstances, contrived to effect a deep, as well as a permanent impression on the affections, no less than on the understanding, of the Heir Apparent.

11th November.] The Session of Parliament now commenced; a Session rendered memorable beyond any other of the long Reign of George the Third, by the magnitude, singularity, and importance of its events. A species of ostensible unanimity, like the Calm that precedes the Storm, characterized its opening; Mr. Pitt concurring in the Address to the Throne moved by Administration, for approving the definitive Treaties concluded with France, Spain, and America: though he did not fail to remark with indignant asperity, on the inconsistence of thanking the Crown for merely consummating the very work, of which he and his Colleagues had laid all the foundations, in consequence of which national benefit, they had been driven from Office. Fox, with much ingenuity, endeavoured to demonstrate to the House, that the definitive Treaties, far from being servile transcripts of the Preliminaries, were on the contrary materially altered in favour of this Country. And with a view to prove his assertion, he particularized three Articles, on each of which, as he asserted, important Ameliorations had taken place. These were relative to the condition of the British inhabitants of the Island of Tobago; an accurate definition of the Geographical limits within

which the Gum Trade on the coast of Africa might in future be carried on; and lastly, the precise Boundaries affixed to the possessions of our Allies in the East Indies. I own however, that the aggregate merit of these concessions, or rather alterations, did not appear to me entitled to much Encomium. They seemed to be rather inaccuracies or inadvertencies, which every Administration must equally have perceived and remedied, after the Lapse of a few months.

Pitt made no answer to the Secretary of State's Speech; in the progress of which he had announced his intention of bringing forward almost immediately, his plan for the new government of India. But Governor Johnstone, with the warmth, not to say violence, which characterized every sentiment that usually fell from his lips, claimed for Mr. Hastings all the merit of expelling Tippoo Sultan from the Carnatic, as well as of effecting a Treaty of peace with the Mharatta Empire: Services which, if they were justly due to the ability or wisdom of the Governor General, might have challenged higher testimonies of national or parliamentary approbation, than Fox's improvements contained in the definitive Treaty made with France. Johnstone concluded by warning the Ministers not to enforce any plans for the Administration of India, without previously consulting the persons, who, from local knowledge and experience, knew the remedies most applicable to the disorders of those remote and valuable Possessions. The Treasury Bench observed a profound silence, and the House soon afterwards broke up; all men looking forward with anxiety to the great Measure now announced from official authority, and of which the leading features were already known to be of the most vigorous, as well as affirmative nature. The celebrated "East India Bill" followed, after the interval of a few days. It was natural to suppose that Lord North, within whose Department lay all regula-

tion of our concerns in that quarter of the Globe, would of course open the Measure to the House. But, instead of so doing, he absented himself on account of indisposition, leaving Fox to perform the task; a line of conduct, which, whether it arose from real necessity, or whether it was preconcerted, operated very disadvantageously on the minds of many individuals attached to Lord North, who had hitherto supported the *Coalition*. They beheld themselves in fact, completely abandoned by their antient Leader, who seemed to have delivered up himself, his followers, his Sovereign, and his political principles, to the uncontroled dominion of his new Associates, Fox and Burke.

It is no longer possible, after the lapse of above thirty years, to deceive either ourselves or mankind, relative to the nature, provisions, and effects of the Bill in question. Its most determined enemies cannot dispute the energy, vigor, and decision, which breathed through every Clause; nor will candid men refuse to allow the beneficial tendency of many of its regulations. But, neither can the friends of Fox, however they may idolize his memory, deny the unwarrantable spirit of ambition, rapacity, and confiscation, by which it was equally distinguished. The instant seizure of all the effects, papers, and possessions of a great chartered Company; the total extinction of the Court of Directors, who had so long conducted its affairs; and the substitution of two new Boards, named by the Ministry, through the medium of Parliament, for the future Government of India;—these measures, however their necessity might apparently be made out, seemed rather revolutionary subversions of property by arbitrary authority, than suited to the mild, moderate, and equitable spirit of the British Constitution. Other features of the Bill, appeared still more open to objection, since they evidently vested in Administration, and therefore in Fox, as the Ministerial Leader, a

power independant of the Sovereign. Such, in particular, might be esteemed the Clause, which extended the duration of the Act, to *four* years; a term exceeding the possible period to which the existence of the House of Commons then sitting, could be protracted, they having already entered on their fourth Session.

Many other regulations, growing out of, or connected with the measure, excited just alarm. Even in the selection of the Seven Commissioners, who were to be appointed for the future Administration of the East India Company's affairs at home and abroad, Fox's ascendant over his Colleague was clearly defined: Lord Fitzwilliam, as the personal representative of the deceased Marquis of Rockingham, being placed at the head of the Board; while Mr. Frederick Montagu, another most respectable adherent of the same political Party, stood second in the list. Colonel North, Lord Viscount Lewisham, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, the three next Commissioners, represented Lord North's interest and connexions. But, in order to secure at once the majority of voices, together with the efficient controul of the Board itself, Sir Henry Fletcher, and Mr. Robert Gregory, were added to the Members. Both these last named Gentlemen, well known for their devoted attachment to Fox, and possessing Seats in the House of Commons; having likewise in their own persons, recently and repeatedly filled the highest situations in the East India Direction; it was obvious, must be resorted to as guides, on account of their local knowledge and experience in the Company's concerns. No measures could have been more ably concerted, for bringing under Ministerial influence, and for permanently retaining under their subjection, the immense patronage, and all the sources of power, or of emolument, connected with India: while, on the other hand, it was well understood that the first Employments, civil and military,

from the post of Governor General of Bengal, or Commander in Chief at Calcutta, down to the Seats in Council at Madras and at Bombay, were already promised or filled up, principally with Members of Parliament, distinguished for their adherence to Administration. The names of the individuals destined for these high situations, became circulated in every company; and as many of them were better known among the Club at Brookes's, than in Leadenhall Street; the consciousness of all India being speedily subjected to their rapacious hands, by no means tended to reconcile, or to tranquillize the public mind.

December.] Fox himself gave indeed the strongest indication of his own apprehensions, from the operation of time, or from the interposition of delay, by the haste, not to say the precipitation, with which he propelled the Bill through the House of Commons. Notwithstanding the Opposition given to it in every stage, by Mr. Pitt and his friends; in defiance of petitions presented from the Proprietors, as well as from the Directors, of the East India Company; and equally contrary to the general sentiment of the Capital, no less than the almost unanimous voice of the Nation, which soon began to manifest itself; he pushed forward the measure with indecent ardor. Scarcely three Weeks elapsed, from the time of his moving for leave to bring in the Bill, on the 18th of November, to his appearance at the Bar of the House of Peers, on the 9th of December; when he presented it in person, "*magna comitante Caterva*," after its having passed the House of Commons. An ordinary Turnpike, Canal, or Enclosure Bill, if opposed in its principles or progress, might have taken longer time, than did this gigantic experiment to render Administration in some measure independant of the Crown, and of the People. Yet, so well had the Secretary meditated his plan, such was the parliamentary strength possessed by the "Coalition," and such the ascendancy

of Fox over the Lower House, that upon every Division, he carried the Question by a vast superiority of numbers, generally exceeding the proportion of two to one. On the Question of going into the Committee, which took place on the first of December, when 217 voted with Government, and only 103 against them; I quitted Lord North, whom I had commonly supported up to that time, and joined the Minority: conceiving it to be, upon every view of the subject, improper longer to adhere to a Minister, who seemed to have forsaken himself.

The consternation which Fox's Bill occasioned in Leadenhall Street, among that description of men against whom its Provisions were known to be peculiarly levelled, was commonly, though erroneously, said to have proved fatal to Sir William James, who died very suddenly, just at this time. It is however true that he was seized with an indisposition, while in the House of Commons, during the progress of the East India Bill, which compelled him instantly to return home; but he recovered in a certain degree the attack, though he never afterwards quitted his own House. His death took place instantaneously, during the performance of the Ceremony of his only daughter's Marriage with the late Lord Rancliff, then Mr. Boothby Parkyns. I knew Sir William James with great intimacy, and discussed with him, the probable results of the East India Measure, during the short interval which elapsed between his first seizure, and the day of his decease, at his Residence in Gerrard Street, Soho. His Origin was so obscure, as almost to baffle enquiry, and he had derived no advantage from Education; but he possessed strong natural Abilities, aided by a knowledge of Mankind. Having been sent out early in life, to Bombay, in the East India Company's Naval Service, he there distinguished himself, by commanding the memorable Expedition undertaken against Angria the Pirate; when

we made ourselves masters of Fort Geriah, his principal Establishment on the Coast of the Concan. Returning to his native country after this successful Enterprize, by which he acquired not only some Fortune, but considerable Reputation; he rose to the first Employments at the India House, as a Member of the Court of Directors; sat in successive Parliaments; was elevated by the friendship of the late Earl of Sandwich, when First Lord of the Admiralty, to the Baronetage; and had been elected Deputy Master of the Trinity House, in the preceding Month of June, when Lord Keppel was chosen Master of that Corporation. Those persons who asserted that Fox's Bill killed him, seem to have forgotten that he had nearly attained his Seventieth year, when he expired. As his dissolution took place on the 16th of December, he had not the satisfaction to witness the Rejection of that obnoxious Measure, by the House of Peers, which happened on the following day.

Never, probably, was so great a portion of intellect brought to bear upon one point or subject, in so short a space of time, as the House of Commons exhibited between the opening of the East India Bill, and its triumphant Arrival in the Upper House of Parliament. All the sources of Argument, Declamation, Wit, and Pathos, were successively touched by master hands. Every species of information enlightened the object under discussion; nor was any weapon of Sophistry, Humour, or even severe Invective, left untried, which might operate on the understanding, passions, and feelings of the Audience. The salient points of Debate were so many, so striking, and so animated, as to defy the powers of memory; leaving on the hearer's mind, only a confused recollection of their beauty, delicacy, or severity. History, antient and modern, Poetry, Scripture, all were successively pressed into the service, or rendered subservient to the purposes of the contending parties. Will it be believed that the "Apocalypse" of St. John

furnished images, which, by a slight effort of imagination, or by an immaterial deviation from the original Text, were made to typify Fox, under the form of "the Beast that rose up out of the Sea, having *seven* Heads?" Their application to the *seven* Commissioners appointed by the Bill, was at once so happy, and so natural, that it could not be mistaken, and stood in need of no explanation. Mr. Scott, who now as Lord Eldon, holds the Great Seal, was the person by whom so curious an allusion was presented to the House. But, Sheridan, though he could not possibly anticipate an attack of such a nature, yet having contrived in the course of the Debate, to procure some Leaves of "the Book of "Revelations," with admirable ability found materials in that Work, equally suited to Fox's Defence or Justification; transforming him from "the Dragon and "the Beast," under both which Types he had been designated, to an Angelic Being, by producing other quotations from St. John, full as applicable to the Secretary of State.

The powers of mind exerted throughout the progress of the Bill, seemed to be concentrated in the memorable Debate that took place on the first of December, which was opened by Powis. His beautiful and severe animadversion on the double author of the Measure; a Metaphor drawn likewise from Holy Writ, made a strong impression. "I hear indeed," said he, "the voice of "Jacob," meaning Fox; "but the hands are those of "Esau." Lord North, who was present at the time, though much indisposed, quitted the House in the course of the evening, overcome with the heat: he had however delivered his opinions with equal ability and energy, on the 27th of November, in an earlier stage of the business. Powis, who did not hesitate to denominate the Bill, "the Modern Babel, which already almost reached the "Clouds;" and who compared Fox's treatment of the East India Company, with "Shylock's demand of a

"Pound of flesh, to be cut nearest the Heart;" expressed nevertheless his personal respect for the Secretary; but added, that "he wished to see him the "Servant, not the Master, of his Sovereign." Burke, unable longer to observe silence after such reflexions, then rose; and in a Dissertation, rather than a Speech, which lasted more than three hours, exhausted all the powers of his mighty mind, in the justification of his friend's Measure. The most ignorant Member of the House, who had attended to the Mass of Information, Historical, Political, and Financial, which fell from the lips of Burke on that occasion, must have departed, rich in Knowledge of Indostan. It seemed impossible to croud greater variety of matter applicable to the subject, into a smaller compass; and those who differed most widely from him in opinion, did not render the less justice to his gigantic range of ideas, his lucid exposition of events, and the harmonic flow of his periods. There were portions of this Harangue, in which he appeared to be animated by feelings and considerations the most benign, as well as elevated; and the Classic Language in which he made Fox's Panegyric, for having dared to venture on a Measure so beset with Dangers, but so pregnant, as he asserted, with Benefits to Mankind, could not be exceeded in Beauty.

But, however persuaded Burke himself might be, of the reality and truth of these predicted advantages which were to flow from the Bill of his friend, the moral effect of his own Speech, by no means kept pace with the admiration excited by his eloquence. From every quarter of the House the keenest shafts were aimed at the Measure; some of which penetrated deep, while others only appeared to graze on the surface; but, all left their impression. While Pitt, sustained by Mr. William Grenville, and Dundas, attacked it with the arms of reason; others tried the operation of irony and ridicule. Arden, who soon afterwards became Solicitor

General, on the change of Ministry, clung to it through every stage with great pertinacity and spirit, not unaccompanied by legal ability. The seven Commissioners, and their eight Assistant Directors, were compared by Mr. Wilberforce, to so many Doctors and Apothecaries, summoned for the purpose of putting the Patient, the East India Company, to death, according to the Rules of Art. Many Members, long accustomed to consider Fox as the Star by which they guided their political course, covered him on this occasion, with reproaches or maledictions. Mr. Martin, Member for Tewkesbury, a man, who though not distinguished by superior intellectual parts, yielded to none in probity, invoked Curses on the *Coalition*, as the Grave of all Principle. Wilkes, in a Speech of considerable length, acuteness, and severity, stigmatized the East India Bill, as "a Swindling "Bill, drawn up to obtain Money on false Pretences." Sir Richard Hill, to whom Scripture was familiar, compared the Secretary's conduct in affecting to protect and caress the East India Company, while he immolated them to his ambition, with the Treachery of Joab to Amasa, who at the moment that he pretended to embrace him, stabbed him to the heart. In more homely language, destitute of adventitious ornament, Sir Cecil Wray declared that the measure impressed him with Horror from its Enormity, Corruption, and pernicious Consequences to the State. Some of the finest Passages of Shakespear, taken from his "Julius "Cæsar," were applied by Scott and Arden, to Fox, with extraordinary effect. Jenkinson, temperately, but in language of energy, depictured the unconstitutional nature of the Power thus attempted to be set up, which must prove subversive of the Royal Prerogative; and from opposite sides, Fox was assailed as the Enemy of his Country, who sacrificed to his insatiable Ambition, the Fame, the Character, and the Consideration, that he had attained by a long series of public Services.

Not that he by any means wanted Defenders distinguished for integrity, as well as for legal and parliamentary ability. Mr. Erskine, who like Mr. Scott, has since attained to the highest honors and dignities of the Bar; first spoke, as a Member of the House of Commons, in support of this obnoxious Measure. His enemies pronounced the performance tame, and destitute of the animation, which so powerfully characterized his Speeches in Westminster Hall. They maintained that, however resplendent he appeared as an Advocate, while addressing a Jury, he fell to the level of an ordinary man, if not below it, when seated on the Ministerial Bench; where another species of Oratory was demanded to impress Conviction, or to extort Admiration. To me, who having never witnessed his jurisprudential talents, could not make any such comparison, he appeared to exhibit shining powers of declamation. Lee, the Attorney General, in a Speech replete with that coarse, strong, and illiberal species of invective which usually accompanied his Addresses to the House; and which always appeared to me, more befitting the Robinhood Society, than accommodated to a Legislative Assembly; treated with indignant contempt, the repugnance manifested to violate the Charter of the East India Company. He did not even hesitate to describe that Charter, esteemed by many Members so sacred, and incapable of subversion except by arbitrary violence, as "a mere Skin of Parchment, to "which was appended a Seal of Wax." This imprudent, if not censurable Declaration, however qualified or palliated by subsequent Explanations, operated injuriously to Ministers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, irritated at the severe animadversions made by Mr. Thomas Pitt, on the Rapacity with which Administration, after having seized on the Reins of Government, were now dealing a Death Blow to the Constitution of their Country; denied the Charge with

much indignation. His Eloquence fell however far short of his Feelings, and was addressed rather to the moral Sense of his Auditors, than it appealed to their Judgment.

General Burgoyne, arriving Post from Ireland, spontaneously, as he asserted; and quitting the meaner Duties of Commander-in-Chief, which Employment he held in that Kingdom, in order to fulfil his higher Obligations as a Legislator at Westminster; spoke warmly in favour of the Bill. Having, many Years earlier, acted as Chairman of one of the first Committees appointed by the House, for enquiring into the Affairs of the East, he was heard with Attention. He confirmed all the Horrors and Enormities attributed by Burke, to the Europeans who governed Asia: Atrocities, which the General illustrated by a Citation prepared for the purpose, extracted from the Sixth Æneid of Virgil, descriptive of the Guilt of a powerful Criminal, such as Hastings might be esteemed, condemned for his Crimes on Earth, to the pains of Tartarus. Rigby, professing an equal Contempt for Quotations from Shakespear, or from Milton, and expressing his Admiration at hearing Scripture fall from the lips of a Lawyer; with none of which Materials for Debate, he said, that he came provided; yet professed to have furnished himself with some Arguments applicable to the Subject under Discussion. Without Circumlocution, or any false Scruples of fastidious Delicacy, he declared his utter Disregard of the chartered Rights of the Company, which he said he considered "as a Bugbear, only fit "to intimidate Children." He even advised their Violation, as the primary Step to all Reform in the Administration of India.

No Individual distinguished himself more throughout the whole Progress of these interesting Proceedings, than Sheridan; whose matchless Endowments of Mind, equally adapted to Contests of Wit or of Argument,

and ever under the controul of imperturbable Temper, enabled him to extend invaluable Assistance to the Minister. But, neither was Fox wanting to himself, or to his Friends. On the contrary, performing every Function of a General and of a private Soldier; combating in the front Ranks; leaving no Charge unrepelled, no Insinuation unnoticed, no Argument unrefuted; he filled with Astonishment, as well as with Admiration, even those who thought themselves best able to appreciate the Magnitude and Extent of his parliamentary Talents. After defending his Bill from the severe Attacks of Pitt, he did not disdain or omit to answer the Allegations made by various Members of inferior weight. To Powis, to Scott, to Dundas, and even to Martin, he directed the most pointed Replies, calculated to justify him, not only as a Minister, but in his individual and moral Capacity. Determined on carrying through the Bill, without a Moment's delay; apprehensive of new Obstacles arising, every hour, within, as well as without the walls of the House; and seeming to regard Parliament as convoked, not for the purpose of Deliberation, but of Decision; he refused to postpone the Measure, even for a single Night. Vainly Scott adjured him, in the language of Desdemona to Othello, "Kill me not to-night, my "Lord! let me live but one day!" The Secretary never relaxed his Exertions, till, having surmounted all Opposition, he carried up the Bill, accompanied by a vast Number of his Adherents, who participated in his Success, to the Bar of the House of Peers. Its passage through that Assembly being already secured, as he justly conceived, on solid Grounds, the Measure seemed apparently to be placed beyond the reach of Fortune.

But with the Arrival of the East India Bill in the House of Lords, terminated nevertheless the prosperous Career of Ministers. The King, whose Opinions and Wishes, however they might have been suspected by,

or even known to a few, were not as yet publickly divulged, or ascertained; now coming forward, as the Urgency of the Occasion seemed to demand, communicated through authentic Channels, his utter Disapprobation of the Measure. Lord Temple, though one of the first Individuals thus authorized, formed by no means the sole or exclusive Medium through which the Royal Pleasure was so signified and circulated. Very little Time, in fact, remained to the Sovereign, if he desired to avert the impending Misfortune. For, the Secretary of State, who seems to have been well aware that as soon as the Measure was felt and understood, it would excite universal Alarm; had betimes secured such a Majority in the Upper House, as must speedily have left to the Crown no possible Means of Relief, except one scarcely known to the British Constitution since the Revolution of 1688; namely, a Refusal of the Royal Assent to the Bill, after its passage through both Houses of Parliament. In this critical Juncture, His Majesty caused such Arguments or Expostulations to be offered to many Members of the House of Lords, Spiritual, as well as Temporal; and the Necessity of Resistance was so strongly depictured by his Emissaries, as to overturn all Fox's Machinery in an instant. Proxies given to the Minister were suddenly revoked; and after first leaving the Administration in a Minority of Eight, upon the Question of Adjournment; the Bill itself was subsequently rejected two Days later, on the 17th of December, by Nineteen votes. One hundred and seventy-one Peers voted on the Occasion, either in Person or by Proxy; a prodigious Attendance, if we consider the limited Numbers of the Peerage at that Time.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and of York led the way, though the former Prelate, whose Connections, political and matrimonial, seemed to connect him with the "Coalition," had been previously regarded as a

firm Supporter of the Measure. Nor can it excite Surprize, that all those noble Individuals without Exception, who occupied Situations in the Royal Household, or near the King's person, should, without fastidiously hesitating, give the example of tergiversation. They abandoned Ministers, and joined the Crown; manifesting by their Votes, how vast is the personal influence of the Sovereign, when strenuously exerted, over the Members of the Upper House of Parliament. The Prince of Wales, who, when it was moved to adjourn on the 15th, had voted in person with the Administration; having received a notification of his Father's disapprobation of the East India Bill, absented himself on the second Division, when that measure was finally rejected. Lord Rivers, one of the Lords of the King's Bedchamber, who had given his vote by proxy to the "Coalition," on the first Question, withdrew it on the second Division; as did the Earls of Hardwicke and Egremont. Lord Stormont, though as being a Member of the Cabinet and President of the Council, he had personally supported the Bill on the 15th, yet voted on the other side, forty-eight hours afterwards. His uncle, the Earl of Mansfield, who was supposed to have influenced him in this determination, exhibited the same example. Both were present in the first Division, as supporters of the Measure; and both appeared in the House as enemies to it, when thrown out on 17th of December. The Earl of Oxford, one of His Majesty's most antient servants, who had been near his person more than twenty years, in the capacity of a Lord of the Bedchamber; having been induced to support the "Coalition" by his Proxy on the 15th, sent it to the opposite Side, on the subsequent Division. Fox and Burke, together with many of their warmest Adherents, who during the progress of the first Debate had remained on the steps of the Throne, in order by their Presence to encourage their Friends in the Upper

House, had the Mortification to witness the Defeat experienced on that Evening; a Defeat which served as a Warning of its final Destiny.

The Debates which took place in the upper House, on the two questions of Adjournment and of Rejection; however inferior an interest they excited, when compared with the discussions that agitated the House of Commons on the same subject; yet strongly arrested national attention. Lord Thurlow, after reprobating the Bill, and treating with contemptuous ridicule the Reports of the "Select Committee," on which defective or erroneous foundations the pretended necessity for the measure rested; declared that "if it passed, the "King would in fact take the Diadem from his own "head, and place it on the head of Mr. Fox." In more intemperate language, scarcely befitting so dignified an Assembly, the Earl of Abingdon, a Nobleman of very eccentric character, restrained by no forms in expressing his abhorrence of a Coalition which had given birth to this political monster; qualified Charles James Fox by name, as "a Mountebank Secretary of "State, accustomed formerly to ascend the Stages at "Covent Garden and at Westminster Hall, from which "he harangued the mob; but now calling himself the "Minister of the People, though animated by the "criminal ambition of Cromwell, and aiming at regal "power." He even accused the Secretary with exceeding in violence, by his seizure of the East India Company's Charter, the worst acts of those Tyrants, Charles the Second, and his brother James. With great pertinacity, the Duke of Richmond pointed out the injustice of the Measure: nor did the ties of Consanguinity that connected him with Fox, prevent him from severely arraigning the recent grant of a Pension of one thousand Pounds a year made to Sir William Gordon; in order, by vacating his Seat for Portsmouth, to enable Government to introduce Mr.

Erskine into the House of Commons, at this critical juncture. Unsolicited, and unconnected with party, Lord Camden entered his strong Protest against such an infraction of all law, by bringing forward an Act, not of regulation, but of rapacious confiscation.

Ministers, thus assailed, if they exhibited the talents, by no means displayed the energies, exerted by their opponents. Lord Loughborough, on whom devolved the principal weight of defending the Government, found himself ill supported in that attempt. The Speaker, Lord Mansfield, voted indeed with Administration on the question of Adjournment; but remained altogether silent, and extended no active assistance. Conscious that his Colleagues had lost the confidence of the King, the Duke of Portland alluded with warmth, in the course of Debate, to Lord Temple's recent Audience of the Sovereign, which he denounced as a violation of the Constitution. But, that Nobleman, avowing the fact, and justifying it as the privilege of an hereditary Counsellor of the Crown, to offer advice, called on the Duke to bring forward against him a specific Charge. Lord Shelburne, though he once, I believe, attended in his place, took no part whatever in the discussions, nor ever voted on the Question, either in person or by proxy: a line of conduct, which, when we consider that he had been expelled from power by the "Coalition," only a few Months earlier, opened a wide field for political speculation, on the motives of his silence or secession.

It will be readily admitted, that if we try the conduct of George the Third, in personally interposing to influence the Debates, and to render himself master of the deliberations of the upper House, by the spirit of our Constitution, as fixed since the expulsion of James the Second; it appears subversive of every principle of political Freedom. Such an ill-timed and imprudent interference, had in fact laid the fou

of all the misfortunes of Charles the First. But, the same line of conduct, which in 1641 excited indignation, in 1783 awakened no sentiment of national condemnation. On the contrary, the King's position being perfectly understood, the impossibility of his extrication from the Ministerial toils, appeared so clearly demonstrated, unless by a decided personal effort to arrest the Bill, that the Country at large affixed its sanction to the act. There were, nevertheless, it must be admitted, many individuals who thought that the royal disapprobation should have been earlier signified; and who inclined to accuse the King of something like duplicity or deception, in his treatment of Administration. We must however candidly allow, that he was not bound to observe any measures of scrupulous delicacy, with men who had entered his Cabinet by violence, who held him in Bondage, and who meditated to render that Bondage perpetual. Nor was it easy for him to discover and to detect, by the force of his own intellect, without legal assistance, the invasions on his independence and Prerogative, contained in the provisions of the Bill, as originally submitted to him; till they were exposed and made manifest by the discussions that took place in the House of Commons. The rapidity with which it was carried up to the Peers, and the little delay which Fox evidently meant it should there undergo, before it was presented for his concurrence, left him no option, and very little time for action. These reasons exculpated and justified an interference, apparently so irreconcilable with the genius of the British Constitution. A fact not generally known, but not the less true, is, that His Majesty was advised, and had taken the resolution, if the Bill had actually passed the House of Lords, to have refused to it the Royal Assent. He would then have instantly changed his Ministers, dissolved the Parliament, and thrown himself for protection upon his People. Those

who have had the best opportunities of knowing his Character, and his firmness under the most alarming or distressful circumstances, while sustained by the conviction of acting right; will not doubt, or disbelieve the fact. Nor would the Nation, probably, have condemned his conduct, or have delivered him up again into the hands of the "Coalition." Happily however, the middle line which he adopted, prevented the necessity of recurring to such painful extremities.

17th December.] Though Fox's Bill was thus rejected by the Upper House, he still remained, together with Lord North, in possession of their respective Offices, no change whatever in Administration having yet taken place. Fox even delivered, as Secretary of State, from the Treasury Bench, the most bitter and animated Philippic ever pronounced within the walls of the House of Commons; in the course of which, he dealt out every accusation against the Sovereign, and those Members of the House of Peers; the Prætorian Bands, or rather the *Janizaries*, as he dominated them; who had strangled the measure by their Sultan's order. Nor did he hesitate to compare the paper entrusted by His Majesty to Lord Temple, which had operated such injurious effects to the Administration, with the Rescript of Tiberius sent to the Roman Senate from Caprœa, for the condemnation of Sejanus, unheard in his defence, and without proofs of his guilt. In classic language, and in the words of Juvenal, he reprobated such an interference, as wholly subversive of the British Constitution.

Vainly, however, Mr. Pitt urged him to retire, and thus to anticipate his dismission from Employment. Content with rendering the Majority of the House subservient to his views, by passing various Resolutions, calculated to stigmatize, as destructive of the Constitution, the late interference of the Crown; and intended at the same time to prevent the interruption of their

Deliberations, by any act of Prerogative; the "Coali-"tion" Ministers refused to give in their resignation. Under these circumstances, which called for decision, the King displayed no irresolution. Conscious that he had advanced too far to recede, either with honor or with benefit, he passed the whole of the 18th of December, in making dispositions for the formation of a new Cabinet; and finding, at a late hour of the Evening, that the two Secretaries of State still declined to resign, he signified to them, by a messenger, that he had no further occasion for their services. They received at the same time information, that a personal interview would be disagreeable to him, and were ordered to deliver up the Seals of their respective Departments, through the medium of the two under Secretaries, Fraser and Nepean. Mr. Fox immediately complied; but Lord North having deposited the Seal of his Office in the hands of his son, Colonel North, one of his under Secretaries, who could no where be found for a considerable time; the King waited patiently at St. James's till it should be brought to him. Mr. Pollock, first Clerk in Lord North's Office, who had already retired to rest, being called out of his Bed, in consequence of the requisition from His Majesty, went in search of Colonel North. After a long delay, he was found, and produced the Seal; which being brought to the King about one o'clock in the Morning, he delivered it into Lord Temple's hands, and then returned to the Queen's House.

19th December.] On the ensuing Day, it being indispensable to form a Government with the least possible delay, Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding his youth, was placed at the Head of the New Cabinet, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; an instance without precedent in our Annals, and which will probably never be again realized! Lord Bolingbroke, then Mr. St. John, had indeed, under

Queen Anne been made Secretary at War, as early in life; and we have since seen Lord Henry Petty, now Marquis of Lansdown, at about the same Age, raised to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, in 1806, after Mr. Pitt's decease. But there is a wide interval, from either of the above examples, to the elevation before us. If we reflect likewise on the decided majority against which Pitt had to contend in the House of Commons, conducted by such energies and talents as Fox possessed; we may be tempted, at first sight, to accuse him of imprudence and temerity. The event nevertheless proved, that in accepting Employment, under all the disadvantages here enumerated, he had maturely weighed the peril and the consequences. Other impediments, not less serious, presented themselves in the interior of the Cabinet recently formed; where Lord Temple insisted on the immediate Dissolution of Parliament, as necessary to their ministerial, if not even to their personal, preservation. But Pitt, with consummate judgment, while he retained in his own hands so powerful an engine, which he held suspended over the House of Commons, abstained from using it till the progress of affairs should justify the interposition. Conscious that no act of the Royal Prerogative could be more generally repugnant to the inclinations of the Members of the Lower House, than a Dissolution before they had sat half the period for which they had been elected, he resisted Lord Temple's proposition; who, in consequence immediately resigned, only three days after his Appointment: thus involving the half-formed Administration in confusion and embarrassment, not wholly exempt even from some degree of ridicule and of danger. Never did any Ministry commence its career under a more inauspicious and apparently desperate predicament, which was destined so long to retain possession of the Reins of Government.

22d December.] Even after Lord Temple's Resignation, when the Cabinet was at length completed, Pitt might be said to constitute its whole strength in one House, as Lord Thurlow equally did in the other Assembly. The Great Seal was entrusted to the latter, for the fourth time under the Reign of George the Third. Lord Gower, made President of the Council, and the Duke of Rutland appointed Privy Seal, brought indeed a considerable accession of Parliamentary interest and connexions; but, a very scanty addition of eloquence or of talents. The new Secretaries of State, Lord Sydney, and the Marquis of Carmarthen, even if their Abilities had been of the most brilliant description, yet were both Members of the House of Peers; a disadvantage only to be surmounted by Pitt's taking on himself the whole weight of Business in the House of Commons, and uniting in some measure in his own person, the Defence of every Department. Lord Howe, restored to the Admiralty, was re-admitted into the Cabinet; and the Duke of Richmond returned to the Ordnance: but no mention was ever made of Lord Shelburne for any place in the Administration. He seemed to be extinct in the public recollection.

Sir George Howard obtained the Command of the Forces; but, neither he, nor the Duke of Richmond, were taken into the Cabinet. The new Commander-in-Chief, who had long been decorated with the Order of the *Bath*, was a man universally esteemed, highly bred, and a gallant Soldier: but, like Sir John Irwin, of whom I have had occasion to speak, he owed his military Elevation and Employments, more perhaps to Royal favor, than to any distinguished talents, or professional Services. His descent from, or alliance with the Duke of Norfolk, notwithstanding the evidence of his Name, was, I believe, not established on incontestable grounds. He attained, as did General Con-

way, not many years afterwards, to the rank of Field Marshal; a Dignity of which the British service had antecedently furnished only a few examples. For the Embassy to Paris, the Duke of Dorset was selected. As he honored me with his friendship down to the close of his life, it may be naturally expected that I should say a few words respecting him. He was the son of Lord John Sackville, elder Brother of Lord George; and succeeded collaterally to the Title, on the Demise of his uncle, Charles, second Duke of Dorset, mentioned so frequently in "Dodington's Diary," as Earl of Middlesex. The Duke, when named Embassador to Versailles, had nearly attained his fortieth year. His person was highly agreeable; his manners soft, quiet, ingratiating, and formed for a Court; destitute of all Affectation, but not deficient in Dignity. He displayed indeed, neither shining parts, nor superior Abilities. Yet, as he possessed good sense, matured by knowledge of the world, had travelled over a considerable part of Europe, and had improved his understanding by an extensive acquaintance with mankind, he was well calculated for such a Mission. He nourished a strong passion for all the Fine Arts, and a predilection for men of Talents and Artists; a taste which he indulged, and in the gratification of which, he manifested that he inherited some of the qualities of his Ancestor, Charles, Earl of Dorset. But the Mediocrity of his Estate, when contrasted with his high Rank, imposed limits on the liberality of his disposition. If considered as Embassador to France, though he could not sustain a comparison for Diplomatic Ability, with the Earl of Stair, or with the first Horace Walpole, who had represented the English Sovereign, at the Courts of Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth; he might at least be regarded as equal to any of the Noblemen who had filled that Office during the last years of George the Second, or under the

Reign of George the Third, if we except, perhaps, Lord Stormont. To Marie Antoinette, the French Queen, the Duke of Dorset rendered himself highly acceptable, and enjoyed some degree of her personal favor: a circumstance by no means unessential in his situation, as that Princess performed a much more important part in the Cabinet and Councils of Louis the Sixteenth, than the two Queens her immediate predecessors. Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, who espoused Louis the Fourteenth; and Maria Leczinska, Consort of his Successor, possessed no political power or interest. Marie Antoinette's protection, aided by his connexion with the Polignacs, had sufficed to procure for the Count d'Adhemar, at the conclusion of Peace, the Embassy to the Court of England: but he was a Man far inferior in every accomplishment of mind and of manners, to the Duke of Dorset.

Mr. Arden became Solicitor General. Nature has seldom cast a human Being in a less elegant or pleasing mould. Even Dunning's person would have gained by a comparison with Arden. Nor were his legal talents more conspicuous in the general estimation of the Bar. But, his early acquaintance with Pitt, which time had matured into friendship, covered or concealed every deficiency. That powerful protection, in defiance of Lord Thurlow's avowed dislike, conducted the new Solicitor General rapidly to the Honors and Dignities of the Law; finally placing him, where almost all those individuals patronized by the Minister, found their ultimate repose, in the House of Peers. It must however be admitted, that no man in Parliament had given a more pertinacious and unremitting opposition to Fox's East India Bill, than Arden. The last Blow aimed at it, before it passed the Lower House, came from his lips. For, I recollect, that after that obnoxious Measure had been carried, on the Third Reading, by a Majority of

more than two to one; the Solicitor General, Mansfield, having risen to move for leave to bring up a Clause, declaring it to be a *Public Bill;* Arden exclaimed, that "he had no objection: but, that he was not surprized "at its having escaped his learned friend's memory, as "every other person considered the Bill to be a *Private* "*Job.*" With that Stigma impressed on the Measure, Fox bore it in triumph, to the Bar of the Lords.

The King's Table, covered with Badges of Office, Seals, Wands, and Gold Sticks, profusely given in by the Adherents of the dismissed Ministers, presented an extraordinary Spectacle. Among the foremost to testify his Ministerial fidelity, the Honorable Charles Greville, next brother to the Earl of Warwick, resigned his Office of Treasurer of the Household. Possessing, like his uncle, Sir William Hamilton, an elegant mind, and a taste for many branches of the Fine Arts, which pursuit had carried him into expences beyond the bounds of severe prudence; his Resignation of such an Employment could not therefore be to him in any sense, a matter of indifference. I have heard Mr. Greville, whom I very particularly knew, often say, that the King most kindly expostulated with him, when he entered the Closet to lay down his Place, and urged him by no means to commit an act so unnecessary; the Treasurership of the Household being, not a Ministerial, but a personal situation in the family of the Sovereign. I ought likewise to add that Fox, who well knew Mr. Greville's private Embarrassments, had, with a liberality of mind truly noble, exhorted him to retain his Post; absolving him at the same time from all considerations of a political kind. But, his feelings of honor were too delicate, to permit of his following either the suggestions of convenience, the exhortations of Fox, or the expostulations of his Sovereign. He retired for several years from Court, and from public life, into comparative obscurity.

Lord Hinchingbrook, less scrupulous, and with better sense, instead of quitting his Office of Master of the Buck Hounds; though his father, the Earl of Sandwich, followed the fortunes of the "Coalition;" wisely abandoned that Party, and declined to give in his Resignation. Sir George Yonge went back to his Office of Secretary at War, which he had held under Lord Shelburne's Administration; a Post that seemed to be Hereditary in his family; his father, Sir William Yonge, having occupied it with much distinction, under the Reign of George the Second. Sir William, who performed no inconsiderable part in the Political Annals of that Period, was equally distinguished likewise among the men of Wit and Gallantry. I have heard Lord Sackville, who remembered him, say, that Sir William Yonge, when Secretary at War, having waited officially on John, Duke of Argyle, then Commander-in-chief of the Forces, to make his Report on a matter of Business; the Duke kept him standing, while he himself remained seated for a considerable time. Their Ministerial Conference being ended, he requested Sir William to take a Chair. "No, Sir," replied he, "if "the Secretary at War is not worthy to sit down in "the presence of the Commander-in-chief; it would "be altogether unbecoming Sir William Yonge, to be "seated in company with the Duke of Argyle." So saying, he quitted the room. Sir George Yonge did not want talents, and he maintained his place in a Debate; but in ability he by no means equalled his father.

Meanwhile Fox, who remained completely Master of the House of Commons, where Mr. Pitt could not even be personally present during the Time necessary for his Re-election, in consequence of having vacated his Seat for Appleby; might be said to sway with absolute Power, the Deliberations of that Assembly. His first Cares were directed to prevent either a Prorogation or a Dissolution of Parliament, by passing Resolutions

calculated to render each of those Proceedings, difficult and dangerous to Ministers. Having carried his Motion by a large Majority, he consented to pass the Land-Tax Bill: but, no Assurances given by Mr. Dundas from the Treasury Bench, though confirmed by Mr. Bankes, as the Friend and Representative of the new First Minister, declaring in his Name, and by his Authority, that he would neither advise such an Act of Prerogative, nor would continue in Office, if the Crown had Recourse to it; could prevail on Fox to allow of an Adjournment for the Christmas Recess, till he had voted, without a Division, an Address to the Throne, of the most criminating Nature, which was ordered to be presented by the whole House. On receiving the King's Answer, which, though gracious and conciliating, did not breathe the less Determination; after passing upon it the most severe Comments, as a Mixture of Duplicity and Ambiguity, Fox then permitted of an Adjournment for the short period of Sixteen Days; an interval indispensably requisite to complete the Ministerial Arrangements. The Resignation or Dismission of the new Administration, was however confidently anticipated by the Party, and announced by Fox himself in one of his Speeches, when he ventured to predict, that its Duration could not possibly exceed a few Weeks. The most experienced Members among them, with Welbore Ellis at their Head, joined in this Opinion; which, it must be confessed, was built upon all the Precedents known since the Elevation of the House of Hanover to the Throne.

Lord North, who had been absent from the effect of Indisposition, during a great part of the Debates, while the East India Bill was in its progress through the House of Commons; made ample Compensation for his short and involuntary Retreat, by his Presence and Exertions after the Dismission of Ministers. During the number of Years that I sat with him in Parliament,

I never witnessed a more brilliant Exhibition of his Powers, than on the 22d of December, when Erskine moved for an Address to the Throne, deprecating a Dissolution. In the commencement of his Speech, Lord North justified by cogent Arguments, his Union with Fox, as having been dictated by State Necessity and Utility; eulogizing in animated Language, the Virtues, no less than the Abilities, of his late Colleague, whom he wished in future always to be designated as his "Right Honorable Friend." Then, after severely arraigning the Mode of Pitt's Admission into the Cabinet, he diverged with inconceivable Humour into the path of Ridicule, so analogous to his formation of Mind. Alluding to the Wish expressed more than once by Mr. Martin, that a Starling should be perched on the Speaker's Chair, who might incessantly repeat the Words, "Cursed *Coalition!*" he observed, that so long as an honorable Member of that House, "continued "to pronounce those Sounds, as if by Rote, and without "any fixed Idea, let what would be the Subject of "Debate; he conceived the Starling to be unnecessary, "inasmuch as the Gentleman would make just as great "an Impression as the Bird, on his hearers." Having convulsed the House with Laughter by this Remark, he compared, or rather he contrasted, the Conduct of the two Men who were shut up in the Eddystone Lighthouse, during six Weeks, with the opposite Line of Action embraced by Fox and himself. "Those "Men," said he, "from reciprocal Enmity, preferred "letting the Fire go out, and beholding the Navy of "England dashed to pieces, rather than lend each "other any Assistance. But we, animated by other "and more enlarged Sentiments, considered the "Preservation of the Vessel of State, our primary "Duty; and we agreed, that at all Events, the Fire in "the Lighthouse should not be extinguished." An allusion so ingenious as well as felicitous, almost

electrified his Audience; and if Wit could have supported or restored the "Coalition," it must have overborne every Impediment. But, the moral Impression made on the public Mind, to their Disadvantage, daily acquired Strength, and finally compleated their Downfall, though protracted for more than Three Months, by various circumstances.

If the struggle for Power had lain only between Pitt and Fox, the former of whom, whatever might be the extent of his Talents, was unable to command a Majority upon any Question in the House of Commons, while the latter carried every Motion; the Contest would, no doubt, have been soon decided. Or, had the Dispute been, as under Charles the First, between the Sovereign, claiming to exercise Prerogatives antiquated and oppressive on the one Hand; and the representative Body on the other, propelled and sustained by the People, as their Organs and Protectors against arbitrary Violence;—the Termination might have been foreseen without much Penetration. But Fox, though he was become by his union with Lord North, Master of the Deliberations of the Lower House, had sacrificed to that very Union, in a considerable degree, the good Opinion of the Country; and the remains of his former Popularity, which survived his Coalition with Lord North, had since been shipwrecked in the India Bill. He had therefore imprudently, though as it would nevertheless seem, reflectively, engaged in a Conflict, where the Crown and the Nation both combined against him. Without the aid of the People, the Sovereign would, indeed, have been powerless. As little could the House of Peers, unsupported by the public Voice, have checked his career. It was their Union which became irresistable. Fox, who, whatever his Admirers may assert, possessed more Talent than Judgment; does not appear to have deeply weighed and appreciated these Facts, before he

entered the Lists. Unfortunately for him too, the Champion wanted by the Crown, for the Conjuncture, presented himself in Pitt. His Name, rendered illustrious by his Father; the Decorum of his Manners, so opposed to those of Fox; even his very Youth seemed to recommend him to National Favor. The King availed himself of these Aids, to overwhelm the "Coalition" under the ruins of the Fortress which they had constructed, and deemed inassailable. Only Time was still wanting, in order to awaken and to animate the Nation at large; which, not yet fully informed upon all the Points of Fox's Bill, required to be roused into Exertion, before the last Address should be made to them as Electors. Pitt, with a Judgment beyond his Years, instead of prematurely dissolving the House of Commons, as a Man of meaner talents would have done; undertook the experiment of endeavouring first to conciliate, or to convince, the Majority; thus allowing the popular sentiment full leisure to expand, and finally to overpower all resistance: while he reserved for the proper moment, whenever it should be fully matured, his final appeal to the Country, by a Dissolution. Such was the real state of Affairs in the last Days of December, 1783, at the time when Pitt, contrary to all Precedent, and under apparent difficulties the most insurmountable, ventured to accept the Reins of Government.

It forms an object of the most natural Curiosity, minutely to survey him at this critical period of his life. He was not then much more than twenty-four years and a half old, and consequently had not attained the Age, at which many individuals, under the testamentary dispositions of their parents, are still legally considered to be in a state of tutelage or minority. In the formation of his person he was tall and slender, but without elegance or grace. His Countenance, taken as a whole, did not display either the fine expression of

character, or the intellect of Fox's face, on every feature of which, his mind was more or less forcibly depictured. It was not till Pitt's Eye lent animation to his other features, which were in themselves tame, that they lighted up, and became strongly intelligent. Fox, even when quiescent, could not be mistaken for an ordinary man. In his manners, Pitt, if not repulsive, was cold, stiff, and without suavity or amenity. He seemed never to invite approach, or to encourage acquaintance; though, when addressed, he could be polite, communicative, and occasionally gracious. Smiles were not natural to him, even when seated on the Treasury Bench; where, placed at the summit of power, young, surrounded by followers, admirers, and flatterers, he maintained a more sullen gravity than his Antagonist exhibited, who beheld around him only the companions of his political exile, poverty, and privations. From the instant that Pitt entered the doorway of the House of Commons, he advanced up the floor with a quick and firm step, his Head erect and thrown back, looking neither to the right nor to the left; nor favouring with a nod or a glance, any of the individuals seated on either side, among whom many who possessed five thousand a year, would have been gratified even by so slight a mark of attention. It was not thus that Lord North or Fox treated Parliament; nor from them, would Parliament have so patiently endured it: but Pitt seemed made to command, even more than to persuade or to convince, the Assembly that he addressed.

In the flower of youth when he was placed at the head of Administration, he manifested none of the characteristic virtues or defects usually accompanying that period of life. Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, could not have exhibited more coldness, indifference, or apathy towards women; a point of his character on which his enemies dwelt with malig-

nant, though impotent, satisfaction: while his friends laboured with equal pertinacity to repel the imputation. To him the Opposition applied, as had been done to his Father, the description given of a Roman youth:

"Multa tulit, fecitque *Puer*; sudavit et alsit;
"Abstinuit Venere"———

In order to justify him from such a supposed blank in his formation, his Adherents whispered, that he was no more chaste than other men, though more decorous in his pleasures; and they asserted that he made frequent visits to a female of distinguished charms, who resided on the other side of Westminster Bridge: but I never could learn from any of them her name or abode. Pitt's apparent insensibility towards the other sex, and his chastity, formed indeed, one of the subjects on which the Minority exhausted their wit, or rather their malevolence; as if it had been necessary that the First Minister of George the Third should be, like the Chancellor of Charles the Second, "the greatest libertine "in his Dominions." I recollect, soon after Pitt became confirmed in power, his detaining the House of Commons from the Business of the Day during a short time, while he went up to the House of Lords; and as Mrs. Siddons was to perform the part of "Belvidera" that Evening, when Fox never failed, if possible, to attend in the Orchestra at Drury Lane, the Opposition impatiently expected Pitt's return, in order to propose an Adjournment. As soon as the Door opened and he made his appearance, one of them, a man of a classic mind, exclaimed,

"Jam redit et *Virgo!*"

If, however, the Minister viewed Women with indifference, he was no enemy to Wine, nor to the social conviviality of the table. His Constitution, in which a latent and hereditary Gout early displayed itself;

which Disorder, heightened by political distress, domestic and foreign, carried him off at forty-seven; always demanded the aid and stimulus of the Grape. It was not therefore in him, so much a gratification or an indulgence, as a physical want, though he unquestionably yielded to its seductions, without making any great effort at resistance; resembling in this respect, a distinguished Consular Character of Antiquity, relative to whose virtue Horace says,

"Narratur et Prisci Catonis,
"Sæpe Mero caluisse Virtus."

In the autumn of 1784, he had indeed nearly fallen a victim to one of those festive meetings, at which no severe renunciations were enjoined by the Host, or practised by the Guests. Returning by way of frolic, very late at night, on horseback, to Wimbledon, from Addiscombe, the seat of Mr. Jenkinson, near Croydon, where the party had dined; Lord Thurlow, then Chancellor, Pitt, and Dundas, found the Turnpike Gate situate between Tooting and Streatham, thrown open. Being elevated above their usual prudence, and having no Servant near them, they passed through the Gate at a brisk pace, without stopping to pay the Toll; regardless of the remonstrances or threats of the Turnpike Man, who running after them, and believing them to belong to some Highwaymen, who had recently committed depredations on that road, discharged the contents of his Blunderbuss at their backs. Happily he did no injury. To this curious and narrow escape of the First Minister, which furnished matter of pleasantry, though perhaps not of rejoicing, to the Opposition, Allusion is made in the "Rolliad;"

"How as he wander'd darkling o'er the plain,
His reason lost in Jenkinson's Champaign,
A peasant's hand, but that just Fate withstood,
Had shed a Premier's, for a robber's blood."

Probably, no men in high Office, since Charles the Second's time, drank harder than Pitt's companions; as, in addition to the individuals already named, we should not omit the Duke of Rutland and Lord Gower, neither of whom professed mortification. Once, and once only, the House of Commons witnessed a deviation from strict Sobriety, in the Minister and the Treasurer of the Navy; who having come down after a repast, not of a Pythagorean description, found themselves unable to manage the Debate, or to reply to the arguments of the Minority, with their accustomed ability. No illiberal notice or advantage was however taken of this solitary act of indiscretion. The House broke up, and it sunk into oblivion. Fox never subjected himself, either in, or out of Office, to similar comments. He was always fresh; but, the Treasury Bench, under the Coalition Ministry, had not wanted some noble Advocates for the quick circulation of the Bottle.

Pitt, at his coming into Office, was soon surrounded by a chosen Phalanx of young men who participated in his triumph, pressed near him on a day of expected Debate, and constituted the resource of his leisure hours. Powis, when describing about this time, "the "forces led by the Right Honourable Gentleman on "the Treasury Bench," in his Speech of the 9th of March, 1784, only a few days previous to the Dissolution of Parliament; said, "The first may be called his "Body Guard, composed of light young troops, who "shoot their little Arrows with amazing dexterity, "against those who refuse to swear Allegiance to their "Chief." High Birth, personal devotion, and political connection, more than talents, formed the ordinary foundation of the Minister's partiality for those distinguished individuals; most of whom, with only one Exception, we have since seen elevated to the Peerage, or loaded with preferments and sinecure Appointments. In general, the Duke de Montausier's observation to

Louis the Fourteenth, when speaking of Versailles, "*Vous avez beau faire, Sire, vous n'en ferez jamais "qu'un favori sans merite,*" might well apply to them. With Fox's associates and comrades, Hare, Fitzpatrick, and Sheridan, they could sustain no competition for mental endowments. Lord Grenville, then Mr. William Grenville, must not however be included in this Remark. His near connexion with the First Minister, by Consanguinity, when added to his distinguished Abilities, placed him on far higher ground.

In suavity of temper, magnanimity of disposition, and oblivion of injury or offence, Fox rose superior to Pitt. Even Dundas possessed more liberality of character, as he manifested on many occasions. I have heard Fox, after dealing out the severest insinuations or accusations against Lord North, when that Nobleman was at the head of the Treasury, towards the end of the American War; on being convinced that he had exceeded the fair limits of Parliamentary Attack, or had deviated into personal Abuse, explain, retract, and apologize for his violence or indecorum. Mr. Pitt, though he rarely committed such a breach of propriety, and was more measured in his censure or condemnation, seldom, if ever, made concession. He even tried at an early period of his Ministerial Career, to overbear Sheridan, by making sarcastic allusion to the theatrical employments or dramatic avocations of that eminent Member, as forming a more appropriate object of his attention than Parliamentary declamation and pursuits: Allusions, which however classic the language in which they were couched, might be justly deemed illiberal in their nature. But, Sheridan, with admirable presence of mind, turned against him his own weapons; leaving behind him the impression of his genius, drawn from the very key on which Pitt had pressed, when he applied to the First Minister the denomination of the "Angry Boy," with which *Ben Jonson* furnished him on the instant.

In classic knowledge and acquirements of every kind, as drawn from Greek and Roman sources, Pitt and Fox might dispute for pre-eminence: but the latter left his rival far behind, in all the variety of elegant information derived from Modern History, Poetry, and Foreign Languages. We ought not, indeed, to be surprized at this superiority, if we recollect that Fox was above ten years older than Pitt; that he nourished a much stronger natural attachment to polite letters, and enjoyed infinitely more leisure for its indulgence. Pitt, as far as my means of information ever enabled me to form a judgment, possessed comparatively small general acquaintance with those Authors, which furnished the Libraries of Men of Taste and Science. How indeed, we may ask, should he ever have attained it? Several months before he compleated his twenty second year, he found himself with a very slender fortune, placed in the House of Commons, which opened to his aspiring and ambitious mind, the most brilliant prospects of Elevation. From that period, if we except the Prorogation of 1781;—for in 1782, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1783 he visited the Continent;—what portion of time could he devote to literary pursuits or accomplishment? Near seven years later than the period of which I speak, in the Autumn of the year 1790, when it was expected that a rupture would have taken place between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain, respecting the affair of Nootka Sound; conversing with him on the subject of the Spanish Possessions lying along the Shore of the Pacific Ocean, he owned that he not only never had read, but, he assured me, he never had heard of Commodore Byron's Narrative of his Shipwreck in the "Wager," on the Coast of Patagonia:—a Book to be found in every Circulating Library. But, on the other hand, the rapidity and facility with which he acquired, digested, and converted to purposes of utility, his knowledge,

was altogether wonderful. With the French Language he was grammatically conversant; but, at twenty-five, he spoke it imperfectly, and wrote in it without freedom or facility, though he subsequently improved in these particulars. I repeat it, as a Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, he could have sustained no competition with Fox, in all the branches of solid, or of ornamental Attainment, that qualify for such a Situation.

It is not easy to decide relative to their respective superiority in Eloquence. Fox's Oratory was more impassioned: Pitt's could boast greater correctness of diction. The former exhibited, while speaking, all the Tribunitian rage: the latter displayed the Consular dignity. But, it must not be forgotten that the one commonly attacked, while the other generally defended; and it is more easy to impugn or to censure, than to justify, Measures of State. Had they changed positions in the House, the character of their Speeches would doubtless have taken a tinge, though it would not have been radically altered, by such a variation in their political Destiny. From Fox's finest specimens of Oratory, much, as it appeared to me, might have been taken away, without injuring the effect, or maiming the conclusion. To Pitt's Speeches nothing seemed wanting, yet was there no redundancy. He seemed, as by intuition, to hit the precise point, where, having attained his object, as far as Eloquence could effect it, he sat down. This distinctive and opposite Characteristic of the two men, arose, partly at least, from an opinion or principle which Fox had adopted. He calculated, that one third of his Audience was always either absent, or at Dinner, or asleep; and he therefore usually made a short resumption or Epitome of his Arguments, for the benefit of this part of the Members. So that, after speaking at great length, and sometimes apparently summing up, as if about to conclude; whenever he saw

a considerable influx of Attendance, he began anew: regardless of the impatience manifested on the part of those, whose attention was already exhausted by long exertion. Pitt never condescended to avail himself of such a practice; neither lengthening his Speeches, nor abbreviating them, from any considerations except the necessity of fully developing his Ideas. Indeed, so well was the relative proportion of time generally taken up by the two Speakers, known to the old Members, that they calculated, whenever Fox was three hours on his legs, Pitt replied in two. In all the corporeal part of Oratory, he observed likewise more moderation and measure than Fox; who on great occasions, seemed like the Pythian Priestess, "to labour with th' inspiring God," and to dissolve in floods of Perspiration. The Minister, it is true, became sometimes warmed with his subject, and had occasionally recourse to his Handkerchief: but, rather in order to take Breath, or to recall his thoughts, by a momentary pause, than from physical Agitation.

A vital defect in Pitt's composition as a Man, must be esteemed his want of Economy: it was hereditary, constitutional, and insurmountable. The great Earl of Chatham, his father, had to contend with the same deficiency; and never understood, as Lord Holland had done, the art of accumulating a Fortune. But, the first Mr. Pitt, besides the lucrative Sinecure of the Privy Seal, which he held during several years, enjoyed the Estate of Burton Pynsent in the County of Somerset, bequeathed to him by Sir William Pynsent, together with a Pension of three thousand Pounds a year, bestowed on him by the Crown. None of these possessions however descended to his second son, whose whole patrimonial inheritance amounted, I believe, only to five thousand Pounds; and it never received any ostensible augmentation, except a Legacy of three thousand Pounds, bequeathed him in October, 1787, by the Duke of Rut-

land. We may therefore be enabled, with these Data, to form some idea of the Elevation of Pitt's mind, his contempt of Money, and his disregard of every selfish or interested object; when, on Sir Edward Walpole's decease in January, 1784, he disdained to take the Clerkship of the Pells in the Exchequer, though, as the Head of that Department, he might have conferred it on himself; though Lord Thurlow pressed him not to reject such a fair occasion of rendering himself independant; and though every man in the kingdom must have approved the act, on an impartial survey of his situation. For he might not have retained his official Employments, a single Week. Perhaps it is to be regretted that he should have made such a sacrifice of private interest, to Glory: but it operated throughout his whole life, and even beyond the Grave, by its effect on Parliament and on the Nation. Antiquity cannot exhibit any more shining instance of disinterestedness, either drawn from Theban and Athenian Story, or from the Consular Ages of Rome. Juvenal's observation on human nature,

> "Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
> "Præmia si tollas?"

did not seem to apply to Pitt. Possibly, however, on a deep Estimate, he found even his pecuniary recompense in this noble act of renunciation. The House of Commons would hardly have bestowed the posthumous marks of solid admiration and respect, which they voted in 1806, on any Minister who had enjoyed, during two and twenty years, a sinecure Place of three thousand Pounds per Annum, in addition to his Official Emoluments.

The Salaries annexed to the place of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, even though unaided by any private Fortune, yet undoubtedly, with prudent management, might have been found

adequate to Pitt's expenditure. But, unsupported by Economy, they proved wholly insufficient for the purpose. When he was appointed First Minister, his youngest sister, Lady Harriet Pitt, resided with him, and superintended his Establishment in Downing Street. She possessed, in addition to other eminent intellectual endowments, that quality which her father and brother wanted; and so long as she personally controled his domestic affairs, I have been assured that they were restrained within very reasonable limits. Unfortunately for him, in September, 1785, within two years after he came into power, Lady Harriet gave her hand to Mr. Elliot, who became Lord Elliot on his father's Demise; and subsequent to her marriage, Pitt's concerns fell into the utmost disorder. Debts accumulated; and it was commonly asserted, that the Collectors of the Taxes found more difficulty in levying them from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, than from almost any other Inhabitant of Westminster. Even Tradesmen's Bills were said to be frequently paid, not in money, but, by ordering new articles, and thus augmenting the pressure of the evil itself.

It was not till 1792, on the Earl of Guildford's Decease, that Pitt went into the Closet, and asked of His Majesty the place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which the King immediately conferred on him, though it had been previously intended by the Sovereign, as I know, for the late Duke of Dorset. The Salary, which in Mr. Pitt's person was rendered nominally Three thousand five hundred Pounds a year, might have formed a very handsome addition to his income: but, the necessary deductions of many kinds to be made from that sum; the expences which he incurred in altering or embellishing Walmer Castle; and more than both, his facility or liberality in granting small Pensions to invalided or aged Artificers, of various descriptions, belonging to the Cinque Ports;—these

combined causes reduced the real receipt below half its ostensible amount. Yet when he went out of Office in 1801, loaded with Debts, he possessed no other independant means of subsistence. It is indeed true, that as early as 1790, he had been elected Master of the Trinity House; but I have always considered that Appointment, though honourable, as unproductive of any pecuniary Emolument. When we reflect on the circumstances here enumerated, we may regret, but we cannot wonder, that after holding the Reins of Government, almost his whole life; and conferring so many Dignities, as well as Offices, during near nineteen years; he should die not only poor, but oppressed under a Burthen of Debt. Yet must we distinguish between a sort of virtuous, or at least venial Poverty, if I may so express myself, caused by want of Economy, in a man who devoted his exertions to the Public Service; and Fox's similar wants, produced by a rage for Play, which not only reduced him from Affluence to a state of Dereliction, but compelled him to accept an elemosynary contribution from his political and personal Friends, in order to furnish him with the means of subsistence. It is unnecessary to contrast the two positions, which undoubtedly excite in our minds very opposite sensations, and awaken widely different degrees of moral censure or disapprobation.

Pitt's great superiority to his Antagonist, and his consequent ministerial success, flowed from two causes. The first was his admirable Judgement. That intelligence restrained his parliamentary exertions during the American War, and induced him, while heaping accusations on the Ministers, to spare the King. I know that he received a hint, soon after he began to speak in the House of Commons, warning him to avoid that rock on which Fox had split, and to be cautious how he mentioned, or alluded to, the Royal Name. He did not despise the advice. The same superior intelligence

impelled him, when Lord North was driven from Power, to refuse Office under an Administration, which, he foresaw, from its component materials, could only be of short duration. It dictated to him to take the Chancellorship of the Exchequer under Lord Shelburne; but it equally suggested to him the impracticability of retaining the situation of First Minister, when pressed by His Majesty in March, 1783, to assume that high Office, after the Earl of Shelburne's Resignation. In renouncing a situation so flattering to his pride and his ambition, though it lay within his grasp, he exhibited, when not twenty-four, the deepest and calmest discernment: for, if he had yielded to the wishes of the Sovereign, it seems certain that he could not have maintained himself in power against Fox and Lord North, who had not then committed any other Act calculated to excite the public condemnation, except the mere approximation of their respective Parliamentary Adherents, and their own political union. Pitt, with consummate Judgement, waited till the *Coalition* had brought forward the "East India Bill," and could no longer recede, in order to profit of their indiscretion. He accepted in December, the Employment, which, nine Months earlier, he had wisely declined; exhibiting, on both occasions, equal ability: but he never associated Lord Shelburne to his power, nor allowed him a place in the Cabinet. His whole conduct, while struggling against Fox's Majority in the House of Commons, during successive Months formed the triumph of paramount capacity, over imprudence and rapacious Precipitation. If we were to pursue the comparison lower in Pitt's life, we should trace the same effects resulting from similar causes, during the critical conflict between him and Fox, in the Winter of 1788; when the latter, instead of advising the Heir Apparent to accept the Regency under any conditions, however severe, on which Parliament might think proper to

confer it during the King's malady, laid claim to it as a matter of right. The Minister instantly perceived, and fastened like an Eagle, on his adversary's error; which, by producing delay, happily allowed time for His Majesty's Recovery, and of course perpetuated the duration of Pitt's power.

The second point that gave him an ascendant over Fox, arose from the correctness of his deportment, and regularity of life. This circumstance, which, under Charles the Second, would have counted for little in the scale, operated with decisive effect under a Prince such as George the Third. Nor did it produce less beneficial results with the people at large. Some internal Guarantee, drawn from moral Character, high Integrity, and indisputable Rectitude of Intention, seemed indeed necessary, in order to justify to the Nation, the choice of the Sovereign, when entrusting to a young Man, destitute of Property, the Finances and Concerns of an Empire, reduced by a long and disastrous War, to a state of great depression. Pitt had in fact no other stake to deposit, unless we take into our calculation, his possible reversion of the Earldom of Chatham. He had likewise to contend with another deficiency. During the whole course of the eighteenth Century, and I believe I may say, since the Accession of Elizabeth, he is the only English First Minister who lived and died in a state of Celibacy. He was not therefore attached to the Commonwealth by those endearing ties, which blend the Statesman, with the Husband and the Father; thus giving a species of compound security for good conduct, to the Country. Mr. Pelham, who presided over the Councils of Great Britain during ten years, under George the Second, was, it is true, only a younger Son of a Noble House; but his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, might be justly considered as one of the greatest Subjects in Fortune, as well as in Rank, to be found within the Kingdom.

Mr. Pelham, who married a daughter of the Duke of Rutland, had likewise by her a numerous family, and possessed in his own person, considerable landed property.

Even Fox, though he remained long unmarried, yet finally entered into that state; and he aspired to have done it much earlier in life, if his efforts for the purpose had not proved unsuccessful. During the early part of Hastings's Trial, in 1787, he raised his eyes and hopes to the Duke of Newcastle's Box in Westminster Hall, where usually sat Miss Pulteney, afterwards created by Pitt, Countess of Bath in her own right; then justly esteemed one of the greatest Heiresses in the Kingdom. After exhibiting his powers of Oratory, as a public Man, in the Manager's Box below, he sometimes ascended in his private capacity, to try the effect of his Eloquence under the character of a Lover. All his Friends aided a cause, which, by rendering their Chief independant in his fortune, would have healed the wounds inflicted by his early indiscretion. General Fitzpatrick usually kept a place for him near the Lady; and for some time the Courtship assumed so auspicious an appearance, that I remember, Hare, when speculating on the probable issue of the marriage, said that "they would inevitably be Duns, with Black Manes "and Tails:" alluding to the Lady's fair Complexion and red Hair, contrasted with Fox's dark hue. The affair nevertheless terminated without success. Pitt, though, at different periods of his life, he distinguished certain Ladies, some of whom I could name, by marks of predilection; and in one instance seemed even to meditate Marriage, yet never persisted in the attempt: but his Name, Descent, Abilities, and private Character, surmounted every impediment to his elevation. Fox could no more have been placed at the head of the Treasury, than Dean Swift could have been made Archbishop of Canterbury; or than Lord Bolingbroke under Queen

Anne, or the Duke of Wharton under George the First, could have filled the office of First Minister. He wanted like them, an essential quality; high moral Character. Of this deficiency he was, himself, sensible, and was said to have once expressed his conviction of it, in laconic, but forcible terms.

While Pitt unquestionably anticipated the probable necessity of ultimately recurring to the measure of calling together a new House of Commons; he by no means disdained to avail himself of all the means and modes that could be suggested, for diminishing, and if possible, annihilating the majority, to which Fox owed his actual consequence. Every effort was exerted by himself, and by his friends, in order to accomplish that point. The Recess, limited to little more than a fortnight, allowed him only a very short space for exertion; and the numbers which had hitherto supported the *Coalition*, during the progress of the "East India Bill" through the House, in every stage, generally amounted to double, or almost double the Votes on the opposite side. Two hundred and seventeen Members had voted for its Commitment; a great proportion in an Assembly, then composed only of five hundred and fifty-eight persons. To reduce such a superiority, first to something approaching an equality, and finally to a Minority, might well seem a hopeless undertaking; even admitting all the venality, want of principle, or tergiversation, with which that Assembly has been so often reproached. Much more success was, however, expected from applications addressed to the part of the *Coalition* which might be considered as holding to Lord North; than from the adherents of the Rockingham Party, or among the personal supporters and friends of Fox. Many of Lord North's political connexions, who had in fact voted with him on the India Bill, under a conviction of the Measure itself having obtained the consent of the Crown; were disposed to withdraw their

support, if not to transfer their services, on the discovery of their mistake. There existed only three ways by which Fox's majority might be reduced. In consequence of the attendance of new Members who had not hitherto taken any part. By the future non-attendance of those who had supported the Coalition up to the present time; and lastly, by desertion from the enemy's ranks, over to those of the new Administration. The latter Votes, as counting double, of course became most sought after and valued.

A separation had, indeed, already taken place among Lord North's immediate personal followers. Of the two former Secretaries of the Treasury, Sir Grey Cooper continued to support him invariably: but Robinson, conceiving himself absolved from any Obligation to accompany his antient Principal, through all the consequences of his new political Alliances, quitted altogether that Party. No man in the House of Commons, as I have had Occasion to remark, knew so much of its original Composition; the means by which every individual attained his Seat; and in many instances, how far, and through what channels, he might prove accessible. Though Mr. Pitt made the fifth First Minister, whom that Parliament had beheld in the short space of little more than twenty-one Months; yet the individual Members composing the Lower House, had undergone only a very trifling variation, since the general Election. Recourse was therefore had to Robinson, under the present delicate and arduous circumstances of public Affairs, in order to obtain his active exertions for Government. He complied with the application, and unquestionably rendered very essential service. I have always considered the *Earldom* of Abergavenny, as the remuneration given for that assistance. Robinson's only daughter and child, had been married some years before, to the Honorable Henry Neville, eldest son of Lord Abergavenny; who was placed at the head of the

list of *Earls*, created by Pitt, on the 11th of May, 1784, not five months after the facts took place, under our discussion.

While I am engaged on the Subject of the House of Commons, and of the Influence or Corruption by which it has been always managed, particularly during the last, and the present Reign; I shall relate some Particulars, which cannot perhaps be introduced with more Propriety than in this Place. We may see in the "Memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy," what Influence he attributes to the "Presents of Champagne and "Burgundy" made by Marshal Tallard, then a Prisoner of War in England, to "Right Honourable Members "of Parliament." Nay, the Prince asserts positively, that in the same Year, 1711, when he came over in Person to London, with the avowed object of retaining, if possible, Queen Anne and her Ministers in the Grand Alliance against France; he had recourse, himself, to Corruption. "*Je fis des Presens*," says he, "*car on peut* "*acheter beaucoup en Angleterre.*" If such constituted the ordinary practice under the last Princess of the Stuart Line, at a Time that Parliaments were not septennial, but only *triennial*; we may be quite assured, that they did not become more virtuous after the Accession of the reigning Family, when the House of Commons was elected for seven Years.

Proofs of the Venality practised by Sir Robert Walpole, during the whole course of his long Administration, it seems unnecessary to produce, as that Minister did not disclaim or resent the Imputation. Nor did his political Adversaries disdain, whatever Professions of public Virtue they might make, to have Recourse to the same unworthy Expedients, in order to effect his Removal. We have the authority of a Member of their own Body, for the Fact. "Don Carlos," (Frederick, Prince of Wales,) says Mr. Glover in his "Memoirs," recently published, "told me, that it cost

"him Twelve thousand Pounds in Corruption, particu-
"larly among the Tories, to carry the Westminster and
"Chippenham Elections in 1742, and other Points,
"which compelled Lord Orford, at that Time Sir
"Robert Walpole, to quit the House of Commons."
It is difficult to adduce more satisfactory and unim-
peachable Proof of any Fact, as Glover was a man of
strict Veracity. Neither was Mr. Pelham, who, after
a short Interval succeeded Sir Robert, and who held
his situation near eleven Years; though he may be
justly esteemed one of the most upright Statesmen
who presided in the Councils of George the Second;
less liable to the Accusation of corrupting Parliament,
than his Predecessor.

A friend of mine, a Man of Rank and high Character,
whom I do not name, because, being still alive, I consider
myself not at liberty to divulge it; but, whose Name
would at once stamp the Veracity and Authenticity of
whatever he relates; has frequently assured me, that
about the Year 1767, he was personally acquainted
with *Roberts*, who had been Secretary of the Treasury
under Mr. Pelham; but who was then old, infirm, and
near his End. He lies buried in Westminster Abbey,
in Poets' Corner, where his Epitaph describes him, as
"the most faithful Secretary of the Right Honourable
"Henry Pelham." This Gentleman conversing with
Roberts, upon the Events of those Times when he held
a place under Administration, and particularly on the
Manner in which the House of Commons was then
managed; Roberts avowed without Reserve, that while
he remained at the Treasury, there were a number of
Members who regularly received from him their Pay-
ment or Stipend, at the end of every Session, in Bank
Notes. The Sums, which varied according to the Merits,
Ability, and Attendance of the respective Individuals,
amounted usually from Five Hundred Pounds, to Eight
Hundred Pounds, *per Annum*. "This Largess I dis-

" tributed," added Roberts, " in the Court of Requests, " on the day of the Prorogation of Parliament. I took " my stand there; and as the Gentlemen passed me, in " going to, or returning from the House, I conveyed " the Money, in a squeeze of the hand. Whatever " person received the Ministerial Bounty in the manner " thus related, I entered his name in a Book, which was " preserved in the deepest secresy; it being never in- " spected by any one, except the King and Mr. Pelham. " On the decease of that Minister in 1754, his Brother " the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord " Holland, and others of the Cabinet, who succeeded to " Power; anxious to obtain an accurate Knowledge of " the *private* State of the House of Commons, and " particularly to ascertain the Names of all the In- " dividuals who received Money during Mr. Pelham's " Life, applied to me for Information. They further " demanded of me to surrender the Book, in which, as " they knew, I was accustomed to enter the above " Particulars. Conceiving a Compliance to be dis- " honorable, I peremptorily refused to deliver it up, " except by the King's express command, and to His " Majesty in person. In consequence of my refusal, " they acquainted the King of the circumstance, who " sent for me to St. James's, where I was introduced into " the Closet; more than one of the above mentioned " Ministers being present. George the Second ordered " me to return him the Book in question, with which " injunction I immediately complied. At the same " time taking the Poker in his hand, he put it into the " fire, made it red hot, and then, while we stood round " him, he thrust the Book into the flames, where it was " immediately reduced to ashes. He considered it in " fact, as too sacred and confidential a Register, to be " thus transferred over to the new Ministers, and as " having become extinct with the Administration of " Mr. Pelham."

It is unquestionable that the Duke of Newcastle, though he failed in getting possession of his Brother's secret information, in consequence of Roberts's firmness; yet pursued the same mode of management, on becoming, himself, First Lord of the Treasury. Under Lord Bute's Government, when, from a variety of causes, a violent Opposition in Parliament arose, which required the whole power of Ministry to stem, similar practices were carried to a greater length. John Ross Mackay, who had been private Secretary to the Earl of Bute, and afterwards, during seventeen years was Treasurer of the Ordnance; a man with whom I was personally acquainted; frequently avowed the fact. He lived to a very advanced age, sat in several Parliaments, and only died, I believe, in 1796. A Gentleman of high professional rank, and of unimpeached veracity, told me, that dining at the late Earl of Besborough's in Cavendish Square, in the year 1790, where only four persons were present, including himself; Ross Mackay, who was one of the number, gave them the most ample information upon this subject. Lord Besborough having called, after Dinner, for a Bottle of excellent Champagne, of which wine Mackay was fond; and the conversation accidentally turning on the means of governing the House of Commons, Mackay said that "Money formed, "after all, the only effectual and certain method." "The Peace of 1763," continued he, "was carried "through and approved by a pecuniary distribution. "Nothing else could have surmounted the difficulty. "I was, myself, the channel through which the money "passed. With my own hand I secured above one hundred "and twenty Votes, on that vital question to Ministers. "Eighty thousand Pounds were set apart for the pur- "pose. Forty Members of the House of Commons "received from me, a thousand Pounds each. To eighty "others, I paid five hundred Pounds apiece." Mackay afterwards confirmed more than once, this fact, to the

Gentleman above mentioned, who related it to me. He added, that Lord Besborough appeared, himself, so sensible of the imprudence, as well as impropriety of the avowal made by Mackay, at his Table; that His Lordship sent to him, and to the fourth person who had been present on the occasion, next morning, to entreat of them, on no account to divulge it during Mackay's life.

Wilkes was however perfectly well instructed on the subject, and made no secret of his information, even at the time when the Treaty of Fontainbleau was a recent transaction. In his memorable Letter addressed from "Paris, 22d October, 1764," to the Electors of Aylesbury, he says, "I will not compliment the present "profligate Majority in the House of Commons, so far "as to say, they were so well informed, that they knew "the exact truth of *every* assertion in the 'North "Briton,' No. 45. *One* particular, however, came with- "in their knowledge; the means by which it is hinted "that the *entire Approbation of Parliament*, even of the "*Preliminary Articles* of the late inglorious Peace, was "obtained; and the previous step to the obtaining "that *entire Approbation*, the large Debt contracted on "the *Civil List*. They knew this Assertion was ex- "tremely *true*, and I am as ready to own that it was "extremely *scandalous*." It is impossible to convey a charge of such a nature, in less equivocal or ambiguous language.

Relative to the three successive Administrations of George Grenville, the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Grafton, which comprized the period of time between April 1763, and January, 1770, I can state nothing from my own personal knowledge. Bradshaw conducted that Department, under the Duke of Grafton. The same System certainly continued during the period of the American War, when Robinson, and under him, Brummell, were its Agents. I incline nevertheless to

doubt whether, towards the termination of Lord North's Ministry, these practices subsisted in all their force; by which I mean to say, that I question whether any individual Member of the House of Commons, was paid for his vote and support in Bank notes, as had been done under Walpole, Pelham, and most, if not all their Successors, down to that time. More refinement had insensibly been introduced into the distribution of Gratifications; which were conveyed in oblique shapes, such as Lottery Tickets, Scrip, Jobs, Contracts, and other beneficial forms, by which the Majority was kept together, in defiance of a most unfortunate, if not an ill conducted war. Lord North, when First Minister, was supposed to command full one hundred and seventy Members at his absolute devotion, who were prepared to vote with him upon every Question: nor would his head, indeed, have been secure, from 1777 down to 1782, unless he could have counted upon such a steady and numerous support, at a time when every Month teemed with misfortunes or defeats. Of this great Body, only a comparatively small portion had however continued to adhere to him, after he joined with Fox; and many more had quitted him on the first introduction of the "India Bill." Still, even in the last days of December, 1783, when dismissed from Employment, he remained the nominal head of a considerable Party; upon many individuals composing which, it was natural to suppose, that an impression might be made, by representations addressed to their principles, their passions, or their interests. Nor can Mr. Pitt, standing as he did, in the critical, as well as hazardous predicament, of having accepted the first Offices of Government, unsupported in one House of Parliament; be blamed for availing himself of every fair or honorable means, to diminish the Majority possessed by his Adversaries. I am at the same time persuaded, from the Elevation of his mind, and the purity of his

principles, that he was incapable of authorizing, no less than Robinson would have disdained to practise, any other methods of procuring Adherents, than such as the British Constitution either recognizes, or which are in fact inseparable from its practical Existence.

Among the Persons of Eminence to whom Mr. Pitt had recourse for support, at this delicate Crisis of his Ministerial Life, when every parliamentary aid which could sustain him against the Coalition, was anxiously sought after, the late Lord Sackville attracted his attention. That Nobleman had hitherto taken no decided part in the Debates during the progress of the "East India Bill," though he voted against it personally in both the Divisions which took place on the 15th and 17th of December, in the House of Peers. He had, indeed, early considered it to be a Measure which would excite great fermentation throughout the Country, as well as opposition on the part of the Crown, when its political consequences came to be well appreciated and understood. He even repeatedly predicted, that it would probably overturn the Ministry of Lord North and Fox. Impressed with these sentiments, he exhorted his Nephew, the Duke of Dorset, who arrived in London from Paris, soon after the Session opened; to be cautious how he engaged himself too far in supporting it, till he had ascertained and sounded the ground. The Duke profited of the Advice. Lord Sackville, besides his own vote, and his Brother-in-law Lord Milton's Proxy, of which, from his influence over that Nobleman's mind, he might be said to dispose, in the same House of Parliament; brought in gratuitously two Members at East Grinstead;—for he had a mind too noble ever to sell either of the Seats;—thus commanding or influencing four Votes, in addition to his own personal weight and connexions.

During the Christmas recess, after the adjournment of the two Houses, having quitted London, he went

down to his Seat at Drayton. Mr. Pitt having applied to a Member of the House of Peers, requesting his exertions to procure Lord Sackville's personal attendance and support, at a moment of such difficulty; he mentioned my name to the Minister, as a person capable, from the friendship with which Lord Sackville honored me, of facilitating his wishes on the subject. The Nobleman in question having subsequently called on me, at a very late hour of the night, of the 29th of December, after I was in bed, acquainted me with the above-mentioned circumstances. Impelled by the wish of serving Mr. Pitt, I waited on him, at his Brother Lord Chatham's House in Berkeley Square, next Morning, and at his desire undertook the service. But I candidly informed him at the same time, that, from my knowledge of Lord Sackville's sentiments, and for the obvious reasons which must render Lord Howe, as well as the Marquis of Carmarthen, who were both Members of the New Administration, personally distasteful to him; I doubted his compliance, unless the solicitations were sustained from various quarters. And I exhorted him, not only to write, himself, to Lord Sackville, but to procure similar applications from his three personal Friends in the Cabinet; the Chancellor, the Lord President, and Lord Sydney. Mr. Pitt readily adopted the suggestion. I then assured him that I would set off on the following Day; it being previously settled, that the Messenger, who was to be charged with the ministerial letters for Drayton, should not pass me on the road, but allow me to arrive before him at my destination.

On the ensuing Morning, being the 31st of December, I left London very early, in order to have time to see and to converse with the Duke of Dorset, in my way to Lord Sackville. The Duke was then on a visit at Lord Salisbury's, at Hatfield. I acquainted him with the object of my journey, in the success of which he co-

operated with all his exertions. It was past ten at night when I reached Drayton, in most inclement weather. Lord Sackville, whom I found engaged at Chess with his youngest Daughter, expressed some surprize at my first entrance into the Apartment. But his natural penetration soon led him to conceive, that my visit at such a Season, must have a deeper motive than friendship or amusement. As soon as we were alone, I therefore told him the cause of my unexpected Arrival, and related every circumstance that had taken place, except the advice which I had offered Mr. Pitt, respecting applications from his Friends in the Cabinet. Next day, the Messenger brought the Dispatches; and Lord Sackville, after perusing them, returned the answer which I had foreseen, namely, that "though he would accept "no Office under Ministry, nor ask any favour from "the Administration recently formed; yet, that his "Principles, and the dutiful submission that he felt "towards His Majesty, would impel him to give "every support to the New Government, in the "present arduous Crisis of affairs." He punctually performed this promise, evincing himself a steady Friend to the Ministry, during the whole future progress of the eventful Contest then carrying on in Parliament.

It was not, however, by individual applications of any kind, nor even by private exertions and assistance, however successful they might be, nor by the interference of the Sovereign himself, that Mr. Pitt could have been maintained in Office. The Public, and the Public only, enabled him to defeat the powerful Phalanx drawn up against him. During the two first weeks of December, while the fate of the "India "Bill" remained still doubtful, the Committee of Proprietors, which sat unintermittingly in Leadenhall Street, sounded the alarm from one end of the Kingdom, to the other extremity. A Member of that Committee,

who took an active part in their Deliberations, assured me, that in the circular letters which they addressed to almost every Town or Corporate Body throughout Great Britain, they contented themselves with saying in few words, "Our Property and Charter are "forcibly invaded. Look to your own." A copy of Fox's Bill, enclosed, which served as the best Commentary on the text, soon produced a corresponding and general effect. Ridicule and Satyre joined their aid to expose the "Coalition." Two Prints in particular, conceived with admirable humour, were circulated throughout the Metropolis. In one, Fox, under the Character of a "political Sampson," appeared carrying away on his shoulders the India House, that he had pulled down; out of the windows of which Edifice, the terrified Directors were endeavouring to effect their escape. The other Print, denominated "The triumphal entry of Carlo Khan into Delhi;" displayed the Secretary of State, habited in the Costume of a Mogul Emperor, seated on an Elephant, whose countenance bore a most striking resemblance to Lord North; and preceded by Burke, as his Trumpeter. It is difficult to conceive the moral operation and wide diffusion of these Caricatures, through every part of the Country. About the close of the year, the new First Minister exhibited, (perhaps not without profound design,) a proof of Power, which his predecessors had never been able to display; in elevating his relation and active supporter, Mr. Thomas Pitt, to the Peerage. Before the Month of January had elapsed, two other individuals were raised by him to the same Dignity. He probably meant to shew his Adherents, as well as his Opponents, in the House of Commons, the facility with which he disposed of the Honors of the Crown, withheld by the Sovereign from the "Coalition;" and consequently the rewards which might attend the early repairing to the royal Standard.

In order to counteract this display of Ministerial favor, and to keep their forces together, his Antagonists were said to have promised a long list of contingent British Peerages, exceeding thirty in number, to their principal friends in the Lower House. The names of these Gentlemen were in general circulation; and the greater part of them have since, at different periods subsequent to the French Revolution, received from Pitt the Boon, which they had failed to obtain from the Coalition Administration.

1784. 12th January.] Whatever favorable effect, the Peerage conferred by the Minister on Mr. Thomas Pitt, might produce within the walls of the House of Commons; an act which he performed soon afterwards, operated far more beneficially for him without doors, on the minds of the Public. Sir Edward Walpole's death having vacated the lucrative post of Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer; Pitt, instead of taking it for himself, or conferring it on his Brother Lord Chatham, as might not only have seemed natural and venial, but as he was urged to do by his political friends; immediately gave it to Colonel Barré, in order to extinguish the ample Pension enjoyed by him ever since Lord Shelburne's accession to power. So unusual a proof of superiority to pecuniary temptation, exhibited by a man destitute of patrimonial Fortune; even though it might have originated in deep policy, more than in disinterestedness, as his enemies asserted or insinuated; yet attracted just admiration, and extorted general applause. Fox, nevertheless, while he admitted the abstract merit of the action itself, did not reprobate with less severity, the principles on which Pitt had acquired possession of Office. Nor did he display with less ostentation, on the day when the House of Commons met, after its short Adjournment, the unlimited command that he exercised over the Majority of that Assembly. Of this empire he gave

the most convincing proof, by not only, in Parliamentary language, taking possession of the House when it re-assembled; but, by precluding the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in subversion of all usage, from being heard, though charged with a Message from the King, till Fox had submitted and carried five Resolutions, in a Committee on the State of the Nation. Three of these, he moved, himself. The other two, he delegated to Lord Surrey, who was said to have been selected from among the numerous Candidates for Parliamentary Service, in consequence of a classic recommendation. It having been agitated at the Meeting of the Opposition, held on the preceding Evening, at Burlington House; what individual to choose for bringing forward two of the Resolutions next day, in the House of Commons; one of the persons present, on being appealed to for his opinion, exclaimed with *Richard*,

"Saddle black *Surrey* for the field to-morrow!"

Throughout the whole Debate which took place on that occasion, Fox appeared as the Arbiter of the scene, propelling, restraining, and directing the machine, according to his volition; while the Minister, sustained only by the vast powers of his mind, and a consciousness of possessing equally the royal, and the popular favor, struggled vainly against the current. He was, with his followers, borne away by its violence, after making an eloquent and masterly appeal to the candor of his audience. One of Lord Surrey's Motions, calculated to stigmatize the King personally, as having permitted "his sacred Name to be unconstitutionally used, in "order to affect the Deliberations of Parliament;" was voted by a very considerable Majority, in a crowded House, at seven o'clock in the morning. Yet, even amidst so conspicuous a triumph, Fox might find subject for just apprehension, in his already diminished numbers.

Instead of dividing, as he had done before the Recess, nearly *two to one* upon almost every Question, he carried the first Division against Administration, upon "going "into the Committee on the Order of the Day," by only *thirty-nine*; though four hundred and twenty-five Members voted on the occasion. Lord Surrey's Motion passed, it is true, by *fifty-four*; but, as only three hundred and thirty-eight persons voted on that Question, it appeared evident that the augmentation on the side of Opposition, arose from the better discipline and closer attendance enforced among their followers, than was observed by the adherents of Government. When Fox, elated by his advantage, attempted, four days afterwards, on the 16th of January, to make the House declare, that "the Continuance of Ministers in Office, "was contrary to the Principles of the Constitution," he found his Majority declined to *twenty-one*, on a Division where three hundred and eighty-nine Members voted. His Parliamentary Ascendancy therefore palpably rested on a most precarious and decaying foundation.

Never, in the History of Parliament, were Debates conducted with more asperity and personal recrimination, than during the period of Pitt's and Fox's contest for power. Accusations the most futile and unbecoming, were preferred on both sides, with the view of rendering each other odious to the Nation. Sir Richard Hill, Member for Shropshire, animadverted with some severity, on the attendance, and marks of interest exhibited by the Prince of Wales, while present in the lower House. His Royal Highness, though from deference to his Father's avowed wishes, he had absented himself on the day when "the East India Bill" was finally rejected in the House of Peers; yet did not the less retain his predilection for its authors. His presence in the House of Commons, might therefore be considered as indirectly encouraging to Fox and "the Coalition." Frederic,

Prince of Wales, his Grandfather, had however given the same marks of partiality to the Minority which drove Sir Robert Walpole from power, in the beginning of 1743, without exciting any comment or disapprobation. Pulteney, then at the head of Opposition, even alluded in one of his Speeches, to his consciousness of the august Personage before whom he spoke. Sir Richard Hill was one of the most upright, disinterested, and honest men who ever sat in Parliament. Andrew Marvel was not more incorrupt: but his religious cast of character laid him open to the shafts of ridicule. The "Rolliad" describes him as

"Friend of King George, but of King Jesus more."

In the same Manner, the Earl of Dartmouth, while a Member of Lord North's Cabinet, being likewise known to entertain very deep sentiments of Religion, had obtained from the Opposition, the nick-name of "the 'Psalm Singer."

The indecorous personality of Debate that distinguished the Lower House, during this extraordinary crisis of affairs, produced scenes apparently unbecoming the Assembly where they originated, and such as we would vainly expect to find in more tranquil periods of our Parliamentary History. General Ross rising in his place, accused a Lord of the Bed-chamber, the Earl of Galloway, with endeavouring to influence his Vote, by allusions or direct intimations of the royal displeasure at his supporting "the Coalition." Lord Galloway's Brother, the Honorable Keith Stewart, read a written denial of the assertion: but the General persisted in maintaining the charge. Lampoons, a weapon in the management of which, the Opposition unquestionably excelled their opponents, were circulated with great assiduity and effect. In one of them, Stewart was thus apostrophized;

"Captain Keith, Captain Keith,
Keep your tongue in your teeth,
Lest you Bedchamber secrets betray.
And if you want more,
Why, my bold Commodore,
You may borrow of Lord Galloway."

Keith Stewart had incurred some censure or reflexions, perhaps unjustly, during the War with Holland, for having allowed a homeward bound Dutch ship of war to slip through the Downs, and reach the Texel, while he was said to have been on shore at Deal. His Brother, Lord Galloway, having very defective teeth, it was well known, used a complete set of artificial teeth. Sir Richard Hill, who almost always drew his allusions or authorities from Holy Writ, endeavoured to prove the benefit of secret Influence, by adducing the instances of Haman and of Mordecai. "The honest Israelite," he observed, "repaired privately to Court, and averted the "danger which threatened the People of God from "Haman's Ambition; who being driven from the "Cabinet, was finally suspended from a Gibbet." Even Mr. Dundas, who might have been esteemed incapable of descending to such modes of attack; yet, referring to Lee's very imprudent assertion, that "a "Charter was only a Scroll of Parchment, with a piece "of wax dangling to it;" observed, that it had been asked, "What was the great harm of hanging an "Attorney General? An hanged Attorney General, "was only a carcase dangling at the end of a rope." Sheridan, however, retorted on him with equal ability and severity, for this Metaphor. Lord North accused the Ministers with canvassing for Votes, from one extremity of the kingdom, to the other: an imputation repeated in still stronger language by General Conway, who denominated their Agents, *Rat Catchers*; but, which Charge was repelled by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as destitute of proof. On the other hand,

Rigby complained that Robinson, in the anticipation of a speedy Dissolution of Parliament, had made use of Ministerial influence to affect the future Election of a Member for the Borough of Harwich, though he did not think proper to ground any specific Motion on his Complaint.

Alluding to the reflexions thrown out by Sir Richard Hill, on the Prince of Wales, for attending Questions under agitation in that House, Fox exclaimed with warmth, "God forbid, that Royal Personage should "not participate in its political concerns! Where can "he so well imbibe a knowledge of the principles of our "Constitution, as within these walls? How can he "better illustrate the excellence of his Character, than "by thus blending personal respect for the King his "Father, with attachment to his Country?" Not deterred by such observations, from animadverting on other circumstances connected with His Royal Highness's personal appearance under the Gallery; the new Treasurer of the Navy remarked hypothetically, that "if the great "Personage in question, not content with merely listen-"ing to the Debates, should on any occasion testify by "his behaviour or gesticulations, while in the House, a "predilection or partiality for any set of men; such "marks of his preference would be unbecoming, and "might operate as a means of influence." No answer was given to the supposed case thus stated: but Lord North, in the course of the Evening, after expatiating on the eminent virtues of the Heir Apparent, expressed a becoming admiration at "his attending the House of "Commons, where he might imbibe the true spirit of "our Constitution, and become acquainted with the "nature of this limited Government, rather than "listening to flatterers." The Comments on this delicate subject, proceeded no further, and were not renewed during the remainder of the Parliament.

16th January.] The City of London led the way to

the rest of the Kingdom, by going up at this Juncture to the foot of the Throne, with an Address, thanking His Majesty for the very interference, which the House of Commons had pronounced to be subversive of the Constitution. They retorted at the same time, upon the framers of Fox's India Bill, the charge of "raising "a power unknown to this free Government, and highly "inimical to its safety." Encouraged by such unequivocal demonstrations of the affection of the Metropolis, and of the corresponding defection in the Ranks of the Opposition, Pitt ventured to propose another East India Bill, framed by himself, the second reading of which took place on the 23d of January. All the faculties of the two great Leaders, who had originated those respective Measures, were exerted in the attack and the defence of Pitt's Bill, which was rejected only by *eight* Votes, out of four hundred and thirty-six persons who divided. Such, indeed, was Fox's consciousness of these Victories finally terminating in Defeat, that no sooner had he thrown out the Bill of the Minister, than he moved for leave to introduce his own Bill a second time; but, so changed and modified in its leading Principles, as to be scarcely recognizable for the same Measure. He unquestionably perceived when too late, the error into which his own ill regulated Ambition, propelled by Burke's ardent and theoretical Spirit, had precipitated the Party. In order therefore to conciliate the Favour of the House, and of the Country, to the Measure, he now offered to abandon almost all its obnoxious provisions; particularly the Patronage, which had excited so much obloquy and clamour. There remained only two fundamental principles or features, which he declared himself unable to retract; namely, the permanency of the System for the Government of India, under Parliamentary Authority; and secondly, that the supreme Controul itself should be established, not on the Ganges, but here at home. The proposition, however, appeared

to be no longer suited to the Exigency. It is impossible not to accuse Fox of want of judgment, throughout every part of the transactions which led to his ministerial downfall. A cautious, or a temperate Politician, would not have furnished the Sovereign, to whom he was personally unacceptable, with the means of precipitating him from the elevation to which he had attained with so much labour. Had the "Coalition" made a judicious and moderate use of their power, the King, however he might have lamented his situation, could not have liberated himself from their yoke. They enabled him, by their errors, to emancipate himself. When we reflect that another Coalition, formed by Lords Grenville and Grey, in 1807, uninstructed by experience, renewed and exhibited nearly the same error, followed by the same results, it affords no common matter of astonishment.

After the rejection of the Minister's Bill for the Government of India, Fox, sustained by Members in various parts of the House, endeavoured to force from Pitt an explicit Declaration of his intentions relative to a Dissolution of Parliament: but neither interrogatories nor menaces could prevail over his Determination to observe a profound silence on that point. He was with difficulty induced, on the following day, to guarantee the Existence of the House of Commons, even for eight and forty hours.

23d January.] Notwithstanding the rising indignation of the Capital and the Country, which every day manifested itself with augmenting Energy, in favour of Administration; yet the Minister's situation at this juncture, equally painful in itself, as it was without precedent, appeared to be at times not wholly exempt from personal Danger. Fox might be said, without either Metaphor or exaggeration, to hold suspended over his head, the severest marks of the indignation of an offended House of Commons. His removal from the King's Presence and Councils, as an Enemy to his

Country; his Impeachment, or his Commitment to the Tower;—any, or all of these propositions might probably, nay might certainly have been carried, in moments of effervescence, when the passions of a Popular Assembly, inflamed by such a Conductor as Fox, seemed to be ripe for any act of violence. The irritation and impatience produced by Debates, protracted or repeated night after night, rendered his followers susceptible of impressions the most hostile to the Minister; who, in sullen Majesty, or in contumelious Silence, heard, unmoved, their clamorous Denunciations, seated calmly on the Treasury Bench. Mr. Pitt displayed in that situation, during successive weeks, a combination of fortitude, self-possession, and ability, which I never recollect without admiration. He did not indeed manifest the suavity, amenity, and wit, of Lord North, or of Sheridan. But, always preserving the command of himself, he was never led into deviations from caution and prudence, even when he seemed most to set at defiance the menaces of his Adversaries. If we reflect on his period of life, our surprize is augmented. He constituted indeed in himself, the Administration which he defended; and which, without him, could not have been maintained in existence.

It may naturally be asked why Fox, holding in his hand so powerful an Engine as the Majority of a House of Commons, which Assembly, he well knew, might every day be dissolved; and the individual Members composing which superiority, he saw diminishing after almost every Debate or Division, in consequence of the natural operation of a variety of obvious causes; yet should never have let fall its vengeance on the Head of the Minister, whom he apparently held in his Power? Why, when he saw all the ordinary expedients exhausted or ineffectual, which might compel the King to dismiss his Administration, or induce the Ministry to resign; did he tamely wait, till Mr. Pitt's Measures being ripe,

and the Country having declared almost unanimously on his side, a Dissolution reduced the "Coalition" to insignificance, and overwhelmed their ill-concerted schemes for perpetuating their Authority? Fox wanted neither vigor, decision, nor inclination, to have anticipated his own downfall, and the extinction of his ambitious plans. Nor could he deceive himself relative to the political destruction which impended over the "Coalition," if they did not prove victorious in the actual contest. How then are we to explain this seeming contradiction?

Fox possessed no absolute certainty in the first place, whatever he might believe, that the same Majority which had supported him in voting Remonstrances to the Throne, would either stop the Supplies, or carry up an Address for Mr. Pitt's removal. Various Country Gentlemen called for a Union, and thought that no Administration from which he should be excluded, was equal to the National Emergency. Even many of Fox's Supporters among them, deprecated all extremities. They might abandon him. He might therefore be left in a Minority, and all his consequence, as the Head of a great Party, would thus be lost by one imprudent Step. But granting however, as seemed most probable, that he should carry a personal Question against Mr. Pitt, by ten, twenty, or thirty Votes, in a crowded House; what would be the inevitable effect of such a victory? That the King, sustained by the voice of the Country, and not susceptible of Fear, when he believed himself to be acting right; instead of dismissing his Ministers, would dissolve the Parliament, and confidently appeal to the People, against their own Representatives. In that case, Fox, far from attaining his object, would only have accelerated a Dissolution; and would afford to his Antagonist, a plausible, if not a solid excuse, for advising the Sovereign to adopt that Measure. These were unquestionably, the real causes of Fox's apparent

moderation. Nor did Pitt, on the other hand, want motives equally powerful in restraining him from any precipitate movement. The County Members who supported him, were adverse to a Dissolution, unless circumstances rendered it indispensable. By temporizing and protracting, however irksome, and even in some degree humiliating, might be considered his Situation in Parliament; he gave time for the public Sentiment to be loudly, as well as generally pronounced, and could avail himself of it at any moment. Such were the considerations which mutually withheld the two Chiefs from proceeding to extremities, till the natural and unavoidable progress of Affairs, produced the final Consummation.

26th January.] The idea of endeavouring to reconcile two Men, who combined in their Characters, almost all the great Endowments fitted for Government; if it could be realized, seemed apparently pregnant, at first view, with incalculable benefit to the Country. Some Individuals of respectability in the House of Commons, impelled by these feelings, undertook the Experiment. However specious in Theory, it nevertheless proved impracticable, and only served to demonstrate the futility of the attempt. The St. Alban's Tavern became the scene of this Exhibition, to which place repaired about sixty or more Members, distinguished for Character, large Property, and Uprightness of Intention. Though they chose Mr. Thomas Grosvenor for their nominal Chairman, their Deliberations and Proceedings were chiefly conducted by two Gentlemen, who had already, on various occasions, taken a Lead in the Debates carried on within the walls of the House. The first, the Honourable Charles Marsham, Son and Heir of Lord Romney, though a Man by no means prepossessing or engaging in his Manners, which were coarse and rude; attracted deservedly general consideration in his Parliamentary Capacity. The other,

Mr. Powis, Member for the County of Northampton, who commonly prefaced his Speeches, on occasions of interest, by a copious discharge of tears, which he seemed to command at will; challenged attention from his recognized integrity, and assumed impartiality. The Duke of Portland, as nominal head of one Party, and Pitt, as Leader of the other, affected equally to receive with deference the propositions made to each, on the part of the associated Members. It is probable, however, that the Duke, in this profession, might be more sincere than the Minister. Difficulties and objections, either to a personal interview, or to a negociation, were started in turn by both. Pitt refusing to resign, or even to hear of a *virtual* resignation, which was required of him, as a previous step to any conference for the purpose of forming an extended Administration; the overtures were suspended, and finally broken off, in consequence of these preliminary impediments. But the patriotic zeal of the St. Alban's Meeting, was not to be overcome by ordinary obstacles; and they returned to the charge, apparently under more propitious Auspices. In compliance with their suggestion and wishes, the King was even induced to send a message to the Duke of Portland, recommending a conference between him and Pitt, with a view to constitute a Ministry, on "a wide Basis, "and on *fair and equal* terms." Instead of instantly closing with such a proposition, from which neither the Sovereign, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whatever might have been their secret wishes, could easily recede, without incurring the imputation of insincerity; the Duke of Portland and Fox thought proper to cavil about the acceptation of the term "equal." At this opening, with which they furnished him, Pitt escaped, by refusing to define any expressions, before the proposed interview.

All further efforts were abandoned therefore, with a view to produce a political union between two Men,

whose mutual animosity and rivality seemed to have derived new force, from the unsuccessful attempts made to effect a reconciliation. With whatever complacency and ostensible alacrity, Pitt received the propositions for such a junction, it is difficult to persuade ourselves that he could cordially desire their accomplishment. He beheld the prize for which they were contending, nearly attained and secured. His Ambition impelled him to govern alone, without an equal and a Co-adjutor in the Cabinet, of such energy as Fox. Their mutual recriminations in Parliament, which had been so acrimonious and so recent, seemed hardly to admit of being buried in instant oblivion. We are warranted therefore in believing, that an accommodation, forced on both by imperious circumstances, would have proved hollow, insincere, and of short duration. They appeared to be not formed for acting together, nor did they ever coalesce for an instant, during their whole remaining lives. The French Revolution itself, which brought over to Government, as to an Asylum against Anarchy, so many other Individuals, at whose head were the Duke of Portland, Burke, and Windham; could never induce Fox to quit the Opposition Bench. He remained fixed there above two and twenty years, till Death liberated him from his Antagonist; and he then only became a Minister, when his own career drew to its close.

February.] The Discussions which took place in the House of Commons, between the close of January, and the middle of the ensuing Month, though equally violent and acrimonious with the preceding Debates, contained less matter of interest, or of novelty. Accusations, levelled against the "East India Bill," from the Treasury Bench; or against secret influence, from the opposite side; began to weary their hearers, and made little impression. Fox continued, it is true, master of the deliberations of the Lower House of Parliament; his Majorities sometimes falling as low as

nineteen, and at other times rising to thirty-one: but this superiority was far overbalanced by his decline in the popular esteem. No eloquence, nor any exertions of Sophistry, could reconcile the Public to his Union with Lord North, followed immediately by a measure obviously calculated to cement their political power at the expence of the Crown, which it must have reduced to a state of vassalage. In the course of the Debate that arose on the 3d of February, Sheridan avowed without circumlocution, that when Fox first communicated to him the proposition of coalescing with his antient adversary, he advised his right honorable friend by no means to accede to it; as the insurmountable prejudices imbibed throughout the Nation, would infallibly produce the loss of his popularity, character, and general estimation. Sheridan added indeed, that on maturely weighing the motives of State Necessity by which it was dictated; when sustained by his experience of the honour, principles, and steadiness of Lord North; he rejoiced at the union which had taken place, even in contradiction to his own advice. But, it is evident from this disclosure of his sentiments, that he reasoned more dispassionately than Fox; who, seduced by his Ambition, and beholding only the ascendant which Lord North's junction would give him, in one, if not in both, Houses of Parliament, imagined that he could coerce the Sovereign, and either persuade, delude, or despise the People. The event fully justified Sheridan's opinion, and manifested the superiority of his judgment: since, even though we should admit that Lord Shelburne would inevitably have remained in power, if Fox had not joined Lord North, yet the former must have occupied the most imposing situation, as a public Man, while maintaining his original ground of Opposition; and could not have been long excluded from a participation in the Counsels of the Crown, even by Pitt himself.

In vain did Sheridan, with admirable wit, endeavour to shew that an equal sacrifice of all political principle had taken place on the Ministerial side of the House, as among the Members opposite them: an assertion which he attempted to illustrate by the spectacle which the Treasury Bench exhibited, where the individuals now seated side by side, were recently acting in hostility towards each other. But, the union of inferior or subordinate persons, did not excite sentiments of equal repugnance, nor awaken such moral condemnation, as the coalition of two principals, the one of whom had, for successive years, been loaded by the other, with the severest imputations, and denounced as a just object of national vengeance. In vain did Fox accuse the First Minister, "after assassinating the Constitution, by secret "Influence in one House of Parliament; with having "recourse to methods of the basest corruption, in order "to procure a majority in another." As vainly did Rigby reproach Pitt with lavishing Peerages for the same purpose; while it was notorious that the late Administration was debarred from conferring similar Dignities, and had not been able to make even a single British Peer. With as little effect did Marsham read the Resolutions adopted by the Meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern, affirming "that any Administration "founded on the total exclusion of the Members of the "last, or of the present Ministry, would be inadequate "to the public exigencies:" or did Powis urge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to resign, as a necessary preliminary to all conciliation. Pitt, though he professed to desire an union, "provided it could be effected "without a sacrifice of principle or of honour;" yet not only refused previously to retire from Office, but started many impediments to the accomplishment of the object itself.

No symptoms of approximation between the contending parties, beyond unmeaning professions of mutual

disposition to bury in oblivion past animosities, took place: while among their respective adherents, a spirit of inveterate enmity was exhibited. Lord Mulgrave charged Fox with "trampling the House of Brunswic "under foot," by his "East India Bill;" and though called to order by the late Secretary of State, inveighed against him as "a plunderer and an invader." Governor Johnstone said that "if an election for *a King* were "to take place in this Country, Mr. Fox should "have his vote; so high an opinion did he entertain "of those transcendant Abilities which the Right "Honorable Gentleman possessed: but, wishing to "preserve the Constitution, he had negatived a Bill "which would have placed its author above all controul." Wilberforce declared, that "even if that obnoxious "Measure had passed the House of Peers, by as great "a Majority as it did the Lower House, yet he should "equally have thanked the Crown for dismissing the "late Ministers." Mr. Beaufoy levelled his censures against Lord North, for "preserving the hilarity of his "temper, and insulting the sorrows of Britain with his "jokes, after ruining her finances, shedding the Blood "of her people, and losing the half of her Empire." Pitt himself, treating with defiance, as well as with contempt, Fox's indirect attempts to force his resignation, called on his Antagonist to come boldly forward; and either to criminate his conduct as a Minister, or to move a personal Question for his removal from Office. Professing his own purity, both as a man, and as a public functionary, he avowed his indifference for all the clamour of Party, or the unfounded imputations brought against the mode of his attaining power; and concluded by trusting that the House would do justice to the motives which actuated his present line of conduct.

11th February.] Burke by no means took the same active or conspicuous part in the Debates that followed

the rejection of the "East India Bill," as he had exhibited while the measure was on its progress to the Upper House. With the loss of the Pay Office, he seemed to have lost much of his energy of mind. Even Lord North scarcely occupied the second place in these parliamentary convulsions, where Sheridan and Erskine, Powis and Marsham, severally attracted almost as much attention, as the late First Minister. His Blue Riband, seen conspicuous among the great Coats, buff Waistcoats, and dirty Boots of his new Allies, involuntarily recalled the reflexion of his having given the law from the Treasury Bench, during twelve years, to the same Assembly, in which he now performed so humiliating and inferior a character. He bore nevertheless, this political change, under which many men would have sunk, with that imperturbable serenity and equality of temper, which ever distinguished him through life. He acquired even the applauses of every Party, by the manly promptitude, and cheerful readiness, which he shewed to sacrifice all personal objects, or private interests, to the public tranquillity. When Pitt avowed, that however highly he might respect that Nobleman's abilities, or private character, yet they could never sit together in the same Cabinet; Lord North, while he loudly censured the contemptuous dignity, and unaccommodating spirit, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; yet declared, that no considerations relative to himself, should for an instant impede the formation of a new Ministry, consonant to the general wishes of the Country. This Declaration called out the warmest expressions of admiration from Marsham and Powis: Eulogiums the more noticed, as no individuals in the House, had treated him with greater acrimony, when First Lord of the Treasury, during the latter part of the American War. He was nevertheless unable to prevent the Borough of Banbury, for which place he sat, and where his family had always possessed a

decisive influence; from joining in the general cry against the "Coalition," and even framing an Address, thanking His Majesty for the recent dismission from Office, of their actual Representative in the House of Commons. A Delegation from the inhabitants of Banbury, waited on me in London, bringing with them the Address, itself; accompanied by a request that I would present it to the King, on the first Levee Day at St. James's. But, on full consideration, I declined taking such a personal part against a Nobleman whom I greatly respected, loved, and honoured, though I had withdrawn from the Party with which he had connected himself. Lord North, alluding afterwards, during the Debate which took place on the 27th of February, to this Address, declared that "he had the consolation to "know, it was not signed by one of those individuals, "his Constituents, who returned him to Parliament." It spoke nevertheless, the sentiments of a large and respectable portion of the inhabitants and householders of the place.

18th February.] No circumstance could more forcibly demonstrate the little apprehension felt by Pitt, of the indignation of Parliament, or prove in a stronger manner the confidence with which his own popularity inspired him, than his conduct at this juncture. Almost immediately after the extinction of the fallacious expectations awakened by the St. Alban's Tavern Meeting, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rising in his place, calmly acquainted the House, that "the King, not-"withstanding their Resolutions, had not thought "proper to dismiss his Ministers; and that they had "not resigned." Such a piece of information, so delivered, seemed meant to force the "Coalition" on some measure of violence. Fox, nevertheless, while he did not affect to conceal his indignation at the affront offered to the legislative Body, and at the defiance conveyed in the Minister's words; yet knew too well

the feeble state of the Machine over which he presided, to press heavily upon its springs. He reprobated indeed, the treatment which the House experienced; a treatment demanding, he said, exemplary punishment. But he concluded with only proposing an Adjournment of eight and forty hours, in order to give the Minister time for reflexion. This Motion he carried by *twelve*; a very slender superiority, where above four hundred Members divided. Fox, on this occasion, though he pretended to deprecate any intemperate step, and only demanded a respite of one or two days; exclaiming with Dido, while he accommodated her Complaints to his own Feelings,

"Tempus inane peto; spatium requiemque *Furori*;"

yet endeavoured, by a most able and laboured appeal to the wounded Pride of the House, to inflame their Passions, while he directed their resentment against the Minister.

Pitt, on the other hand, charged him and his Adherents with systematically withholding the Supplies; thus sacrificing their Country to private Faction, Enmity, or Ambition. A distinction was however drawn by the Opposition, between withholding the Supplies, and only postponing them; which latter line of conduct, Powis, in moderate language, and Marsham, with much stronger asseveration, declared to constitute their sole intention. The last mentioned Member recriminated with asperity on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as expecting from him the same servile submission in registering the ministerial Edicts, which the French Sovereigns exacted in the Assemblies denominated Parliaments. With more ability, Fox attempted to make a Compromise with the Minister; offering instantly to vote the Supplies, provided that the House might receive assurances from him, that "His Majesty would comply with the desires of his "faithful Commons." But, Pitt, after first declaring

the conviction of "his personal Honour being inseparably connected with his present official Situation, and "his determination never to resign, as a prelude to "Negociation;" peremptorily refused to barter Office for Supply, or to enter into any stipulation on the subject. From this Resolution, expressed in laconic, but energetic terms, neither menaces, blandishments, nor expostulations, could induce him to recede: and after a prolonged Debate of two successive days, Fox, as the Master of the House, finally moved to adjourn the sitting on the State of the Nation, which was carried without a Division. He was all-powerful within those Walls; but Pitt's superiority lay without doors, in every County, Town, and Village.

Already, Addresses crowded in, from London down to New Sarum; a Borough which, though consisting only of one solitary Farm House, yet, as belonging to Lord Camelford, who had just been elevated to the Peerage, did not omit to offer its Tribute of Loyalty to the Crown, and of abhorrence for the Measures of the Opposition. Middlesex, Southwark, even Westminster, abandoning Fox, approached the Throne with Congratulations, or with Testimonies of Approbation at the Dismission of the late Ministers. York, a City where the Cavendish Interest had always been predominant, and which place the late Chancellor of the Exchequer actually represented in Parliament; Edinburgh, Worcester, Exeter, and many other inferior towns, followed the example, which spread with rapidity throughout the whole Island. When we reflect on these facts, we shall probably think that Mr. Pitt, whatever professions he might either make, himself, or whatever wishes for "an united and extended Adminis-"tration," he might judge proper to put into his Royal Master's mouth, in reply to the Addresses of the House of Commons; yet could have nourished no serious intentions of dividing his power with Fox.

February 4th—16th.] The House of Peers, which Assembly, after arresting the progress of the "East "India Bill," as if exhausted by that effort, had ever since remained silent and supine spectators of the contest between the Crown and the Commons; exhibited some symptoms of animation about this time, by adopting, early in the Month of February, two Propositions, of a nature tending to condemn the conduct of the lower House, and to strengthen the hands of the Sovereign. The Earl of Effingham, who during many years of his life, had manifested the most decided hostility to the King's Government; and who, as late as June, 1780, was accused of personally mixing in the Riots of the Capital; now appeared as the zealous Defender of Prerogative. He was sustained by the Duke of Richmond, whose political Character and Opinions had undergone since 1782, a similar transformation: while on the other hand, the Resolutions moved by Lord Effingham, found the warmest Opponents in Lord Mansfield, in Lord Stormont, and Lord Loughborough, so long the systematic Champions of Royalty.

Few Debates more animated, as well as acrimonious and personal, have ever taken place within the Walls of the Upper House, than occurred on this occasion. While Lord Fitzwilliam drew the most unfavourable portrait of the young First Lord of the Treasury, whom he described as deficient not only in experience, and averse to every social source of information, but as devoured by an overweening and insatiable thirst of power; the Duke of Richmond panegyrized his Industry, his Abstraction from Dissipation, his Application to public Business, Frugality, and Elevation of Mind; the last of which qualities had been so conspicuously displayed in his recent renunciation of a lucrative sinecure place. Lord Stormont endeavoured to point the public indignation against him, for his presumption

in continuing to retain his situation, in defiance of the Votes and Resolutions of the House of Commons: while his Predecessors in Office, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord North, and the Earl of Shelburne, had each in turn anticipated, or respectfully obeyed, the first demonstrations of the pleasure of that Branch of the Legislature. The Earl of Mansfield, with the political timidity so characteristic of his whole life, in every situation, judicial or parliamentary; deprecated, as the greatest of calamities, any Resolution, which, by interrupting the harmony subsisting between the two Houses, might lead to a Dissolution. He seemed to contemplate such an event, as commensurate with the destruction of the British Constitution itself; as disbanding the Army, laying up the Navy, suspending the Functions of Government, and throwing the Country into irremediable confusion. The House, neither deterred nor intimidated by these Denunciations, voted the Resolutions by a large Majority of forty-seven; and followed them immediately by an Address to the Throne, expressive of their reliance on His Majesty's wisdom in the selection of his confidential Servants, as well as by the assurances of their Support, in the just exercise of those Prerogatives entrusted to him for the Protection of his People. It was difficult to imagine a triumph more decisive over the "Coalition," or a more opportune and important accession of strength to the First Minister, struggling against a Majority in the House of Commons. The King received and replied to the Address, in laconic, but warm and affectionate anguage.

In other periods of our History, such an Interference, followed by such a Censure, might, and unquestionably would, have called out the Resentment of the Representatives of the people. But, as Fox justly dreaded all Occasions of Rupture, or of Dispute between the two Houses, which might afford the New Ministers a

plausible pretence for the Dissolution of Parliament; he contented himself with dictating and carrying six Counter Resolutions, tending to justify the Line of Conduct that had been adopted by the House of Commons. Lord Beauchamp was selected for the performance of this service; and after a series of Debates which occupied eleven days, distinguished throughout by the same asperity as had been exhibited in every preceding Discussion, the Resolutions finally passed without a Division. In the progress of these gladiatorial exhibitions of parliamentary ability and dexterity;—for such they could only be deemed;—Fox, conscious that the conflict in which he had engaged, wore from day to day a more sinister appearance, and must, however protracted, terminate in his downfall; assumed every shape, and tried every means, of inducing his Adversary to propose, or to accept, some Principles of Accommodation. At one time he denounced the First Lord of the Treasury, and held him up to national execration, as a Conspirator, who aimed at the life of the House of Commons; whom he at the same time daily insulted by appearing among them as a confidential Servant of the Crown, though destitute of their Confidence or Support. Changing altogether his tone, a few days afterwards, in soothing accents, calculated to win their way into the heart, he complimented Pitt's abilities; professed respect for his political Principles; expressed his readiness, nay, his eagerness, to form an Union, provided it was grounded, not on private Interest or Aggrandizement, but on great public meritorious motives of action; apologized for any harsh or unguarded expressions which might have occurred in the warmth of Debate; avowed his Ambition and love of Glory, as sentiments which he felt in common with the First Lord of the Treasury; and finished by protesting that he would make every personal Sacrifice at the Shrine of his Country.

In further corroboration of these conciliating dispositions, Fox took occasion to declare that he was ready to accommodate and modify his obnoxious Bill for the Government of India, so as to meet the public wish, and to acquire the public confidence. He would abandon the patronage which it conferred, and would submit every Clause or Regulation of the Measure itself, to the Discussion of Parliament. His Noble Friend, Lord North, would prove no obstacle to union between the two Parties. Only one stipulation he could never recede from; namely, Mr. Pitt's virtual resignation, as indispensable, and as an expiation to the violated Constitution of Great Britain. In reply to these alternate Menaces and Blandishments, the Minister, on his part, affected and professed an equal desire of union, on bases of principle and honour; disclaimed all personal views in the line of conduct which he had adopted, by his acceptance of Office; declared that he should ever think he had performed an essential Service to his Country, by defeating a Measure big with destruction to the Constitution; expressed his consolation at finding that Fox was disposed to renounce any of its pernicious features; protested that he and his Colleagues were all ready to resign their Employments, as soon as a prospect presented itself of forming an Administration by which the State might be effectually served; but concluded by declaring, that he could neither reconcile it to the Duty that he owed his Sovereign and the people of England, nor to his own Honour, to lay down his Office, before he beheld such a prospect. It was evident that, amidst these reciprocal professions and demonstrations, not the smallest advance was made on either side, towards real approximation.

20th February.] However decidedly the sentiments of the Capital and of the Nation had been already pronounced in favour of the new Ministers, yet Fox

still retained firm possession of the House of Commons, though he held that Assembly, as he well knew, only by a frail and decaying tenure. Powis, who notwithstanding his avowed disapprobation of "the East India "Bill," and his invincible repugnance to the "Coali- "tion," did not the less condemn and oppose the formation of the new Administration, as wholly subversive of the dignity and inherent rights of the Lower House of Parliament; rising in his place, originated another effort for compelling the King to dismiss the First Lord of the Treasury. A most animated, long, and acrimonious Debate ensued, terminated in favour of Opposition, at a very late hour of the Morning, after two Divisions, both which Fox carried; the first, by a Majority of *twenty*; the last by *twenty-one*. The Address voted, was ordered to be presented by the whole House. But, this Triumph, however apparently gratifying, might be considered rather as nominal, than real; not extending in fact beyond the threshold of the Lobby, and being neither calculated to intimidate the Sovereign, nor to accelerate the First Minister's resignation.

I have never witnessed greater oratorical exertions made by Fox, than on that Evening. In a speech of prodigious length, which might be said to try the patience of the House, he endeavoured to concentrate every Argument, and to exhaust every topic of Declamation. But, his Antagonist, elevated by the victories obtained without doors, in various Towns and Counties; as well as nearer home, at Hackney, where the Freeholders of Middlesex had been convened; and above all in Westminster itself, where Fox had just received the most unequivocal marks of the disapprobation, or rather indignation, of his own Constituents;—elated by his consciousness of these advantages, Pitt, with far more brevity, but in a higher tone than he had ever yet assumed, retorted on his adversary with incon-

ceivable severity. After exposing to derision, the inconsistence of his present conduct in becoming the Champion of a small Majority of the House of Commons, instead of constituting the distinguished organ of the popular voice, as he once was; and complimenting him on the dexterity with which he supported in turn the most opposite political Characters; Pitt justified himself from the charge of imposture in representing to the Nation, the pernicious consequences to the Constitution, that must have resulted from "the East India Bill." Then descending to personal objects, "the Right Honourable Gentle-"man," said he, "calls me a mere nominal Minister, the "Puppet of Secret Influence. It is because I disdain "to become *his* puppet, by resigning my Office, that "he thus denominates me. But, his contemptuous "expressions shall never provoke me to resignation. "My own honour and reputation I never will resign, "to place myself under his protection, to accept a "nomination from him, and thereby to become a poor, "powerless, self-condemned, unprofitable Minister in "his train: a Minister, serviceable to him perhaps, "but altogether incapable of serving my King, or my "Country." He concluded by levelling the severest reproaches on Fox, for stopping, or as the Opposition termed it, suspending and postponing the Supplies; thus sacrificing the public interests, to private Animosity or Ambition. No reply was made to this eloquent Harangue, which seemed finally to extinguish all the fallacious hopes so long nourished by sanguine or credulous individuals, of beholding an Administration founded on a broad Basis. It became evident that no intentions of such a nature were seriously cherished or encouraged; and that one of the two contending parties must ultimately sink under the superiority of his Opponent.

21st—27th February.] Already Fox's Majority

began to exhibit symptoms of rapid decay. While some Members abandoned the "Coalition," in deference to the public voice, or to the remonstrances of their immediate Constituents; others yielded to suggestions of a personal or interested nature, and withdrew from a sinking party, whose approaching extinction they anticipated. These latter individuals drew on themselves the bitterest sarcasms for their desertion, not only from Fox, but, at different times, from various Members of the Opposition. The King's Answer to the last Address, drawn up with consummate skill, gracious in its language, conciliating in its professions, declaring how anxiously His Majesty desired to form "a firm, efficient, extended, and united Administration;" but, lamenting the inefficiency of his efforts for that purpose; denying that it would be advanced or facilitated by the previous dismission of his Ministers, against whom no charge or complaint was preferred; observing that numbers of his Subjects had expressed their satisfaction at the late change in his Councils; and finally declining to vacate the essential Offices of executive Government, till he should see a prospect of such a union as his faithful Commons recommended:—this reply augmented the embarrassments, while it added to the dismay of the "Coalition" Leaders.

On the Question being agitated, of adjourning its Consideration for two or three Days; after a short Debate, Fox found himself indeed still in a Majority: but it consisted only of *seven*, though near three hundred and fifty Members voted. He made nevertheless, on the first Day of the ensuing Month, when the Royal Answer was read, another desperate attempt to carry the trenches by storm, and sustained it by his accustomed display of Eloquence. The Debates themselves had however ceased to excite the same interest, or to awaken the same attention, as they had produced in earlier stages of the contest. Yet in a very full House,

falling little short of four hundred, the Opposition maintained their superiority, and even rose to *twelve*. Another Address was voted; but though it still besought the Sovereign "to lay the foundation of a "strong and stable Government, by the previous "removal of his present Ministers;" it lamented "the "failure of his endeavours for forming an united "Administration; and their concern, as well as dis-"appointment, at His Majesty's not having been "advised to take any further steps for effecting the "object." It was impossible more clearly to admit their inability to dictate to the Crown, and their desire of dividing with Pitt the power, of which it had become evidently impracticable wholly to deprive him.

4th and 5th March.] In his Answer to their Address, the King nearly repeated his preceding Declaration; only subjoining, that "he did not consider "the failure of his recent endeavours to form an "extended and united Administration, as constituting "a final bar to its accomplishment, if it could have "been obtained on principles of fairness and equality." But, as though he had been desirous at the same time, of extinguishing any such expectations, he added, "I "know of no farther steps that I can take, that are "likely to remove the difficulties that obstruct that "desirable end." Fox, who beheld as in a mirror, the sentence of his perpetual exclusion from Office, conveyed under these expressions of the Sovereign; after first postponing the Consideration of His Majesty's reply for four Days, endeavoured to throw an insurmountable barrier in the way of Dissolution, by delaying the progress of the Mutiny Bill through the House. An animated Debate ensued on the subject; in which, while the two Leaders took only a comparatively inferior share, Lord North spoke at considerable length, and with great ability. Under the possible anticipation that the Majority might prevent the Mutiny Bill from

passing, opinions had been hazarded from the Ministerial Benches, that even though that annual Act should be suffered to expire, yet the King might keep the Army together, both the Men, and the Money for their payment, being already voted. When therefore the consent of the House of Peers should be obtained, the Crown, it was asserted, might have an Army, with the recognized approbation of Parliament. This Doctrine, which, it must be confessed, was not to be found in "the Bill of Rights;" and which might, in its effects, have proved subversive of the British Constitution; received, it is true, no direct sanction from Pitt; but it did not the less provoke and produce from various quarters, the severest animadversion. Lord North observed, that "such a discovery, if founded in Law, "might well make every man tremble for his Liberty. "But, those who maintained it, must likewise assert "that the Army might be kept together without "discipline, and without punishment; the first being "only enforced, and the latter only inflicted, under the "Mutiny Act." He concluded by reminding Ministers, "that notwithstanding the money had been *voted* for "the payment of the Army, yet until the Act "specifically *appropriating* it to that branch of service "had passed, no power or right existed in Administration, to issue any sum, however small, for the "purpose." Finally he warned them, that "as a "Prorogation or Dissolution does away every Vote of "Supply, not previously carried into an Act of Parliament; if therefore the Minister should have recourse "to such a Measure, the Votes of Army, Navy, "Ordnance, and Supply of every kind, must instantly "be destroyed and fall to the ground." No Answer was made or attempted from the Treasury Bench, to these Denunciations, which did not indeed admit of any reply; and only served to shew the critical, as well as awful position of the Country, left without a Govern-

ment, and apparently on the verge of a suspension or extinction of all its Establishments.

Powis and Marsham, who commonly acted in concert, uniting their efforts on this occasion, attacked the Minister in language of equal energy and acrimony. The former, after expressing his amazement at the King's Answer, and wishing for time to shed a tear over the expiring dignity of the House of Commons; lamented that Administration appeared to be determined on prosecuting their mad career, and on elevating Prerogative above Privilege. Marsham reiterated the same sentiments, while he protested that no Act could be more remote from his intention, than to delay the public business, or to plunge the Country into confusion. Rigby, who had been called on by the Attorney General, only a few days before, to pay into the Exchequer, the vast Balances of public money remaining in his hands; a demand of which he loudly complained, as harsh and illiberal, though he could not venture directly to oppose or resist it; came forward very conspicuously in the course of the Debate. With that blunt, bold, dictatorial, and coarse Style of Oratory, which always characterized him, but of which, since the extinction of Lord North's Government, he had exhibited very few Specimens; he reprobated the *Audacity* of a Minister who presumed to remain in Office, with a Majority of the House of Commons against him: observing, that it was reserved for the present days to produce a Chancellor of the Exchequer who said to Parliament, "I care not for your Majority. "The King has appointed me, and you have nothing to "do with the business." He finished by declaring, that his Blood boiled with indignation, at the bare mention of retaining an Army without a Mutiny Bill. Pitt did not condescend to notice these personal Sarcasms or Animadversions, which, he well knew, however they might operate within the Walls of the Assembly where

they were pronounced, would produce no injurious consequences to him among the People without Doors. On the Division for adjourning the Committee upon the Mutiny Bill, he was again left in a Minority of *nine*; the numbers being 171 against 162; Fox still retaining his slender possession of the House.

8th March.] But the termination of this great Conflict, on which not only England, but all Europe had their eyes fixed, and which had already lasted near eleven Weeks, to the suspension of every kind of public Business, could not be longer protracted by any efforts of eloquence. The King, in terms of gracious, yet firm determination, had twice refused to comply with the demand of a Majority of the Lower House; and that Majority was become not less odious to the People, than hostile to the Crown or Administration. So unnatural a state of things, carried in its essence the seeds of its speedy extinction. Fox though apparently Master of the House, found himself unable to advance; and he could not remain stationary without exposing his Party to ridicule, while they were silently undermined from day to day. His embarrassments, which did not admit of concealment, necessarily augmented the confidence of his ministerial Adversaries. Nor did he attempt to disguise them, when the consideration of His Majesty's Answer to the last Address, came before the House. In terms of querulous indignation, he stigmatised the Reply, as a compound of Contradiction, Duplicity, Insult, and Violation of the British Constitution. Having attempted to justify and defend the right of the Commons to demand the removal of Ministers, without stating their reasons, or assigning any specific cause for such dismission; he avowed that the only becoming Measure now left, was to move a Resolution, that "whoever should advise his Majesty to "continue his present Administration, was an Enemy "to his Country." But, however disposed and desirous

he might be to proceed to this Act, he was restrained by his consciousness that he could not carry with him even a Majority of the most limited description, if he made the attempt. Many of his Adherents had already announced to him their determination to proceed no further, accompanied with menaces of withdrawing their support, if he tried so desperate an experiment. Thus situated, Fox stopped; and after loading Ministers with the bitterest reproaches, for having, as he asserted, overset the Country, involved public Credit in remediless confusion, suffered our foreign concerns to run to ruin, and incurred the guilt of leaving our East Indian Possessions a prey to every species of Enormity, Peculation, and Tyranny; he declared that it was not his intention to stop the Supplies. While he charged Pitt with inordinate Ambition, as well as with having manifested a decided aversion to political union; he finished by only moving, not an Address, but a *Representation* to the King. It was long, expostulatory, argumentative, if not criminating; and recapitulated all the points, on which the Crown and the Commons had so obstinately contended: but it contained no new matter, except lamenting that "His Majesty's Advisers had not thought fit to suggest "any farther steps for removing the difficulties which "impeded the formation of an extended Administra-"tion."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer took little or no part in the Debate which ensued on that Evening. Dundas, however, supplied his place, with great acuteness, energy, and severity. Retorting on the Opposition, all the accusations of pursuing a mad and desperate career, to the subversion of the Constitution, whose true Principles they outraged, he endeavoured to shew that Fox's experience proved the incapacity of the House of Commons itself, however powerful a Branch of the Legislature it might be, to enforce its

own unconstitutional Resolutions. He treated the *Representation* as a Manifesto, calculated to delude the Nation, by disguising the real intention of Fox, which aimed at elevating the Speaker's Mace above the Royal Sceptre, and giving virtually to the Representatives of the People, the Right of naming Ministers. Towards the conclusion of his able Harangue, after vindicating Pitt from the imputation of opposing a union of Parties, if it could have been effected on fair and honourable Principles; he alluded with great force, though guardedly and hypothetically, to the well authenticated lists of Peerages, Offices, and Emoluments, known to be promised to their Adherents, by the Opposition Leaders, who thus condescended to avail themselves of every engine of seduction or corruption: engines, by which, it was obvious, the Country might be as completely enslaved, and the Constitution subverted, as by the worst Minion of the most wicked, or arbitrary Monarch. Burke, who, ever since the rejection of "the East India Bill," as if overcome by his second dismission from the Pay Office, had scarcely once risen in the House, or taken his accustomed share in the Discussions within its Walls; made ample amends on that night, for his preceding silence. He spoke with great animation, and with equal Eloquence: but no exertions could sustain a declining Party, or infuse new vigour into its component Members. Even the subject of controversy itself, agitated and exhausted by so many repetitions, no longer inspired the same interest; the greatest ingenuity being scarcely able to suggest any new ideas, or to strike out any fresh matter of argument. Uncommon anxiety was manifested, and impatience displayed, for the Division, which took place about Midnight; when Fox's Majority became reduced to *one* solitary Vote, the numbers on each side considerably exceeding those on the Division of the 5th of March. Three hundred and eighty-five Members were

present, of whom 191 divided with Opposition, and 190 with Administration. Great exultation was expressed by the ministerial side of the House, while corresponding depression appeared on the opposite Benches, at so decisive a proof of the approaching fall of the "Coalition."

9th March.] The Spell which had so long suspended and paralysed all the functions of Government, was now dissolved; and on the ensuing day, the Mutiny Bill, no longer opposed, passed through the Committee. Fox, divested of that controul which he had exercised over the Assembly ever since it met in November, appeared there; but, "shorn of his Beams:" nor can we consider the Discussions which subsequently arose on various points, as other than mere Conversations, since no Division was ever again attempted, down to the period of the Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament. Yet scarcely any Debate which took place during the interesting Session under our review, opened more curious matter of speculation or of controversy, than the one that followed Fox's defeat. Powis and Marsham, who had taken so conspicuous a part throughout the whole contest, appeared for the last time on the Theatre. The former, in a Speech replete with pointed animadversions, and conceived with great powers of mind, endeavoured, while he justified himself from the charge of inconsistency in his conduct, to throw on Pitt the accusation of duplicity, in his pretended negociation for forming an extended Administration. He admitted that the House of Commons was conquered; "for though scarcely a Century had elapsed, "since a Vote of the Commons could bestow a Crown, "it could not, in 1784 procure the dismission of a "Minister." Having related, with apparent exactitude, the leading points on which had hinged the attempt to produce an interview between the Duke of Portland and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as

forming the first indispensable step towards union; he hesitated not to declare, that "all the concession was "on one side, while the Minister refused either ex- "planation, or the smallest advance leading to con- "ciliation." Pitt made, it is true, a prompt, able, and animated reply to this imputation: but I will fairly own that it impressed me as more rhetorical than solid, and carried with it no conviction; though the reasons assigned by him for the rupture of the proposed Conference, if not severely scrutinized, appeared specious and reasonable to the Ear.

Those persons who best knew the secret Springs of Affairs, at the period under our review, have, I believe, felt, and some of them, have candidly avowed, that the First Minister could not sincerely desire, or even mean, to form a Coalition with Fox. Nor, if he had wished it, can we easily conceive on what Basis it could have reposed, that offered a prospect of completion, and still less of duration. The Cabinet must have preponderated in favour of one, or of the other, Candidate for power. And which of them would have submitted to become the subordinate? When Lord North struck his Bargain with the Rockingham Party, he consented to act under them a secondary part; receiving in compensation, a share of the ministerial Spoils, and obtaining from them protection against Impeachment, for the errors or calamities of the American War. The motives therefore for his conduct, were obvious, natural, venial, perhaps justifiable in every sense. Lord North did not demand to be received among his New Allies, "on fair and equal terms." He exacted only Indemnity, Oblivion, and a Participation of Offices. But Pitt must have begun, like Sylla in Antiquity, or like Fairfax in our own History, by laying down his power, at a moment too when he had nearly consolidated it. Other motives for avoiding such a connexion with Fox, would unquestion-

ably suggest themselves to his mind. The late Secretary of State was no longer an object either of popular affection, or of Royal Apprehension. His own imprudence, Ambition, and rapacious policy, had precipitated him from his double elevation. Nor could the Minister have formed a junction with the Colleague of Lord North, the author in his own Person of the "East India Bill," without perhaps incurring some degree of political condemnation, if not of moral contamination or censure. Fox, indeed, might, and probably would, have consented to modify that obnoxious Measure, in a way to render it harmless to the Constitution. But experience of the bitter fruits produced by the late "Coalition," held out no encouragement to Pitt for concluding a second similar union. He stood moreover on far higher ground than his Antagonist; combining at once the favour of the Sovereign, the attachment of the People, and the command of the House of Peers. How is it to be supposed that he would voluntarily descend from such a situation, and consent to mingle his future fortunes in some measure with a Man, whose line of public action he had stigmatized with the severest Epithets; merely to conciliate the suffrages of the Gentlemen who met at the St. Alban's Tavern? These reflections may probably induce us to believe, that neither George the Third, nor his Minister, could really intend to replace Fox in any degree on the Eminence from which he had fallen; though during the progress of a contest, in which he remained, for many successive weeks, Master of a Majority in the House of Commons, Deference towards that Branch of the Legislature, dictated an apparent compliance with their anxious wishes.

Pitt, with great ability, in the course of his reply to Powis, probably conscious that he could not altogether disprove, however he might deny or repel, the charge of insincerity, contrived to bring forward a

counter accusation against him and Marsham; to both of whom he indirectly applied the Appellation of "a Spy," as having obtained by a pretended impartiality, access to the secrets of the two contending Parties. They took fire at the term; and after respectively vindicating themselves from so dishonourable an imputation, Marsham read in his place, the Letter addressed by the Duke of Portland to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It served fully to prove that the Chief of the Opposition Party, as anxiously desired to commence a Negociation with the First Minister, as the latter dexterously eluded and avoided a Conference. Marsham professed his own perfect conviction of the fact. So did Fox himself, who spoke with his usual ability, though not in the commanding tone that had characterized him, when conscious that he could dictate his pleasure to an obsequious Majority. With more bitterness than was natural to him, he felicitated his rival on "having "attained to something like a Majority to support "him;" nor did he spare his severest animadversions on those individuals, who having long voted with Opposition, had recently changed sides, and joined the Administration. Fox concluded by pointing out the delusion of Pitt's proposition to treat on "equal terms," while he rejected the offer made by the Duke of Portland, that the Ministerial Arrangement should be conducted "with attention to principles of equity and "fairness." There could remain no doubt in the mind of any impartial person, that the expressions "fair and "equal," were in themselves ambiguous, and understood in different or opposite senses, by the two contending parties. But these recriminations, however they might for a moment agitate the minds of men, no longer impeded the progress of public Business; the House voting on the ensuing Evening, the Extraordinaries of the Navy, without a Division.

11th March—22d.] It became indeed more and more apparent from day to day, that Pitt's Machinery being now nearly complete, a Dissolution of Parliament would not be long delayed. Yet, the Opposition still fondly indulged a hope; for, it did not amount to a belief; that, as no Act of Appropriation had passed, though the Supplies were voted, Ministers would not dare to apply the public Money to specific purposes, contrary to all precedent, if not to law; and in direct violation of the Prohibitions of the House. Various attempts were made to sound the Minister on this delicate point, but, without effect. Fox took however no personal part in them; and though he occasionally attended in his place, I believe he hardly, if ever, spoke on any subject, during the last eleven or twelve Days that Parliament continued in existence. Burke remained equally mute; while Powis and Marsham, engaged in Preparations for an approaching general Election, disappeared altogether from a scene, where they had recently performed the principal Characters. The little degree of opposition experienced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, arose from the Adherents of Lord North, or was made by that Nobleman himself. Sir Grey Cooper, on the Order of the Day being moved, for going into a Committee of Supply, on the Estimates for the Extraordinaries of the Army; conscious that it offered the last occasion which would present itself, for protesting against a Dissolution; expatiated with considerable energy, on the Infraction of the Constitution that would arise from such a Measure. He at the same time warned the Ministers, that "to issue "money for the pay of the Forces, contrary to a "Resolution of the House, declaring such an Act to be "a high Crime and Misdemeanour, and without any "Appropriation Act," was not only illegal, but, a subversion of the very tenure by which the King held his Crown. No answer whatever was returned to these

denunciations, from the Treasury Bench; but the Supply being voted in the Committee, without any Division, the House adjourned to the following Day.

23d March.] As the immediate Dissolution of Parliament had now become matter of universal notoriety, and preparations for carrying it into effect were already making in the Public Offices; a considerable attendance was produced in the Lower House, by curiosity to witness its extinction, rather than by any other Motive. The First Minister appearing in his place, was assailed from various quarters, on the question being put by the Speaker, that "the Report on the Army Extraordinaries, should be read a First Time." Mr. Eden led the way, and was followed by Lord North, as well as by General Conway. While each of them avowed that they considered themselves as addressing for the last time, an Assembly, which they knew was on the point of being dissolved; they did not remonstrate or menace in less animated terms, on the supposition that such a measure should be actually carried into execution. Every argument adduced in the preceding Debate, was reiterated, pressed, and urged with augmented force of language. The Chancellor of the Exchequer remaining nevertheless contumeliously silent, the Report was read: but on a Motion being made for the Second Reading, Lord North once more rose; and after some Expostulations relative to the contemptuous treatment experienced by the House upon the present occasion, demanded, "on what principle of Law, on "what doctrine respecting the Constitution, on what "argument, or on what authority, when Parliament "should be dissolved, would Ministers presume to issue "Money for the Subsistence of the Army?"

Pitt had not however advanced so far, to be now deterred from consummating his triumph, by the impotent threats of a powerless and exhausted, as well as an unpopular Faction. He cut the knot, which he was

unable to untye; declined any discussion of those great constitutional points which he could not solve, and the infraction of which he could not abstractedly justify; and confidently trusted to the universal sentiment of national Approbation, for covering any deviation from Parliamentary usage. Like Iago, who in reply to every Enquiry, answers,

"Ask me no questions: what you know, you know;"

he briefly observed, that "Gentlemen might make what-"ever Speeches they chose, and the House might act "as it thought proper; he would not say one word "upon the subject." The Report being then read a second time, the House adjourned, and was summoned on the following Day, to attend the House of Peers; where the King having prorogued the Parliament, after pronouncing a short, but judicious Speech from the Throne, well calculated for the Emergency, stated it to be a "duty which he owed to the Constitution and "the Country, under its actual circumstances, to recur "as speedily as possible, to the sense of his People, by "convoking a new Parliament." A Dissolution followed within twenty-four Hours; and the "Coalition," confounded, as well as overwhelmed, amidst the storm which they had injudiciously excited, disappeared in an instant, leaving the fragments of their political Greatness scattered in all directions.

25th March.] I have related these Events, as they passed under my own Eyes, with the most rigid impartiality. And if I have dwelt minutely on the Transactions or Debates that took place in the House of Commons, during the contest between Fox and Pitt; it must be remembered, that within the walls of that Assembly, the History and the very Existence of the Country, were concentrated during more than three Months. We would vainly seek them elsewhere. All the functions of Government stood still: while the

Sovereign, the Peers, and the Nation looked on, expecting the issue of so extraordinary a conflict, which must necessarily impress a new character on the opening year. Never did any King of Great Britain contend for so vast a stake, since Charles the First! In contemplating the scene, Mr. Pitt arrests our first attention.

Nothing in the History of this Country, subsequent to the Accession of the House of Brunswic, bore any Analogy to his position. When we consider that he struggled against a Majority of the House of Commons, conducted by such Talents as those of Fox, from the 19th of December, 1783, up to the 9th of March, 1784; on any Day of which interval, he might possibly have been impeached: and if we reflect that he vanquished so vast a combination of Party, without prematurely recurring to a Dissolution, till all his necessary arrangements of every kind were completed, and the whole Nation had declared on his side; we shall probably admit, that, as no such instance occurs before him, no similar example will probably ever be again exhibited. If in compliance with Lord Temple's opinion, he had begun by dissolving the Parliament as soon as he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, in December, 1783; when the People at large, and when even the Inhabitants of London, as well as of Westminster, were imperfectly informed on the nature and tendency of "the East India Bill;" it is possible that a very different result might have been the consequence.

Fox's defeat arose from one fundamental error or miscalculation, into which he was nevertheless led by the experience of all parliamentary contest; namely, that a Majority of the House of Commons, could compel the Crown to dismiss its Ministers, or could oblige the Ministers themselves to give in their own resignation. In his hands, this constitutional weapon, hitherto irresistible, lost its edge, and became harmless. He attributed its failure to a spirit of Delusion, which, as he

asserted, and as his Adherents maintained, had incapacitated the British People to distinguish truth from error, imposture from reality. There is, however, no Sophistry capable of blinding completely a whole Nation, upon points so level to every understanding; and if there existed any Delusion in the estimate formed by the Country, respecting the nature and tendency of "the "East India Bill," the Delusion still survives at this day, in all its force. But, there existed another Delusion into which Fox himself fell, when he erroneously conceived, that a Majority of the Lower House, in whatever manner acquired, and whatever measures or objects it might pursue, must necessarily dictate its pleasure to the Sovereign, to the House of Peers, and to the Public. The two former, would, indeed, if unsupported by the Body of the People of England, have been found only dust in the Balance, when engaged in a struggle with the genuine Representatives of that People, the real organs of their will and opinion. Charles the First, and James the Second, each, made the experiment; by which the former lost his Head, and the latter, his Crown. But, George the Third, neither attempted to exercise oppressive and antiquated, if not illegal Prerogatives; nor to impose on us a Religion prohibited by Law, and odious to his Subjects. And never did the British Constitution manifest its latent Energies so strongly, as in the very Act of arresting that Assembly, which, calling itself the Representatives of the Nation, became in the instance before us, the instruments of the Ambition of a Faction, or rather, of an individual.

The steadiness, the principles, and the repugnance of the King towards the "Coalition," operated as powerful secondary agents; but they were not primary causes. Fox, attentive only to the three Branches of the Constitution, which he considered as omnipotent, regarded as null the Nation itself. But, when awakened, roused, and informed, the People hurled him

in an instant from his situation. For, it was not the Dissolution of Parliament, which would have reduced him and his Party to insignificance, if the public opinion and confidence had accompanied him. Of this truth, a great example was exhibited in 1780, when Lord North dissolved the Parliament. The Government was not idle on the occasion, and a large sum was expended in endeavours to procure favourable returns to the new House of Commons. Yet so unpopular was the Sovereign, so weak the Administration, and so odious the American War, that the First Minister derived little permanent strength or advantage from the Measure. He held out with difficulty for one Session, and surrendered early in the next, on the 20th of March, 1782. Fox, on the contrary, remained for many years, only an illustrious victim of his inordinate Ambition, seated on the Opposition Bench; till the memorable Malady of His Majesty in 1788, recalled him for a moment into Day, only to plunge him deservedly anew into greater political Depression.

The obligations which the King owed to Pitt, for liberating him from the Chains of the "Coalition," at the time when they were about to have been rivetted, were certainly of the first magnitude. No other Subject in his Dominions, would probably have attempted, but assuredly no other individual would have successfully performed, so important and arduous a service. After witnessing the formation and extinction of three Administrations, within the space of little more than twenty Months, George the Third beheld in prospect, domestic tranquillity, personal freedom, and national prosperity. Nor were these the only benefits that resulted to him, from the events that we have related. All the errors and misfortunes of his Reign, seemed to be swallowed up and forgotten, in the Grave of the "Coalition." The odium of Lord Bute's Ministry, and the Peace of 1763, aggravated by

the prosecution of Wilkes; the humiliating Negociation and Compromise relative to Falkland Islands, which the pen of "Junius" had consigned to perpetual reprobation; lastly, the disgraces of the American War, followed by the loss of an Empire beyond the Atlantic, for which national defalcation of Power and Territory, the King was regarded by a large portion of his Subjects, as peculiarly responsible;—the accumulated evils of three and twenty years, disappeared at once, and were obliterated. Only the Virtues of the Sovereign seemed to survive in the memory of his People. The same Prince, who, in March, 1782, laboured under a load of prejudice and unpopularity; was considered, in March, 1784, as the Guardian of the Constitution, worthy the warmest testimonies of Affection, Gratitude, and Respect. They poured in upon him from all quarters, acknowledging the Blessings of his paternal Government, and approving the recent Interference of his Prerogative, for the Destruction of an unprincipled Faction. Wilkes, who had been among the most ardent opposers of "the East India Bill," and among the foremost supporters of Pitt in Parliament, as Member for Middlesex; re-appeared at St. James's, where he met with the most gracious reception. A new order of Events, and a new Æra, seemed to commence from this auspicious date. In fact, if we would point out the period of time, from the commencement of this long, as well as eventful Reign, during which the Sovereign and the Country equally enjoyed most felicity; we should not hesitate to name the interval, comprising about four years and a half, that succeeded Pitt's triumph over Fox, in the Spring of 1784, down to the King's severe seizure, in the Autumn of 1788. Here, therefore, as at a Political Land Mark, I shall conclude the Second Part of the Historical Memoirs of my own Time.

FINIS.

NOTES

P. 1. *More than thirty years.* The *Memoirs* were published in 1815.

P. 1. *Sylla*, for Sulla.

P. 3. *Dr. Burnet.* Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury (1643–1715). His *History of His Own Time* was published 1723–1734.

P. 3. *Between 1780 and 1794.* Wraxall was M.P. for the boroughs of Hindon (1780), Ludgershall (1784), and Wallingford (1790). He resigned his seat in 1794.

P. 3. *Lord Clarendon.* Edward Hyde, first Earl (1609–1674). His *True Historical Narrative of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* was published 1702–1704.

P. 3. *Prior.* Matthew Prior, the poet (1664–1721). Secretary in the negotiations at the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), and subsequently Plenipotentiary at Paris (?1712). The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) was popularly known as "Matt's peace." After joining the Tories in 1702, he was brought into close association with Harley and Bolingbroke. The Earl of Dorset was the patron to whom he dedicated his poems. His part in the compilation of the *History of His Own Time* (1740) is now considered doubtful.

P. 3. *Mr. Fox.* Charles James Fox (1749–1806) entered Parliament in 1768; was twice a member of Lord North's Ministry 1770–1774; became Foreign Secretary under Rockingham in 1782, and was joint Secretary with North in the Coalition Ministry of 1783. These periods, and the few months before his death in which he was again Foreign Secretary, represent the whole of his official life during a brilliant parliamentary career of thirty-eight years. From 1797 to 1802 he rarely attended the House, being engaged on his *History of the Revolution of 1688.*

P. 4. *Lord Holland* published the History in 1808.

P. 4. *The Rockingham and Coalition administrations.* The former only lasted from March to May 1782; the Coalition Ministry formed by Fox and North under the Duke of Portland, from April to December 1783.

P. 4. *Unmerited disgrace and exile.* Clarendon, having sought to restrict the authority of Parliament, was dismissed from the Chancellorship, impeached and banished in 1677. He spent his last years in France writing his History and Autobiography.

P. 5. *Cardinal de Retz* (1614–1709), the enemy of Richelieu and Mazarin, wrote his *Memoirs* in retirement during his later years.

P. 5. *To Grammont.* The *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, i.e.* of Philibert, Comte de Grammont (1621–1707), were written by his brother-in-law, Anthony Hamilton, and published anonymously in 1713.

P. 5. *To Lord Melcomb.* George Bubb Dodington, Baron Melcomb (1691–1762). His *Diary* was published in 1784. *And to Horace Walpole.* Horatio Walpole, fourth Earl of Orford (1717–1797), wrote his *Reminiscences* for the Misses Berry in 1788 (published 1805).

P. 6. "*Junius.*" *The Letters of Junius* were published in Woodfall's *Public Advertiser*, 1768 to 1773. They are full of violent attacks upon the King and others. Their authorship is unknown.

P. 7. *Marquis de Pombal.* Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (1699–1782). Joseph I. died in 1777.

P. 8. *Manege.* Manège, a school for riding, or for training horses.

P. 8. *Belem*, three miles west of Lisbon.

P. 9. *Castrati*, male soprani.

P. 9. *Battistini*, Francesco (1747–1785), an Italian *improvisatore.*

P. 12. *Paul I.* (1754–1802).

P. 13. *Cardinal of Lerma*, died 1625.

P. 13. *Condé d'Olivarez* (1587–1645).

P. 13. *Expulsion of the Jesuits*, 1759.

P. 14. *Crusado*, a coin worth about two shillings.

P. 15. *Ravaillac*, a Jesuit.

P. 15. *Damien's.* R. F. Damiens, a religious fanatic, was executed with terrible torture, but made no confession.

P. 16. *Duke of Dorset.* The third Duke (1745–1799) was Ambassador to France 1783-9.

P. 17. *Her own daughter*, who became Duchesse d'Angoulême in 1799.

P. 18. *Were broken on the wheel*, and the title of Tavora was abolished.

P. 20. *Elizabeth Farnese* was Queen of Spain 1714–1766.

P. 21. *The present Queen.* Maria Francesca Isabella, Queen from 1777 to 1792, died insane 1816.

P. 22. *Among Ptolemies.* Three of the Ptolemies, descendants of Alexander's general, married their sisters. *Or the Seleucidæ*, descendants of another general, of whom Seleucus IV. is said to have married his sister.

P. 24. *Charles the Third*, of Spain, died 1788.

P. 24. *Dr. Lucas in his History.* Presumably Dr. Charles Lucas's *Political Constitutions of Great Britain and Ireland* (1759).

P. 25. *Marcellus*, the nephew of Augustus and his destined successor, who died young, and is celebrated by Virgil as "Child of a nation's sorrow" (*Æneid*, vi. 883).

P. 26. *Inoculation.* Lady Mary W. Montagu told of its use in Turkey, and it was introduced into England.

P. 26. *Darnley* never attained the matrimonial crown at which he aimed.

P. 27. *Aubnoi.* The Comtesse d'Aunoy, author of various historical memoirs and of fairy-tales, died in 1705.

P. 28. *Dancerinas. Danzarina*, a fine dancer (Spanish).

P. 29. *Where throngs of Knights.* From *L'Allegro.*

P. 29. *Sumptuary laws, i.e.* those which regulate private expenditure. The most celebrated are those of Sparta and of Rome in ancient times; and in the Middle Ages, of Frederick II. in Italy, James I. in Aragon (1234), Philip IV. in France (1294) and the second and third Edwards in England. The last in Great Britain was a Scottish law of 1621.

P. 30. *Gil Blas.* The Marquis de Marialva, the great lord who should contrive for Gil Blas an eligible fate (bk. VII. ch. ix.).

P. 30. *The memorable Earthquake*, in which probably 60,000 persons perished.

P. 31. *No monument was ever erected.* One was erected by Gonzalo Continho in 1598, but destroyed by the great earthquake. "He lived poor and miserable," it declared, "and he died so."

P. 31. *Cervantes and Camöens.* After Lepanto, the former (1547–1616) was four years a prisoner of the Moors. He served later in the Azores, and on his return earned his living as a financial agent. Dom Luis de Camöens (1517–1579), author of the *Lusiad*, spent many years in the East.

P. 32. *Spenser, Otway and Chatterton.* Edmund Spenser's house and youngest child were burnt by the insurgents of Munster; he died broken-hearted in London in 1599. Ben Jonson's assertion that he died "for lack of bread" seems improbable. Thomas Otway, the dramatist, is said to have died of starvation at the age of thirty-three (1651–1685). Thomas Chatterton (1752–1770) poisoned himself for lack of recognition.

P. 32. *Fielding.* Henry Fielding (1707–1754). *Tom Jones* appeared in 1749. The *Journal of his Voyage to Lisbon* was published after his death.

P. 32. *Le Sage.* A. R. Lesage (1668–1747), author of *Gil Blas.*

P. 32. *Crebillon.* C. P. Jolyot de Crébillon (1707–1778), writer of tales. "Be mine," wrote Gray, the poet, to Richard West, April 1742, "to read eternal new romances of Marivaux and Crebillon."

P. 32. *Marivaux.* P. Carlet de Marivaux (1688–1763), author of *Marianne*, said to be the original of *Pamela.*

P. 33. *Sir Charles Grandison.* Samuel Richardson (1689–1761) published *Pamela* in 1740 and *Clarissa* in 1748. His *Sir Charles Grandison* appeared in 1754. *Clementina* is the unfortunate lady who loved Grandison.

P. 33. *Cadell.* Thomas Cadell (1742–1802), having retired with a fortune, was elected Alderman in 1798. Another account says Millar paid £1000 for *Amelia*; a second edition was called for on the day of publication.

P. 35. *Which desolated Calabria.* Messina and other towns were destroyed in 1783.

P. 37. *The retreat and decease.* Alphonso declared himself of age in 1662 and compelled his mother to retire. *His own wife*, Mlle. d'Aumale, a granddaughter of Henry IV. of France. *Convention of Cintra.* Permitted the free return of the French from Portugal. It was made against Wellesley's advice.

P. 38. *Leaving no issue.* She left a daughter.

P. 39. *Franciscan Friars.* Certain of the Observants, or strict Franciscans, notably those of Our Lady of Salceda, in Castile, founded 1390, carried asceticism to great lengths.

P. 40. *Casemates*, originally a loopholed gallery, from which a garrison could fire on an enemy in possession of a ditch.

P. 41. *Malagrida* was burnt alive, ostensibly for heresy and imposture; his name was afterwards applied to the Earl of Shelburne.

P. 42. *The present Queen*, an ardent Catholic.

P. 42. *To seek an asylum.* They fled before Junot, 1807.

P. 43. *The battle of Arzila*, in which Sir Thomas Stukeley perished, was fought near El-Kasr el-Kebir. Although the body of the King was identified by the Portuguese prisoners, a powerful sect sprang up in Portugal, called the Sebastianistas, which continued for centuries to believe in his reappearance.

P. 44. *Lady Wortley Montagu*, in a letter from Ratisbon, August 30 [O.S.], 1716.

P. 44. *Of Abrantès.* The wife of Marshal Junot.

P. 44. *The Elder Dionysius* (430–367 B.C.), tyrant of Syracuse, robbed the temples to pay his mercenaries.

P. 45. *Farinelli*, the pseudonym of Carlo Broschi, a Neapolitan singer (1705–1782), who was Handel's rival in popular favour during his visit to London in 1734–6. In Spain, he is said to have cured both Philip and his son of melancholy depression.

P. 45. *Ensenada.* The Marquis de la Ensenada (1690–1772).

P. 46. *Louis the Fifteenth* (1710–1774) became king at the age of five.

P. 46. *Fleury.* André Hercule de Fleury (1653–1743) became Cardinal and Prime Minister in 1726.

P. 46. *His descendant.* "Philippe Egalité," his great-grandson, guillotined in 1793.

P. 47. *Mademoiselle de Leczinska.* Maria, only daughter of Stanislas (Leczinski) I., King of Poland. Her father was only King, by the aid of Charles XII. of Sweden, from 1705 to 1709, but retained the title, and was also (1736) created Duke of Lorraine and Bar.

P. 48. *A proper age.* She was then only nine years old.

P. 48. *The celebrated Marchioness de Prie* (1698–1727).

P. 50. *At Weissembourg, i.e.* Weissenburg or Wissembourg, near Karlsrühe.

P. 50. *Charles the Second . . . at Cologne*, 1654–6.

P. 51. *De la Valiere.* De la Vallière, familiar to readers of *The Vicomte de Bragelonne. Richlieu.* Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), First Minister, 1624–42.

P. 53. *Walpole.* Sir Robert (1676–1745) was Premier in 1715–7, and from 1721 to 1742. He refused to further George II.'s wish for war, and co-operated with Fleury. The duchy of Lorraine was ceded to Stanislas in 1737, reverting to the crown of France on his decease.

P. 53. *The armour of Dioned.* Glaucus exchanged his golden armour for the iron armour of Diomedes.

P. 54. *Charles (II.), King of Navarre* (1332–1387), was accidentally burnt to death, a servant letting a lighted taper fall on to the brandy-soaked linen in which he was wrapped.

P. 54. *Lady Mary Churchill.* Walpole's daughter by his second wife, born before their marriage. *Mr. Churchill* was the son of General Churchill and the actress Mrs. Oldfield.

P. 54. *A Bed of Justice. Lit de justice*, the King's throne when attending his Parliaments; hence a formal visit to Parliament, and, later, a coercive one.

P. 55. *Ecus, i.e.* crowns, worth 2s. 6d.

P. 56. *He and Walpole.* Fleury died in 1743; Walpole retired in 1742.

P. 56. *Like Pompey*, who survived his third triumph thirteen years.

P. 57. *Erected forty years earlier*, at Oudenarde, etc., 1708.

P. 57. *At Aix-la-Chapelle*, in 1748.

P. 57. *Mr. Pelham.* Henry Pelham was Premier, 1743–1764.

P. 57. *The accession of Maria Theresa*, in 1740.

P. 57. *Villars* (1653–1734), whose victory over the Dutch and Austrians (1713) resulted in the Peace of Utrecht.

P. 57. *Duke of Berwick.* James Fitzjames (1670–1734), whose mother, Arabella Churchill, was Marlborough's sister.

P. 57. *Marshal Saxe.* Maurice, Comte de Saxe (1696–1750), died of putrid fever.

P. 57. *Lowendahl.* The Count of Löwendal (1700–1755), a German, was made a Marshal of France after taking Bergen-op-Zoom (1747).

P. 58. *Augustus the Second.* Frederick Augustus II. (1670–1733) was deposed in favour of Stanislas.

P. 58. *Chambord.* Louis XV. had given him this estate near Blois.

P. 58. *Favard.* Marie J. B. du Roncerai, Madame Favart (1727–1772), a celebrated *comédienne.*

P. 58. *Virginia* was rescued, and Appius slain, by her father.

P. 60. *War of 1756.* The Seven Years' War of Frederick the Great, supported by Pitt, against France and Austria.

P. 60. *Mezerai.* François Eudes de Mezerai (1610–1683), author of a *History of France* (1651).

P. 60. *The events of Minorca*, etc. In America, General Braddock, sent against Fort Duquesne, was killed in an ambush, and Abercrombie failed to take Ticonderoga. In Europe, Admiral Byng was shot for his failure to relieve Minorca (which fell in 1756); the Duke of Cumberland signed the ignominious convention of Klosterzeven (1757); while the attack on Rochefort (1757) and the attempt on St. Malo (Bay of St. Cast, 1758) both failed.

P. 60. *Peace of Fontainbleau.* Signed November 1672 by Bute, whose name was scandalously coupled with that of the Dowager Princess of Wales. "This peace was extremely advantageous to England, but there was hardly a clause in it which was not below what she might reasonably have expected" (Lecky). Guadaloupe had been three years in English hands. Rich Havanna was exchanged for barren Florida. The value of Canada was hardly recognised.

P. 60. *Manilla . . . ransom.* The property-owners agreed to pay a ransom of £1,000,000 to the captors; half the payment was in bills on Spain which were never honoured.

P. 61. *Choiseul.* The Duc de Choiseul (1719–1785), Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1757; of War, 1761–1770. Poland was dismembered (1772–3) after his fall.

P. 61. *Gustavus* overthrew the nobles in a bloodless revolution.

P. 61. *Corsica.* Napoleon Bonaparte born at Ajaccio, 1769.

NOTES

P. 63. *Hume.* David Hume (1711–1776) was Secretary to the Embassy in Paris, and for some months *Chargé d'Affaires*, in 1765.

P. 63. *Heroic Epistle.* Quoted from Mason's *Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers*, lines 21–26 (1773).

P. 64. *Du Barry.* The Comtesse du Barry (1746–1793, guillotined), the instigator of Choiseul's dismissal.

P. 64. *Abbé Ternay*, etc. Maupeou, D'Aiguillon and the dissolute Abbé Ternay retained their power till 1774. The Duc de Richelieu (1696–1788), the captor of Minorca, and victor at Klosterzeven.

P. 64. *Thais or Campaspé.* Mistresses of Alexander the Great. *Aspasia* lived with Pericles and was the friend of Socrates. *Livia*, the wife of Nero and of Augustus.

P. 64. *Voltaire's "Pucelle."* A burlesque on Joan of Arc.

P. 65. *In 1770.* The Spaniards having, at Choiseul's instigation, driven an English garrison out of Fort Egmont in the Falkland Islands, war was only averted by his fall.

P. 65. *La Fayette and Rochambeau.* The Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834) went to America in 1777; he returned there again with reinforcements in 1780, accompanied by General Rochambeau (1725–1807).

P. 66. *Madame de Maintenon* (1635–1719), granddaughter of D'Aubigné, and widow of Scarron, became Louis XIV.'s mistress and afterwards (1684) his wife.

P. 67. *D'Estaign.* The Comte d'Estaing (1729–1794, executed), defeated off Savanna, 1779.

P. 68. *Count de Maurepas* (1701–1781), banished from court for an epigram on Madame de Pompadour, 1749.

P. 68. *Vergennes.* The Comte de Vergennes (1717–1787).

P. 69. *Henry IV. and Sully*, etc. The Baron de Rosny, afterwards Duc de Sully (1560–1641). The Edict of Nantes was issued, 1598; Biron was executed for conspiracy, 1602. *Louis XIII. and Richlieu* (Richelieu) crushed the Huguenot rising and drove the English from La Rochelle (1629). *Louis XIV. and Louvois* (François, Marquis de Louvois, 1641–1691) revoked the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

P. 70. *Philip of Valois* (1293–1350). *Hugh Capet* (946–996).

P. 70. *Fontenoy*, 1745, where Saxe defeated the English and Dutch.

P. 71. *Duke of Dorset.* The third Duke; died 1799.

P. 71. *Under the guillotine.* Louis does not appear to have sought for delay, nor was he thrown down. *Madame Elizabeth*, his sister.

P. 72. *In 1776.* She was twenty-one years of age.

P. 72. *Anne of Austria* (1604–1666), Queen of Louis XIII.

P. 73. *Of a daughter.* Afterwards Duchesse d'Angoulême, who died 1851.

P. 73. *Count d'Artois . . . Count de Provence.* Afterwards Charles X. and Louis XVIII. *Duke de Chartres*, became Duc d'Orléans and father of Louis Philippe.

P. 74. *One of the Princesses of Carignan.* Marie de Savoie Carignan Lamballe (1749–1792), brutally murdered before a revolutionary tribunal.

P. 74. *Lord Nugent.* Robert, Earl Nugent (1702–1788).

P. 74. *A representative of the Capetian line.* Louis Philippe was frequently in England, and died at Claremont in 1850.

P. 75. *Lord Temple.* Richard, the first Earl, died 1779.

P. 75. *Marquis Camden.* John Jeffreys Pratt, second Earl (1759–1840). Made a marquis 1812. Jeffreys was his mother's family name. The first Earl was one of the principal opponents of North's American policy. This story was disputed by the *Quarterly Review*, because the Duke died before the Marquis had the Garter.

P. 76. *Mr. Pitt.* William Pitt (1759–1806) entered Parliament 1781 ; Chancellor of Exchequer 1782 ; Prime Minister 1783–1801, and again 1804–6.

P. 78. *Lyttelton and Chesterfield.* George, first Baron Lyttelton (1709–1773), author of various poems and a *History of Henry II.* The fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), author of the *Letters.*

P. 78. *Glover.* Richard Glover (1712–1785), poet, best known by his ballad, "Hosier's Ghost."

P. 78. *Craggs.* James Craggs the younger (1686–1721), Secretary of State 1718.

P. 78. *Pope's epitaph on him.*

> "Statesman, yet Friend to Truth ! of Soul sincere,
> In Action faithful, and in Honour clear !
> Who broke no Promise, serv'd no private End ;
> Who gained no Title, and who lost no Friend ;
> Ennobled by Himself, by All approv'd ;
> Prais'd, wept, and honour'd by the Muse he lov'd."

P. 79. *Lord Hervey.* John, styled Lord Hervey (1696–1743), whose *Memoirs of the Reign of George II.* were published in 1848.

P. 80. *Gil Blas.* Smollett's English version appeared 1761.

P. 81. *White's.* White's, the Tory club, 37–38 St. James's Street, established 1698 as White's Chocolate House. In 1781 it had three hundred members.

P. 81. *The late Lord Sackville.* George Sackville Germain (1716–1785), known as Lord George Sackville till he assumed the name of Germain in 1770. Created Viscount Sackville in 1782.

P. 82. *Lord Mark Kerr.* Made a general 1743, died 1752.

P. 82. *The Earl of Stair.* John, second Earl (1673–1747); field-marshal, 1742.

P. 83. *The American War.* Opened 1775 (Lexington), and lasted seven years. In 1777, the war fever was at its height, and the Whigs, among whom Fox was rapidly taking the lead, were despondent.

P. 83. *Mr. Fox and his friends.* Fox had been a great dandy, visiting Paris to choose a waistcoat, wearing red-heeled shoes, blue hair-powder, and a hat feather, but had now become negligent.

P. 84. *Dress never totally fell . . .* The Revolution brought great changes in costume, principally in the direction of simplicity.

P. 84. *Mock-heroic Poetry.* Pope's *Rape of the Lock.*

P. 84. *Blue stockings.* From Benjamin Stillingfleet's (1702–1771) blue stockings. He frequented both Mrs. Montagu's and Mrs. Vesey's.

P. 84. *The two publications.* In 1775 and 1777; see Introduction.

P. 84. *Mrs. Montague.* Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu (1720–1800) had an income of £6000, and wrote an *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear*, 1769. *Madame du Deffand*, Marquise de la Lande (1696–1780), mistress of the Duc d'Orléans and President Hénault. She was blind for thirty years.

P. 85. *Le vrai Amphytrion*: for "Le véritable Amphytrion est l'Amphytrion où l'on dine" (Molière's *Amph.* iii. 5). A dispute having arisen as to the identity of the master of the house, owing to a visit from Jupiter to Amphytrion's wife Alcmene (who became the mother of Hercules), this answer was given by Sosie, a slave.

P. 86. *Junius.* In his second letter to Sir William Draper, the captor of Manilla, Junius accuses him of keeping silence in the matter of the ransom, bribed, perhaps, by "the blushing ribbon which is now the perpetual ornament of your person." Draper received the red ribbon of the Bath in 1766.

P. 86. *If we may believe Boswell.* "There is not one sentence of true criticism in her book" (Johnson to Reynolds).

P. 86. *Pulteney, Earl of Bath* (1684–1764), Walpole's opponent.

P. 87. *Mrs. Vesey.* Elizabeth Vesey (? 1715–1791) became imbecile in 1789. *Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse* (1732–1776). Lespinasse was a fancy name.

P. 87. *Madame de Sevigné.* The Marquise de Sévigné (1626–1696), whose Letters were published in 1726.

P. 88. *Mrs. Thrale.* Hester L. Piozzi, *née* Salusbury (1741–1821). Mr. Thrale was a wealthy brewer, and Samuel Johnson

(1709–1784) almost lived at their house. She married Gabriel Piozzi, a Roman Catholic, a few months before Johnson's death. She annotated the fourth edition (1836) of these *Memoirs*.

P. 88. *What are we to think of a man?* Mrs. Piozzi says "dog" and "scoundrel" were used in play. "Scoundrel," "blockhead" and "rascal" were favourite epithets of Johnson.

P. 88. *Lord Russel and Algernon Sidney.* William, Lord Russell (1639–1683), and Algernon Sidney (1622–1683), executed for implication in the Rye House Plot.

P. 88. *Pennant.* Thomas Pennant (1726–1798), naturalist, and friend of Gilbert White of Selborne.

P. 89. *William the Third.* Johnson, "the last of the Tories" (Carlyle), was a good deal of a Jacobite.

P. 89. *Charles the Twelfth and Hannibal.*

> "On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,
> How just his hopes let Swedish Charles decide."
> *The Vanity of Human Wishes.*

P. 89. *Wolsey and Sejanus.*

> "Shall Wolsey's wealth with Wolsey's end be thine?"—*Ibid.*

Pp. 89–90. *Charles VII. and Xerxes.*

> "All times their scenes of pompous woes afford,
> From Persia's tyrant to Bavaria's lord."—*Ibid.*

P. 90. *A melancholy morbid humour*, which made him, he said, "mad all his life—at least, not sober" (September 16, 1778).

P. 90. *Topham Beauclerk* (1739–1780), Dr. Johnson's great friend.

P. 92. *Stepney.* George Stepney (1663–1707), envoy to Brandenburg, 1692.

P. 92. *Charles, Earl of Dorset.* Charles Sackville, sixth Earl, died 1706.

P. 92. *Marlborough* died in 1722.

P. 93. *Garrick.* David Garrick (1719–1779), Johnson's first pupil at Edial.

P. 93. *Mrs. Carter.* Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806), translator of Epictetus.

P. 93. *Madame Dacier* (1651–1720), classical translator.

P. 93. *Dr. Burney and his daughter.* Charles Burney, Mus.D. (1726–1814). Fanny Burney, Madame d'Arblay (1752–1840), wrote *Evelina*, 1778, and *Cecilia*, 1782.

P. 93. *Horace Walpole*, fourth Earl of Orford (1717–1797), fourth son of Sir Robert Walpole. He said of Wraxall, "He is popping into every spot where he can make himself talked of by talking of himself" (1781).

P. 93. *Sir Joshua Reynolds* (1723–1792), founder of the Literary Club known as Johnson's Club, 1764.

P. 93. *Mrs. Chapone* (1727–1801), essayist, and friend of Samuel Richardson.

P. 94. *Dr. Shipley*, Bishop of St. Asaph (1714–1788). *Sir William Jones* (1746–1794), member of the Literary Club. *The Abbé Raynal* (1713–1796).

P. 94. *Lord Erskine.* Thomas, first Baron Erskine (1750–1823), was Lord Chancellor, 1806–7.

P. 95. *Mrs. Boscawen, née* Glanville, died 1805; wife of Admiral Boscawen (1711–1761); "all elegance and good breeding" (Madame d'Arblay).

P. 95. *Mr. Pepys.* Sir W. W. Pepys, Bart., friend of Mrs. Thrale.

P. 95. *Sir James Macdonald*, "the Marcellus of Scotland" (Boswell), died young, 1766.

P. 95. *Duchess Dowager of Portland.* Died 1785.

P. 95. *Duchess of Devonshire.* Georgiana Spencer (1757–1806), whose beautiful face lives in Reynolds' and Gainsborough's portraits of her.

P. 96. *At Inverary.* "What I admire here," said Johnson, "is the total defiance of expense."

P. 96. *To the Arno*, in 1784.

P. 97. *Hume and Adam Smith.* David Hume (1711–1776). Adam Smith (1723–1790) had been a member of the Club. Edward Gibbon also, who was M.P., 1774–1782, and a Lord Commissioner of Trade at £750 a year from 1779 to 1782.

P. 97. *Hobbes.* Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), whose *Leviathan* influenced Rousseau. *Tyers.* Thomas Tyers (1726–1787), "Tom Restless" of *The Idler.*

P. 98. *Jack Ketch*, the executioner of Russell and Sidney, died 1686. *John Wilkes* (1727–1797). The words quoted are not Johnson's, but only a supposition of Boswell.

P. 98. *Maupertuis* (1698–1759), mathematician; *Helvetius* (1715–1771), philosopher; *Montesquieu* (1689–1755), author of *Esprit des Lois*; *Fontenelle* (1657–1757); *Madame du Chatelet* (1706–1749); *D'Argens* (1704–1771); *Mademoiselle de Launay, i.e.* the Baroness von Staal (1693–1750); *the President Henault* (1685–1770), historian, etc.; *D'Alembert* (1717–1783), encyclopædist; *Diderot* (1713–1784), encyclopædist; *Condamine*, C. M. de la (1701–1774), traveller; *the Duchess de Choiseul*, wife of the Duc de Choiseul (1719–1785); *Marmontel* (1723–1799); *the Duke de Nivernois* or Nivernais (1716–1798); *the Abbé Barthelemi* or Barthélemy (1750–1812); *Turgot* (1727–1781), economist.

P. 99. *Marchioness of Rambouillet* (1588–1665).

P. 99. *Countess de la Suze* (1626–1673), poetess.

Pp. 99–100. *Duchess du Maine* (1676–1753).

P. 100. *Cellamare.* Prince Antonio Cellamare (1657–1723).

P. 100. *De Tencin.* The Marquise de Tencin (1681–1749).

P. 100. *Mancini.* Ortensia Mancini (1646–1699).

P. 100. *St. Evrémond.* The Seigneur St. Evremond (1613–1703), one of the most brilliant of French wits.

P. 101. *Sir Joseph Yorke* (1724–1792), created Baron Dover 1788; ambassador at the Hague, 1761–1780. *The Prince of Orange,* William V. (1748–1806), was driven from Holland by the French.

P. 102. *War with Holland.* The Stadtholder's party wished to keep strict neutrality towards Great Britain and the American Colonies.

P. 102. *John and Cornelius de Witt.* Cornellis born 1623; Jan born 1625; both murdered in 1672. After this event William of Orange (afterwards William III. of England) became Stadtholder. *Van Berkel.* Engelbert Francis Van Berkel, counsellor and Pensionary of Amsterdam, and John de Neufville, citizen of the same, whose names appeared in the proposed treaty with the United States taken in Laurens's trunk in 1780.

P. 103. *William I.* (1533–1584), Stadtholder, *i.e.* chief magistrate of the United Provinces.

P. 103. *Commodus,* poisoned by a concubine, 192.

P. 103. *Maurice* (1567–1625) *Frederick-Henry* (1584–1647).

P. 103. *William II.* died of smallpox in 1650.

P. 104. *Vied in demonstrations.* The Princess was given £60,000, and her husband £160,000.

P. 105. *Frederick-William II.* (*b.* 1744; 1786–1797).

P. 106. *Barnevelt* (1549–1619), the Grand Pensionary (*i.e.* President of the Dutch Parliament), who won the recognition of Dutch independence from Spain. *Heinsius* (1641–1720).

P. 106. *Alva* went to the Netherlands, 1567.

P. 107. *William, Duke of Cumberland* (1721–1765), the signatory of Klosterzeven.

P. 107. *Ferdinand of Brunswic* (1721–1792) commanded the English and Hanoverian troops under Frederick the Great.

P. 108. *Illuminés.* A secret political society founded in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830).

P. 108. *Mr. Osborn.* John Osborne, envoy extraordinary to Saxony in 1771.

P. 109. *Lord Walpole* (1678–1757), uncle of the letter-writer. *Lord Hampden* (1706–1783).

P. 109. *Sir William Temple* (1628–1699), a friend of Jan de Witt.

P. 109. *Mr. Wroughton.* Afterwards Sir Thomas Wroughton, K.B., Ambassador to Sweden; died 1787.

P. 110. *Brantome.* The Seigneur de Brantôme (1540–1614), historian of French ladies.

P. 110. *The Couplet.*

> "Brandy-faced Nan has left us in the lurch,
> Her face to the brandy-shop and her —— to the church."

P. 110. *Messalinas and Faustinas*, dissolute Empresses of Claudius I. and Antoninus Pius.

P. 111. *Elizabeth.* Elizabeth Petrowna (*b.* 1709; 1741–1761). *Catherine.* Catherine II. (*b.* 1729; 1761–1796).

P. 111. *Augustus III.* (1696–1763).

P. 111. *Count Poniatowski.* Stanislas Augustus (1732–1798), last King of Poland.

P. 111. *Orloff.* Gregor v. Orloff (1734–1783), made a Prince of the German Empire by Catherine.

P. 112. *Spontoon*, a kind of halberd.

P. 112. *Alexis Orloff* (1736–1808), younger brother of Gregor v. Orloff.

P. 112. *Emperor Ivan* (1741–1764).

P. 112. *Castera* published his *Vie de Catharine II.* in 1797.

P. 112. *Sir John Dick*, Bart. (? 1719–1804), previously Consul at Genoa; created Knight of the Russian Order of St. Alexander Newski by Catherine II. A commissioner for auditing public accounts. Lady Dick died in 1781.

P. 113. *Mr. Thomas Hope* (1770–1831), a virtuoso of Amsterdam, settled in England *c.* 1796.

P. 114. *Rasoumoffsky* (1709–1771).

P. 115. *Margrave of Anspach* (1736–1806), died in England; a nephew of Queen Caroline.

P. 116. *Rear-Admiral Greig.* Sir Samuel Greig (1735–1788), Russian admiral.

P. 118. *The false Demetrius* (1581–1606). The murdered Demetrius was personated by a noble monk, who, however, reigned for less than a year.

P. 118. *Pugatcheff* (1726–1775) closely resembled Peter III.

P. 119. *Prince de Ligne* (1735–1814), an Austrian.

P. 119. *Marshal Haddick* (1710–1790), Austrian field-marshal.

P. 121. *Schismé.* The English officers in the Russian service defeated a Turkish fleet at Chesme Bay (variously spelled).

P. 121. *Calmuck* for Kalmuck; member of a nomad tribe of Asia and Russia.

P. 122. *Elphinstone.* John Elphinstone (1722–1785), Russian admiral, left the service after Chesme Bay.

P. 122. *Princess Sophia*, for Dorothea (re-baptised Maria Feodorowna), mother of Alexander I. She married Paul I. (*b.* 1754; 1796–1801).

P. 122. *Marshal Romanzoff* (? 1730–1796).

P. 123. *Fundanius and Nasidienus.* See Horace, *Satires*, bk.

ii. 8. Fundanius, a Roman comic writer of the Augustan age, is supposed to describe a vulgar dinner given by Nasidienus (Salvidienus Rufus, died A.D. 40), when the dusty hanging tapestry fell on the dishes.

P. 124. *Sir William Hamilton* (1730–1803), Ambassador at Naples, 1764–1800. His second wife was Nelson's and Romney's Lady Hamilton.

P. 125. *Auerstadt.* On the same day as Jena, 1806. He is generally described as the Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg (1735–1806). *This Princess*, sister of Queen Caroline.

P. 125. *The present King.* The royal title was granted by Napoleon and afterwards confirmed, 1815.

Pp. 126–7. *I have heard this subject . . . die of a natural death.* This paragraph does not appear in later editions (till 1884), having been struck out as a result of the Woronzow prosecution. See Introduction. *Woronzow* (1741–1805) was a son-in-law of the Earl of Pembroke.

P. 127. *The Prince of Wirtemberg*, afterwards King Frederick I. (or II.) (1754–1816).

P. 127. *A gentleman.* Sir John C. Hippesley (1748–1825).

P. 128. *Old Frederick, i.e.* the Great.

P. 128. *Francis . . . of Austria* (1768–1835).

P. 130. *The Duchess.* Augusta, daughter of Frederick, Prince of Wales, died in London, 1813.

P. 132. *Its failure . . . were solemnized.* Omitted in later editions. The Princess died in 1828.

P. 132. *Sophia of Brunswic*, divorced 1694. George II. was called "young Königsmark" by his enemies.

P. 133. *Alexis*, afterwards Czar, died 1718.

P. 133. *The late King of Prussia.* Frederick William II. (1744–1797).

P. 133. *Christian VII.* (*b.* 1749; 1766–1808). Caroline Matilda (1751–1775). See Introduction.

P. 134. *Sir John Stepney*, Bart. Ambassador to Saxony, 1775, and to Prussia, 1783.

P. 134. *Schrepfer.* The account is in his *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden*, etc., vol. i. 283 *et seq.* The ghost was to have revealed hidden treasure.

P. 139. *That capital, i.e.* of Naples and the two Sicilies.

P. 139. *Frederick* (1707–1751). *And Sir William himself* was the future George III.'s foster-brother; he was Equerry before the accession. He entered the Foot Guards at the age of seventeen.

P. 140. *The Elder Pliny* perished in the eruption of A.D. 79. *Pausanius*, author of the *Itinerary.*

P. 141. *In Piccadilly.* After Sir William's recall (1800) he and

Emma, (the second) Lady Hamilton, divided their time between (the former) No. 23 Piccadilly and Nelson's house at Merton.

P. 141. *Sir John Macpherson* (1745 – 1821). *Monsieur de Calonne*, the famous minister (1734–1802). *Mr. Kemble* (1757–1823), brother of Mrs. Siddons, married Priscilla Brereton (*née* Hopkins), an actress. *The Reverend Mr. Nelson.* William, the first Earl (1757–1835), brother of Horatio Nelson.

P. 141. *The Fandango or Seguedilla* (for Seguidilla), lively Spanish dances.

P. 143. *Ferdinand IV.* of Naples, and First of the two Sicilies (*b.* 1751 ; 1759–1825), married a daughter of Maria Theresa.

P. 144. *His first wife, née* Barlow, died in 1782.

P. 145. *Lazaroni*, Lazzaroni. Homeless Neapolitan beggars who find refuge in the Hospital of St. Lazarus.

P. 146. *Tanucci* (1698–1783), succeeded as Prime Minister, in 1777, by the Marquis Sambuca.

P. 147. *Billiards.* In origin, probably an English game. Cp. "Let's to billiards" (*Ant. and Cleop.*, ii. 5). *Chocolate.* First English mention by Pepys, 1664.

P. 150. *Marshal Suwarrow.* The Count Souvarof, Soovorof, etc., Russian general (1729–1800). *Madame de Maintenon*, mistress of Louis XIV.

P. 150. *St. Simon.* Louis de Rouvroi, Duc de St. Simon (1675–1755), of the *Mémoires*. *The Duke de Vendome* (1654–1712). *Cardinal Alberoni* (1664 – 1752). *Du Bois*, ? Girard Dubois (1628–1696). *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* (1627–1793), Duchesse de Montpensier, authoress of *Mémoires* and daughter of Gaston, Duc d'Orléans (1608–1660), the conspirator against Richelieu.

P. 151. *Bourke.* On November 24, 1801, Bourke and Belcher gave a pugilistic exhibition near Maidenhead, in which the former was worsted. Lord Say and Sele and other men of fashion were present. *The Palæstra, i.e.* wrestling-ground.

P. 152. *Leopold.* Afterwards the Emperor Leopold II. (1747–1792).

P. 154. *Acton.* Sir J. F. E. Acton (1736–1811), prime minister, and generalissimo of the fleet and army of Naples. *Barbarossa.* The emperor Frederick I. (1121–1190).

P. 155. *Jane, Queen of Naples.* Joanna I. (1326–1382 ; put to death). She has her place in Fuller's *Profane State.*

P. 156. *Aqua tophana*, or tofana. An arsenical poison first used by an Italian woman of this name in the seventeenth century.

P. 159. *Zechins.* French, *sequin* ; Italian, *zecchino.* An old Italian and Turkish coin, first used in Venice in thirteenth century : gold, worth about 9s. 3d.

P. 159. *Benedict XIV.* (1675–1758).

P. 160. *Sbirri, i.e.* police officers. *Pope Julius* (*b.* 1487; 1550–1555).

P. 163. *The Prince of Tour and Taxis. Charles Anselme* (1733–1805). The Counts of Tour and Taxis became Princes of the Empire in 1681.

P. 163. *Boccace.* Giovanni Boccaccio di Certaldo (1313–1375), whose *Decameron* (1353) was written for Queen Joanna of Naples. *Margaret* (1492–1549) wrote the Boccaccian tales of the *Heptameron.*

P. 163. *Konigsmarck* (1640–1694; assassinated). *Katt.* Von Katt (1681–1730), a Prussian officer executed for assisting Frederick to escape to England.

P. 164. *Heyduc*, or haiduck (Hungarian *hajdu*). A noble's halberdier.

P. 165. *Breteuil* (1733–1807).

P. 166. *Cosmo*, or Cosimo, de Medici (1389–1464). *Lorenzo* the Magnificent (1448–1492).

P. 166. *Sir Horace Mann* (1701–1786). Assistant at the Embassy at Florence, 1737–40, and afterwards Ambassador. Horace Walpole's correspondent.

P. 166. *Brantome.* Pierre de Bourdeilles, Abbé de Brantôme (1540–1614), memoir-writer. See *ante*, p. 110.

P. 166. *Transferred to a Prince of Lorraine*, who afterwards became the Emperor Francis I.

P. 168. *Leopold* ruled in Tuscany from 1765 to 1790.

P. 168. *The Countess Cowper.* Hannah Anne Gore, married 1775 to George, Earl Cowper and Prince of Milan (died at Florence, 1789). She died 1826.

P. 169. *Mildenheim.* Marlborough was made Prince of Mindelheim in 1705.

P. 169. *Laudohn.* G. E., Baron von Laudon (1716–1790), Austrian general, fought against the Turks 1786–8. *Joseph*, is the Emperor Joseph II. (1741–1790). *The Prince de Ligne*, whose *Miscellanies, Military, Literary and Sentimental*, appeared in 1795–1811, in thirty-four volumes.

P. 171. *Potemkin.* G. A., Prince Potemkin (1736–1791).

P. 171. *Foscari.* Francesco Foscari (1704–1790), Ambassador at Petersburgh in 1781.

P. 172. *Sistova*, 1791.

P. 173. *Fox, after Pitt's decease.* When he assumed office he recognised the necessity of checking Napoleon.

P. 173. *Kaunitz and Hertzberg.* Von Kaunitz (1711–1794), "the coachman of Europe." E. W. von Herzberg (1725–1795). J. R. von Bischoffswerder, died 1803.

P. 173. *Lord Grenville.* William, Lord Grenville (1759–1834),

was Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Pitt in 1791, and became Premier in 1806.

P. 174. *Mr. Adair*, afterwards Sir Robert Adair (1763–1855).

P. 174. *Belgrade.* Restored to the Turks by the Peace of Reichenbach, 1790. *The business of Oczakow.* Potemkin took Oczakow from the Turks, 1788; and Pitt vainly demanded its restitution.

P. 175. *The Poissardes*, fishwives, low people.

P. 176. *A victim to poison.* This is denied.

P. 177. *Girondists predominated at Paris*, 1792–3.

P. 177. *The Chevalier de St. George.* Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender (? 1720–1788), who escaped from Scotland in 1746. His wife, Louisa, "Countess of Albany" (1753–1824), was the mistress of Alfieri, the poet. Though Charles Edward spent much of his later years in Florence, he died in Rome in 1788.

P. 178. *John Sobieski* (1629–1696) became King of Poland in 1674. The Poles afterwards preferred Augustus of Saxony to John's son, James Louis Sobieski (1667–1734).

P. 179. *James the Second* became Lord High Admiral in 1660.

P. 180. *Lord Robert Manners.* A Lord Robert Manners was M.P. for Cambridge county (? died 1782 in West Indies). A Colonel Manners figures in the Diary of Mme. D'Arblay, in 1787 and 1789. He was then at court; young and extremely handsome, irresistibly diverting, her constant friend. This may be the cornet of the text. A General Russell Manners, "Colonel of the 26th Dragoons," died in 1800.

P. 180. *Mrs. Lane*, afterwards Lady Fisher, died 1689. Charles escaped as her man-servant.

P. 181. *De Choiseul* was Prime Minister, 1760–70.

P. 182. *De Broglio.* Victor François, Duc de Broglie (1718–1804), became marshal, 1759. *The late Duke of Glocester.* William Henry, George III.'s brother (1743–1805).

P. 182. *1784.* An error; see *ante*, note to p. 177.

P. 184. *Liberality and bounty of George III.* She was received at St. James's as Princess of Stolberg.

P. 184. *Hardwicke.* Philip Yorke, third Earl (1757–1834). Became Earl, 1790. *Sir John Dalrymple*, Bart. (1726–1810), author of *An Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain and Ireland* (1757), and *Memoirs* (1771), the latter illustrated by English and French state papers.

P. 184. *Lord Rochford.* William Henry, fourth Earl (1717–1781), was Secretary of State, 1768–75.

P. 185. *The Queen's House*, now Buckingham Palace.

P. 185. *Queen of Bohemia.* Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662), whose husband was driven into exile, 1620. *The young Duke of Glocester*, son of Anne.

P. 186. *Charles of Lorraine* (1712–1780), Governor of the Low Countries from 1744. He was Francis I.'s brother.

P. 187. *Keppel's engagement.* Off Ushant, July 27, with the Comte d'Orvilliers (1708–1791), when the vice-admiral, Palliser, failed to obey Keppel's signals, and the French fleet escaped. Keppel neither defended nor accused Palliser, but was tried by court-martial at the latter's instigation, and acquitted. When D'Orvilliers rode *Master of the Channel*, he had sixty-six ships of the line, and Sir Charles Hardy only thirty-eight. *Sir Charles Hardy* (1716–1780).

P. 188. *Keppel.* Augustus, Viscount Keppel (1725–1786), admiral, 1778; viscount, 1782. *Palliser.* Sir Hugh, Bart. (1723–1796), vice-admiral, 1778; admiral, 1787.

P. 188. *Lord Howe.* Richard, Earl Howe (1726–1799), was in retirement, 1778–82. To be distinguished from his brother, Sir William, afterwards (1799) Viscount Howe (1729–1814), commander in the American Colonies, who also resigned in 1778.

P. 188. *Byron.* John Byron (1723–1786), grandfather of the poet. *Lord Byron* killed his friend, William Chaworth (1765), at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall, was condemned by the Peers, but discharged.

P. 189. *Holstenius*, or Holste, Lucas (1596–1661).

P. 190. *North's Administration*, 1770–82.

P. 190. *Mason.* William Mason (1724–1797) published *An Heroic Epistle*, 1773.

P. 190. *Rodney.* George Brydges, first Baron (1719–1792).

P. 191. *Villars.* "As vain and insolent as Marshal Villars" (H. Walpole). *Princess Amelia.* Daughter of George II. (1711–1786). *Trenck.* Frederick, Baron von Trenck (1726–1794; guillotined). *A living evidence.* Supposed to be a Miss Ashe, called "Pollard Ash" by H. Walpole, who married Captain, afterwards Admiral, Jonathan Faulkner.

P. 191. *Marshal de Biron.* Louis, Duc de Biron (1700–1788), lent Rodney 1000 louis, that he might return to England in May 1778. The latter sailed again from Plymouth, December 29, 1779.

P. 192. *De Grasse.* The Comte de Grasse-Tilly (1723–1788), taken by Rodney off Sa. Lucia, April 12, 1782.

P. 192. *Lyttelton.* Thomas, second Baron Lyttelton (1744–1779), "the wicked Lord Lyttelton," a notorious profligate, denounced the ministry in April; son of the "good Lord Lyttelton" (1709–1773), author of a *History of Henry II.*, *Poems*, etc.

P. 193. *Villiers.* George, second Duke of Buckingham (1628–1687). Pope's description of his death (*Moral Essays*, Ep. iii., 299) has been refuted. *Wharton.* Philip, Duke of (1698–1731), created "Duke of Northumberland" by the Old Pretender.

P. 194. *Pit Place.* It was in his London house he dreamed that a bird which changed into a woman warned him. He had heart disease, and took "drugs."

P. 195. *Sir Richard Hoare.* Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart. (1758–1838), whose wife died in 1785, two years after their marriage. *Mrs. Dawson* is said to have survived Lord Lyttelton, and received £1000 by his will.

P. 195. *Lord North.* Frederick, Lord North (1732–1792), became Earl of Guilford, 1790.

P. 196. *The Riots.* See *Barnaby Rudge* and Walpole's *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 385 *et seq.* *Collot d'Herbois* (1750–1796).

P. 197. *Mansfield's residence*, occupying all the north side of Bloomsbury Square. His own Memoirs were burnt. *Mr. Langdale's.* Langdale had £20,000 worth of spirits in his great warehouse in Upper Holborn, and another £8,000 worth at Holborn Bridge. He lost a case against the "Sun Fire Office" in 1780, because the fire was caused by riots. In 1781 he sued the Lord Mayor for £50,000 damages, and was awarded over £18,000.

P. 199. *Platoons, i.e.* volleys.

P. 201. *Sir George Savile* (1726–1784), M.P. for York. His Bill for the relief of Roman Catholics (1778) was the cause of the riots. *The Duchess of Devonshire.* The celebrated Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757–1806). *Lord Clermont.* William Henry, Earl of Clermont (1722–1806), "father of the turf."

P. 201. *Sir John Macpherson* (1745–1821), Governor-General of India, 1785–6. *Mr. Eden.* William (1744–1814), created Baron Auckland, 1793. *Fraser.* The Master of Lovat (1726–1782), lieutenant-general and M.P. *St. John* (1746–1793), nephew of Bolingbroke, M.P. and author.

P. 202. *Colonel North.* George Augustus, third Earl (1757–1802), M.P. 1778–92. *Mr. Brummell.* William Brummell, died 1794; father of Beau Brummell, the leader of London fashion.

P. 204. *Colonel de Burgh*, afterwards thirteenth Earl of Clanricarde (1744–1808).

P. 206. *Holroyd.* John Holroyd (1735–1821), M.P. for Coventry. Created Earl of Sheffield, 1816. *Lord Percy* (1750–1830) became Earl of Beverley in 1790.

P. 207. *The Dukes of Somerset and Argyle.* At Somerset's suggestion they entered the Privy Council meeting and proposed that Anne should be asked to make Shrewsbury Lord Treasurer, with the object of securing the Hanoverian succession. *Rockingham.* Charles, second Marquis (1730–1782), Prime Minister, 1765–6, and March to July 1782. In 1780, a leader of the Whig Opposition.

P. 208. *Wedderburn.* Alexander Wedderburn (1733–1805),

Baron Loughborough, 1780; Lord Chancellor, 1793; Earl Rosslyn, 1801.

P. 209. *Amherst.* Jeffrey, Baron Amherst (1717–1797), Commander-in-chief, 1778.

P. 209. *Mansfield.* William, first Earl (1705–1793), Lord Chief Justice, 1756. He reversed Wilkes's outlawry in 1768 on a technical flaw, substituting fine and imprisonment.

P. 209. *A Magistrate of the county of Surrey.* Mr. Gillam; he was acquitted.

P. 210. *Wilkes.* Arrested on a general warrant, 1763, but obtained verdict with damages for illegal arrest, 1769. *General warrants.* Forty-nine persons were arrested on that for Wilkes.

P. 210. *Kennett.* Alderman Brackley Kennett, Lord Mayor (1779–80), was better at feasting than at fighting, and had financial difficulties with the Corporation, who finally paid him £1000 in settlement. He was examined before the Privy Council on a charge of gross inactivity during the riots; Burke contemptuously apologised for him, and he was let off with severe reprimand.

P. 211. *Effingham.* Thomas, third Earl, died 1791.

P. 212. *Lord George Gordon* (1751–1793), M.P. for Ludgershall, 1774–81. Having libelled the British Government and Marie Antoinette, he was imprisoned, and died in Newgate of gaol distemper.

P. 213. *Henry Herbert*, Earl of Carnarvon (1740–1811).

P. 213. *General Murray*, died 1794.

P. 213. *The late Lord Rodney*, son of the admiral (1753–1802).

P. 214. *The late Lord Elcho*, died 1787. *Ranelagh*, a place of public entertainment, 1742–1803. A kind of covered Vauxhall. Now part of Chelsea Hospital garden.

P. 215. *Kett.* Robert Kett blockaded Norwich, and was executed 1549.

P. 217. *Lord George Germain* was Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1775–82.

P. 217. *Sir Fletcher Norton* (1716–1789), made Baron Grantley, 1782; attacked by Junius, Letter 39. He said he feared his duties had impaired his intellect. *Sir John Cust* (1718–1770), Speaker in 1761 and 1768–70.

P. 218. *Rigby.* Richard Rigby (1722–1788). *Cornwall.* Charles W. Cornwall (1735–1789), Speaker, 1780–9.

P. 219. *Jenkinson* (1727–1808). First Earl of Liverpool, 1796.

P. 219. *Shelburne.* William, second Earl (1737–1805), was Home Secretary under Rockingham in 1782, and became Premier on his death.

P. 220. *Dunning reached that Goal, while Wallace missed it.*

John Dunning (1731–1783), created first Baron Ashburton, 1782. James Wallace, died 1783; Solicitor-General, 1778–80; Attorney-General, 1780–83.

P. 220. *Of Juvenal's.* "'Tis we that make thee a goddess, Fortune, and place thee in Heaven."

P. 220. *Geary.* Admiral Sir Francis Geary, Bart. (? 1710–1796). Sir Charles Hardy died in 1780. *Darby.* George Darby, Commander-in-chief, 1780, rear-admiral, 1781, died 1790. *Barrington.* Admiral Samuel Barrington (1729–1800) took Sa. Lucia, 1778. *Palliser* was made Governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1782.

P. 221. *Eugene.* François Eugène, Prince of Savoy (1663–1736), and L. J. G. *Konigseck* (1673–1751), Austrian commanders.

P. 223. *Madison.* James Madison, fourth President of the United States (1751–1836).

P. 223. *Asiatic foes.* Hyder Ali seized Madras in 1780, before the war with the Mahrattas was concluded.

P. 226. *National Credit.* Twelve millions added this year to the National Debt.

P. 227. *Lord Bute for retaining,* that is, withdrawing, the subsidy.

P. 228. *Norfolk House.* Rented from the Duke of Norfolk till Carlton House was ready.

P. 229. *Cumberland.* William Augustus (1721–1765), "hero of Culloden."

P. 231. *In him are really blended,* i.e. in the Prince of Wales, George IV.

P. 232. *North Briton.* There were forty-six numbers; commenced June 1762; published weekly; No. 45 on April 23, 1763. Wilkes was arrested on April 30, and expelled from the House of Commons in January 1764. In February he was convicted of republishing No. 45.

P. 233. *Bute.* He resigned after the Peace of Paris. Grafton's ministry was tottering in 1769, and fell next year.

P. 234. *A General Warrant* did not specify names or crimes alleged. Cp. *lettres de cachet.*

P. 234. *Monk.* George Monck (1608–1670), who brought in Charles II., and was created Duke of Albemarle.

P. 235. *Adams.* John Adams (1735–1826), the second President of the United States, was presented at St. James's, June 1785, and has left an account of it in his *Works,* vol. viii. p. 257.

P. 235. *Hawkesbury.* Robert Jenkinson (1770–1828), son of Charles Jenkinson. Created Baron Hawkesbury, 1803, and became Earl of Liverpool, 1808. He was Foreign Secretary, 1801–3. *Late Earl of Cardigan.* John, fifth Earl (1725–1811). The two other noblemen were Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, and Lord Walsingham.

P. 236. *Did not intend to resign.* The *Quarterly Review* denies this. *Lord Grey.* Charles, second Earl (1764–1845). The ministry resigned in consequence, 1807.

P. 237. *One of them, a nobleman.* The fifth Earl of Chesterfield.

P. 238. *Dodington's Diary.* Dodington passed the day at Kew. He was a favourite of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

P. 240. *Agriculture.* Francis, fifth Duke of Bedford (1765–1802), first President of the Smithfield Club. Thomas Coke, first Earl of Leicester (1752–1842). John, fifteenth Baron Somerville (1765–1819), with George III. introduced merino sheep. Sir John Sinclair, Bart. (1754–1835), first President of the Board of Agriculture.

P. 240. *Caricatures.* As "Farmer George."

P. 241. *Margaret Nicholson.* A mad housemaid. She attempted to assassinate George III. with a dessert knife in 1786. See Shelley's *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson.*

P. 242. *Hadfield.* James Hadfield was also mad. It was at Drury Lane. *Tumults of March 1769,* when the mob pelted a cavalcade on its way to St. James's.

P. 243. *Laurens.* Henry Laurens (1724–1792), Ambassador to Holland, 1780. *Condorcet.* The Marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794).

P. 245. *Sophia* (1666–1726), divorced in 1694, and imprisoned till her death.

P. 245. *His two German mistresses.* Madame de Kielmannsegge, made Countess of Darlington in 1722, and Melesia, Mademoiselle de Schulemburg, made Duchess of Kendal in 1719. Anne Brett (1667–1743) married Sir William Leman, Bart., in 1737.

P. 245. *Mrs. Howard.* Henrietta, Lady Suffolk (? 1681–1767).

P. 246. *Walmoden.* Amelia Sophia, Countess von Walmoden, made Countess of Yarmouth, 1739.

P. 246. *Lady Sarah Lennox,* daughter of Duke of Richmond. Married Sir T. C. Bunbury, 1762, and afterwards Hon. G. Napier. Died 1815.

P. 247. *Burned by the Dutch.* In the Medway, 1667. Charles was a pensioner of Louis XIV.

P. 249. *A Quaker.* Supposed to be Hannah Lightfoot, but the story is very doubtful. *Lady Tollemache.* Bridget Henley, daughter of first Earl of Northington, and wife of the Hon. John Tollemache.

P. 249. *The Soul of the Cabinet.* Pitt was Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle being Prime Minister. Pitt became Earl of Chatham in 1766. The *Quarterly Review* disputed the incidents.

P. 250. *Churchill.* Charles Churchill (1731–1764), satirist. Junius's *Letter to the King,* No. 35, December 19, 1769.

P. 251. *Cricket Ball.* Should be tennis ball.

P. 253. *Charles*, third *Duke of Queensberry* (1698–1778). *John Gay*, the poet (1685–1732). *Charles*, second *Duke of Dorset* (1711–1769). Lord John Philip *Sackville*, M.P. for Tamworth, son of the first and father of the third Duke. *Francis, Earl of Guildford* (1704–1790), created Earl, 1753. His first wife, the mother of Lord North, was Lady Lucy Montagu. Frederick acted as godfather. *Lady A. Hamilton.* "Delamira" of the *Tatler* (Letter 52); Jane, wife of Lord Archibald Hamilton of Somerwell, and youngest daughter of James, Earl of Abercorn.

P. 253. *Glover, the Writer of "Leonidas"* (1712–1785). *Leonidas* appeared in 1737. See *ante*, note to p. 78.

P. 254. *Egmont.* John, second Earl (1711–1770).

P. 254. *In "Venice Preserved,"* by Thomas Otway, one of the greatest of English tragedies.

P. 255. *To Hockley-in-the-Hole*, near Clerkenwell Green.

P. 255. *Mr. Fraser.* William Fraser, Under-Secretary for Northern Department in 1760, and for Foreign Affairs in 1782. In 1784 one of the Commissioners for the Privy Seal.

P. 256. *Herenhausen*, a castle and village in Hanover.

P. 256. *Trapaud* (? 1714–1801).

P. 257. *Queen Caroline* (1682–1737).

P. 258. *La Galissoniere.* The Marquis de la Galissonière (1693–1756).

P. 258. *Lord Anson and the Duke of Newcastle.* Admiral George, Baron Anson (1697–1762), was first Lord of the Admiralty, 1751–6, 1757–62. Thomas, the first Duke of Newcastle (1693–1768).

P. 259. *Bute.* John, third Earl of Bute (1713–1792). *Egham* is near Windsor.

P. 260. *Lothario.* The haughty gallant, gay and perfidious, in Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1703).

P. 261. *Duchess of Queensberry.* Catherine Douglas (*née* Hyde), wife of the third Duke, died 1777. An eccentric woman of fashion.

P. 261. *Bute* retired in 1763.

P. 261. *The Duke of Bedford.* John, seventh Duke (1710–1771), negotiated the Peace.

P. 262. *Dr. Musgrave* (1732–1780).

P. 263. *Craggs.* James Craggs, the elder (1657–1721), is believed to have poisoned himself to escape inquiry when the South Sea bubble burst. James Craggs, the younger (1686–1721), died of small-pox, before his father.

P. 264. *Shelburne* was accused of using official information for speculation in stocks. The *Edinburgh Review*, however, denied this.

P. 264. *Grenville Administration*, 1763–5. George Grenville (1712–1770), called "the gentle shepherd."

P. 265. *Miss Chudleigh.* Elizabeth Chudleigh (1720–1788) became Countess of Bristol and afterwards Duchess of Kingston. She was tried for bigamy in 1774.

P. 267. *I am old enough.* Wraxall was born in 1751. *Sir Edward Hawke* (1705–1781). Admiral in 1757; later created Baron Hawke.

P. 268. *The fate of Oxford and Bolingbroke*, who were impeached.

P. 268. *Dr. Tucker.* Josiah Tucker, D.D. (1712–1799), opposed the war.

P. 269. *Lord Talbot.* William, the first Earl (1710–1782), Steward of the Household. Wilkes and he fought on Bagshot Heath, 1762. *The late Earl Temple* (1711–1779), "Squire Gawkey." *Earl of Halifax.* George, second Earl (1716–1771), Secretary of State, 1762. Triumvir with Lords Egremont and Grenville in 1763.

P. 270. *The Duke of Grafton.* Augustus, third Duke (1735–1811), Prime Minister, 1766–70.

P. 270. *Colonel Luttrell.* Henry Lawes Luttrell, second Earl of Carhampton (1743–1821).

P. 271. *Lord Mountmorris.* Hervey, second Viscount Mountmorres (? 1746–1797), committed suicide.

P. 271. *Junius.* Letter 1, January 21; Draper's reply, January 26.

P. 273. *Bradshaw.* Thomas Bradshaw, secretary to the Duke of Grafton, M.P., and a Lord of the Admiralty, etc., eventually committed suicide, 1774.

P. 274. *Desaguliers.* Thomas Desaguliers (? 1725–1780), lieutenant-general, 1777.

P. 274. *Woodfall* (1739–1805) conducted the *Public Advertiser*, 1758–93.

P. 276. *Brocklesbury.* Dr. Richard Brocklesbury (1722–1797), a friend of Johnson. *Martin.* Samuel Martin, M.P., Secretary to the Treasury; dangerously wounded Wilkes (November 1763). *The house . . . in Piccadilly*, No. 94; now the Naval and Military Club.

P. 277. *Boyd* (1746–1794). Essayist. *Lord Macartney.* George, first Earl (1737–1806), Governor and President of Fort St. George, 1780–6. *Rosenhagen* (? 1737–1798). A gambler; died Archdeacon of Colombo.

P. 278. *Greatrakes* (? 1723–1781). A barrister. *Memoirs of a Celebrated Literary and Political Character from 1742 to 1757*, by R. Duppa; published in 1813; attempt to prove that Glover wrote *Junius*.

P. 279. *De Lolme* (1740–1806). A Swiss political writer, author of *The Constitution of England*, 1771. *Wedderburn*, Alex.

ander (1733–1805). In 1769 he deserted the Tories, and supported Wilkes; in 1770 he attacked North's administration, and became Solicitor-General in 1771. Junius said of him, "There is something about him that even treachery cannot trust." The first Mrs. Wedderburn was Betty Anne Dawson.

P. 280. *Hamilton* (1729–1796). He became an M.P. in 1755. Mrs. Piozzi also credited him with the *Letters*.

Pp. 281–2. *Burnet, or Bulstrode, or Reresby.* Burnet's *History* was written *c.* 1710–15. Sir Richard Bulstrode (1610–1711) wrote a *Life of James II.* Sir John Reresby (1634–1689) wrote *Memoirs*, published 1734, and *Travels and Memoirs*, published 1813. *The Question respecting Junius.* "Since I wrote the preceding observations, a perusal of the work lately published, denominated "The Identity of Junius with a Distinguished Living Character Established," leaves little or no doubt in my mind that those celebrated productions are to be attributed to Sir Philip Francis" (Wraxall).

P. 283. *Paoli.* Pasquale Paoli (1726–1807), died in London.

P. 284. *Alberoni.* Julio Alberoni (1664–1752), Minister of Philip V.

P. 285. *Sir William Gordon.* Died 1798. He was Minister at Brussels in 1763, and K.B. in 1775. *D'Aiguillon* (1720–1798).

P. 286. *Dyson.* Jeremiah Dyson (1722–1776), nicknamed "Mungo," a Lord of the Treasury.

P. 290. *The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel* married Mary, George II.'s fourth daughter. *The Howes.* Admiral Earl Richard and General Viscount William Howe.

P. 291. *Burgoyne.* John Burgoyne (1722–1792), general and dramatist, surrendered at Saratoga, 1777. *Sir Henry Clinton*, the elder (? 1738–1795).

P. 292. *The Mutiny in the Navy*, etc. At Spithead, for arrears of pay; but again, more serious, at the Nore, led by Parker, who was hanged. The expedition to the Helder captured the Dutch fleet. Napoleon crushed Austria at Austerlitz, and Prussia, in one day, at Auerstadt and Jena. He allied himself with Russia by the Treaty of Tilsit.

P. 294. *The Marquis of Rockingham.* The ministries referred to are as follows:—Rockingham's, 1765; Grafton's, 1766; North's, 1770; Rockingham's, 1782; Shelburne's, 1782; Portland's, 1783; Pitt's, 1783. *The Duke of Grafton.* William Henry, the third Duke (1738–1809).

P. 295. *Lauderdale.* John, first Duke (1616–1682). *Welbore Ellis* (1713–1802) became Baron Mendip, 1793. H. Walpole calls him Fox's "Jackal."

P. 296. *Barré.* Isaac Barré (1726–1802), M.P. for Calne.

P. 297. *Sir Grey Cooper.* Died 1801. Secretary of Treasury, 1765–82. M.P. for Saltash.

P. 297. *Alderman Sawbridge.* John Sawbridge, Alderman of Langbourn (?1732–1795), M.P. for London. Lord Mayor, 1775–6. *George Byng.* M.P. for Middlesex.

P. 298. *Pitt and Tierney.* On May 27. George Tierney (1761–1830), M.P. for Southwark, felt himself insulted by a speech of Pitt's. Neither of the antagonists was hurt.

P. 299. *The National Finances.* North had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767.

P. 299. *Cavendish* (1732–1796) was Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1782–3.

P. 302. *A very advanced age.* 1704–1790. *Three times married.* His first wife was Lady Lucy Montagu; his second, Lady Lewisham; his third, Catherine, Countess of Rockingham. Dr. Brownlow North (1741–1820), Bishop of Winchester, 1781.

P. 303. *Dr. Drummond.* Robert Hay Drummond (1711–1776), became Archbishop, 1761. *Dr. Markham.* William Markham (1719–1807), Archbishop in 1777. *Dr. Thomas.* John Thomas (1696–1781).

P. 304. *Lord Melville.* Henry Dundas (1742–1811), First Lord of the Admiralty. *Read* 1805 *for* 1806.

P. 305. *Lord Godolphin*, etc. Sidney, first Earl (1645–1712), Prime Minister, 1702–10; Henry Pelham, 1743–54; and Lord Rockingham, 1765–6 and 1782.

P. 305. *Southampton*, etc. Henry, third Earl (1573–1624), Shakespeare's patron. Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1609–1674).

P. 306. *Lord Stormont.* David, seventh Viscount (1727–1796), became Earl of Mansfield in 1793. Wraxall was in error; he was Secretary for the Southern Department (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Wills Hill, second *Earl of Hillsborough* (1718–1793), was Secretary for the Northern Department, 1779–82; later he became Marquis of Downshire. In 1782 the secretaryship for the American (Northern) Department was abolished, and thenceforward there were three secretaries — Home, Foreign, and Colonial.

P. 307. *Governor Johnstone.* Captain (later Commodore) George Johnstone (1730–1787), Governor of West Florida in 1765; M.P. for Lostwithiel; East India Company Director.

P. 309. *The Duke of Dorset.* Lionel, the first Duke (1688–1765). He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1730–7.

P. 310. *Dr. Eliot.* Sir John Elliott, Bart., M.D. (1736–1786). The anecdote is also told of the first Lord Melville and Sir Walter Farquhar.

P. 312. *The Memorable Letter* of Edward, Earl of Dorset

(1591–1652), who killed Edward Bruce, Lord Kinross, in 1613. The letter is copied in the *Guardian*, Nos. 129 and 133. *Charles, Earl of Dorset* (1638–1706), said to have written the verses on the night of June 2–3, 1665 ; but Pepys seems to have had them on January 2.

P. 313. *Marshal Colyear.* W. F. Colyear died 1747. *The late Duke of Marlborough.* Charles, the second Duke. The two expeditions were in 1758.

P. 314. *Minden*, on the Weser, 1759.

P. 314. *Captain Smith.* Captain John Smith, of the Guards. *Sir Sidney Smith* (1764–1840).

P. 317. *Lord George's duel.* Johnstone had abused him in the House. They fought on December 17, 1770. *Lord Sydney.* Thomas Townshend, first Viscount (1733–1800).

P. 319. *The Earl of Sandwich.* John George, fourth Earl (1718–1792). *Mr. Eden.* William Eden, first Baron Auckland (1744–1814).

P. 320. "*The Candidate*" appeared June 1764, and was an attack on Sandwich's candidature for High Stewardship of University of Cambridge. "*The Essay on Woman*" was probably Thomas Potter's (1718–1759) ; it was denounced by Sandwich.

P. 321. *In Leadenhall Street.* The East India House was between Leadenhall Market and Lime Street.

P. 322. *Macartney.* Sir George, afterwards Earl, Macartney (1737–1800). *Lord Amherst.* Jeffrey, first Baron Amherst, K.B., died 1797 ; he was Commander-in-chief, 1778–95. He commanded in America, 1758–64. *Wolfe.* James Wolfe (1727–1759).

P. 324. *Lord Thurlow.* Edward, first Baron (1731–1806), of whom Pitt said, "He opposes everything, proposes nothing, and agrees to anything." *Pope.* Alexander Pope (1688–1744); Jonathan Swift (1667–1745).

P. 326. *On her trial*, for bigamy, 1776. *Northington.* Robert, first Earl (1708–1772), the Lord Ringbone of Anstey's *New Bath Guide*:—

> "I protest, my dear mother, 'twas shocking to hear
> The oaths of that reprobate, gouty old peer."

P. 326. *Lord Gower.* Granville Leveson, second Earl, first Marquis of Stafford, died 1803. Lord President of the Council, 1767–79 ; Lord Privy Seal, 1784–94. *Lord Weymouth.* Thomas Thynne, Viscount (1734–1796), Marquis of Bath, 1789. *Lord Bathurst.* Henry Apsley, second Earl (1714–1794), built Apsley House, Piccadilly. His father was Allen Apsley, first Earl of Bathurst (1684–1775). The quotation is from *Epistle IV.* to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington.

P. 326. *Burlington.* Richard Boyle, fourth Earl of Cork and third Earl of Burlington (1695–1753), altered Burlington House.

P. 327. *Lord King.* Peter, Lord King (1669–1734), Chancellor, 1725–33. *The Earl of Dartmouth.* William, second Earl (1731–1801).

P. 328. *Jenkinson* (1727–1808), became Earl of Liverpool, 1796. In 1761, Under-Secretary of State; 1763–5, Secretary to Treasury; 1778, Secretary at War; 1786, President of Board of Trade and Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster.

P. 331. *Rigby.* Entered public life as secretary to Bedford, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1758. He was M.P. in 1745, and attached himself to Frederick.

P. 334. *Wallace and Mansfield.* James Wallace, Attorney-General, 1780 and 1783; James Mansfield, Solicitor-General, 1780–2 and 1783.

P. 336. *Robinson.* John Robinson of Wyke House, Isleworth (1727–1808), Secretary of Treasury, 1770–82; joined Pitt in 1783.

P. 337. *Mr. Fox.* The son of Henry Fox, first Lord Holland (1705–1774), and Lady Georgiana Lennox, daughter of second Duke of Richmond; thus a descendant of Charles II.

P. 339. *Collins.* Arthur Collins (? 1690–1760), compiler of *The Peerage of England*, first edition, 1709. *Sir Stephen Fox* (1627–1716).

P. 339. *In the Cecil as well as in the Herbert family.* Thomas Cecil, cr. Earl of Exeter in 1605, and Robert, Earl of Salisbury in the same year. Edward Herbert, cr. Baron of Castle Island, 1624; Philip, Earl of Montgomery, 1605. Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, 1624; Robert, Earl of Warwick, 1618. Robert Walpole, cr. Earl of Orford in 1742; Horatio, Baron Walpole, 1756. Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport, 1801; Samuel, Viscount Hood, 1796. *Earl of Ilchester.* Stephen (1704–1776).

P. 340. *Of his three sons.* There were four; the second, Henry, died young.

P. 341. *In the House of Commons.* M.P. for Midhurst, Surrey, 1768. Became a Lord of the Admiralty in 1770, and a Lord of the Treasury, 1772.

P. 342. *Atalantis.* Mrs. Mauley's *Court Intrigues: in a Collection of Original Letters from the Island of the New Atalantis* (1711), a satire on the Whigs of William III.'s reign. *Macaroni's.* The Maccaroni Club, founded in 1764; "composed of all the travelled young men who wear long curls and spying glasses" (Walpole).

P. 342. *I cite by memory.* The first line should read—

"But hark! The voice of battle shouts from far!"

Schwellenbergen. Madame Schwellenbergen, keeper of the robes to the Queen, died at an advanced age in 1797.

P. 344. *Beauclerk.* Another great-grandson of Charles II. (1739–1780).

P. 345. *Lord Robert Spenser*, son of the third Duke of Marlborough.

P. 346. *Hare.* James Hare (1749–1804), M.P., Ambassador at Warsaw, 1779–82. *A lady of quality.* Albinia Hobart, Countess of Buckinghamshire, who died 1816.

P. 347. *Rochford.* William Henry, fourth Earl. *Sir Francis Dashwood* (1708–1781) founded the "Hell-fire Club" *c.* 1755; an account of his "Franciscans" was written by Charles Johnston in *Chrysal*, 1768.

P. 350. *Richmond.* Charles, third Duke (1735–1800).

P. 351. *Davila and Guicciardini.* Enrico C. Davila (1576–1631) and Francesco Guicciardini (1482–1540), Italian historians.

P. 352. *Colonel Fitzpatrick.* Richard Fitzpatrick (1747–1813), one of the writers of *The Rolliad.* Became a general, and was Secretary at War in 1783 and 1806–7.

P. 352. *Fox conversed in French.* But his French correspondence was not of the best.

P. 353. *Burke.* Edmund Burke (1729–1797) was the son of a Dublin attorney. He brought in his Bill for the reform of the Civil List in 1780.

P. 353. *The family of Grenville.* He married the sister of George Grenville and Earl Temple.

P. 354. *Necker.* Jacques Necker (1732–1804).

P. 355. *Acts of imprudence and indiscretion.* Particularly the reinstatement and defence of Bembridge and Powell, dismissed for fraud by his predecessor at the Pay Office.

P. 355. *Hastings.* Burke opened the case for the impeachment in 1788. *Two pensions.* (1) £1200 a year for his own and Mrs. Burke's life. (2) £2500 a year. *The late Lord Verney.* Ralph, second Earl (?1712–1792), M.P. for Wendover, 1753–91.

P. 357. *Richard Burke.* Edmund Burke had a son Richard also.

P. 358. *Laurens* was President of the Continental Congress in 1777, but resigned and was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to Holland in 1778. He was captured *en route* by the English. *Pope*, on Atterbury—

> "How shined the soul, unconquer'd in the Tow'r!"
> *Epil. to Satires*, Dial. II. 83.

Atterbury. Dr. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and Jacobite, died 1731.

P. 359. *Numerisque fertur.* "Onward sweeps on numbers freed from law" (Horace, *Odes*, iv. 2. 12).

P. 360. *Barré.* Isaac Barré became blind before his death. *Belisarius,* Justinian's general, blinded for supposed treason.

P. 361. *His friend and colleague.* Dunning called his son Richard Barré.

P. 362. *The memorable action, i.e.* off Ushant. *Lord Howe.* Lord Richard Howe.

P. 362. *Madame de Platen,* better known as Baroness Kielmannsegge.

P. 364. *Lord John Cavendish* (1732–1796), brother of William, fourth Duke of Devonshire. William, the first Duke, was one of those who invited William of Orange to England in 1687–8.

P. 365. *General Conway.* Henry Seymour Conway (1721–1795) became Commander-in-chief, 1782–3. He was Horace Walpole's great friend, and the brother of Francis Edward, Marquis of Hertford.

P. 366. *General Burgoyne.* John Burgoyne (1722 - 1792) married Charlotte, daughter of Lord Derby. After surrendering at Saratoga (N.Y.), 1777, he returned to England on parole.

P. 367. *Wilkes.* Now "an extinct volcano." *Bull.* Alderman Frederick Bull, Lord Mayor, 1773–4.

P. 368. *Mansfield.* Now seventy-six. *Sir William Wyndham* (1687–1740).

P. 369. *To Tresillian.* Sir Robert Tresillian, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, died 1388. *To Jeffries.* George, first Baron Jeffreys (1648–1689). *Than the meanest mechanic.* The Earl of Grosvenor recovered £10,000 damages from the Duke of Cumberland, 1770.

P. 371. *Lord Camden* (1714–1794) studied Spanish in his old age. *Duke of Richmond* (1735–1806). *Querouaille.* Louise Renée de la Keroualle (1649–1734), Duchess of Portsmouth and Aubigny. *Ninon de l'Enclos* (1615-1705)—

> "Some never grow
> Ugly; for instance, Ninon de Lenclos."—*Don Juan.*

She was the correspondent of St. Evremond.

P. 372. *Selwyn* was born in 1719. *Shelburne.* William Petty (1737 - 1805), Marquis of Lansdowne. He had served in Germany, and was Secretary of State for the Southern Department, 1766, and for the Home Department in 1782.

P. 373. *Jackson.* Richard Jackson, M.P., died 1787. *Dr. Price.* Richard Price (1723–1791). *Mr. Baring.* ? Sir Francis Baring (1740–1810). *Dr. Priestley.* Joseph Priestley (1733–1804). Thomas *Hobbes* (1588–1679) was secretary and tutor to the second Duke of Devonshire and his son. *Jervis.* John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent (1735–1823). Joseph *Jekyll* (? 1750–1837), K.C. in 1805, and Master in Chancery, 1815.

P. 376. *Welbore Ellis*, then Treasurer of the Navy.

P. 377. *Sir James Lowther* (1736–1802), Earl of Lonsdale, married Lady Mary Stuart, Bute's oldest daughter. *The memorable contest.* With the third Duke of Portland, about some property; it lasted from 1765 to 1771.

P. 378. *Rutland.* Charles, fourth Duke (1754–1787).

P. 379. *Kirkpatrick.* Probably Robert Kirkpatrick, Inspector-General of Taxes, who prosecuted Thomas Creevey, M.P., for libel in 1813.

P. 382. *Dutton*, originally James Naper (1744–1820), was member for Gloucester, 1781–4. He was made Baron Sherborne in 1784.

P. 383–4. *Sheridan*, etc. Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816); Thomas Sheridan (1719–1788). John Henderson (1747–1785).

P. 384. *Addington.* Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth (1757–1844), Prime Minister, 1801–4. Spencer Perceval (1762–1812), Premier, 1809–12.

P. 385. *Johnson and Gibbon.* Johnson wrote *Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting the Falkland Islands*, 1771. But on the fall of North's administration he said, "Such a bunch of imbecility never disgraced a country." Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) drew up a *Mémoire Justicatif* in answer to a French manifesto, 1779. He was afterwards made a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, 1779–82. *Just at this time.* Sir William Jones's poem is entitled, *The Muse recalled: an Ode on the Nuptials of Lord Viscount Althorp and Miss Lavinia Bingham*, etc., *March 6th, 1781.* George John, second Earl Spencer (1758–1834). Lady Spencer (1762–1831).

P. 387. *Hancock and Adams.* John Hancock (1737–1793) and John Adams.

P. 388. *Hyder Ali*, sovereign of Malabar (1717–1782), invaded the Carnatic with 100,000 men, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, the Nizam and the French Commandant Lally. *The public funds.* Consols averaged £63.

P. 388. *Fletcher and Baillie.* Lieutenant-Colonels Fletcher and Baillie were defeated and imprisoned by Hyder Ali, 1780.

P. 389. *Rumbold.* Sir Thomas Rumbold (1736–1791) was regarded as responsible for the invasion and dismissed. Warren Hastings (1732–1818). Cheyt Sing or Chait Singh,—Rajah of Oude. The Nabob of Arcot,—Mahommed Ali.

P. 391. *The Marriage Act.* Lord Beauchamp having amended the Act of 1751, Fox's motion for further amendment was lost.

P. 392. *Mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line.* In January, 1300 men hutted at Morris-town, turned out on account of deficiencies

in pay and provisions, but eventually rejoined the American ranks. Charles, first Marquis of Cornwallis (1738–1805), defeated General Nathaniel Greene (1742–1786) at Guildford (U.S.A.) on March 15; while Greene was again worsted at Camden (April 19) by Francis, Lord Rawdon, afterwards first Marquis of Hastings (1754–1826).

P. 392. *Vaughan.* Sir John Vaughan, K.B. (? 1748–1795), made lieutenant-general, 1782.

P. 393. *Parker and Zoutman.* Admiral Zoutman was promoted for this action. Sir Hyde Parker, Bart. (1714–1782). *Duncan.* Adam, Viscount Duncan (1731–1804), who defeated De Winter, 1797.

P. 395. *Graves.* Admiral Thomas, Baron Graves (? 1725–1802). *Suffrein.* Pierre André de Suffren St. Tropez (1726–1788).

P. 396. *Hughes.* Admiral (? 1720–1794). *Guichen.* Luc, Comte de Guichen (1712–1790). *Cordova.* Dom Luis de Cordova.

P. 398. *Lord Walsingham.* Thomas de Grey, second Baron Walsingham (1748–1818). *Sir William de Grey* (1719–1781), raised to peerage, 1780. *The Chancellor's House* was No. 45 Great Ormond Street.

P. 399. *Master of the Horse. Read* "House."

P. 401. *York Town.* October 18, 1781.

P. 402. *Thomas Pitt* (1737–1793), first Baron Camelford, 1784.

P. 406. *The Lord Advocate of Scotland, i.e.* Dundas.

P. 406. *Torrens dicendi.* "His eloquence is a rushing and fatal abundance of expression about many things."

P. 411. *Lord Mulgrave.* Captain Constantine John Phipps, second Baron Mulgrave (1744–1792), M.P. for Huntingdon. Commanded the *Racehorse* in the Polar Expedition of 1773 when Nelson was a midshipman. *Captain Charles Phipps*, R.N., was M.P. for Scarborough. *Alphesibœus.* "The dances of the Satyrs shall be imitated by Alphesibœus."

P. 412. *Welbore Ellis*, then sixty-eight years of age.

P. 412. *Lord Falmouth.* Hugh Boscawen, second Viscount (1707–1782), brother of the admiral.

P. 413. *Optat Ephippia Bos piger.* "The lazy ox longs for housings" (Horace, *Epistles*, i. 14. 43).

P. 415. *Lady Betty Germain* (1680–1769), second wife of Sir John Germain; left her estate and £20,000 to Lord George Sackville, who took the name of Germain in 1770.

P. 416. *The first Earl of Dorset.* Thomas Sackville (1536–1608), made Baron Buckhurst in 1557, and Earl of Dorset in 1604. *Marquis of Carmarthen.* Francis Godolphin Osborne (1751–1799), Foreign Secretary under Pitt, 1783–91; became fifth Duke of Leeds, 1789.

P. 417. *General Whitelocke.* John Whitelocke (1757–1833), sent to recover Buenos Ayres, 1807. Court-martialled, 1808.

P. 418. *Haynes.* Colonel Isaac Haynes, executed July 31, 1781. The Duke apologised to Lord Rawdon.

P. 423. *Powis.* Thomas Powys (1743–1800), M.P. for Northants till 1797, when he became Baron Lilford.

P. 426. *In St. James's Square.* No. 16, corner of King Street.

P. 429. *His Riband.* The blue ribbon of the Garter; made K.G., 1772. *Lord Surrey.* Charles, Earl of Surrey (1746–1815), M.P. for Carlisle; Duke of Norfolk in 1786.

P. 430. *1743* read 1742. *In the Secret.* It was a stormy night, and Lord North said, "I protest, gentlemen, this is the first time in my life I ever derived any personal advantage from being in the secret."

P. 431. *Sir Eyre Coote* (1726–1783). *The Marquis de Bouillé* (1739–1800) was complimented by the Queen of England in 1783. *Sir Samuel Hood* (1724–1816) became Viscount Hood, 1796.

P. 435. *Dunning* became Baron Ashburton and died next year.

P. 437. *Earl of Carlisle.* Frederick, fifth Earl (1748–1825). William Henry, the third *Duke of Portland*, became Prime Minister next year.

P. 438. *Kenyon.* Lloyd, first Baron Kenyon (1732–1802), Lord Chief Justice in 1788. *Bolton.* Admiral Harry Poulet, Duke of Bolton (1719–1794).

P. 439. *Sheridan.* Under-Secretary for *Foreign* Affairs.

P. 441. *Hertford.* Francis, Earl and Marquis of Hertford (1719–1794), was Lord Chamberlain from 1766 to 1782. *Manchester.* George, fourth Duke (1737–1788). *Effingham.* Thomas, third Earl (1746–1791). *Bateman.* John, second Viscount (1721–1802), and M.P. for Woodstock. His mother, Anne, was only daughter of the Earl of Sunderland. *Under George I.*, *i.e.* 1717.

P. 442. *The Russian Minister*, M. Simolin (Wraxall).

P. 443. *Thomas Grenville* (1755–1846), M.P. for Bucks. *Digby.* Admiral Robert Digby (1732–1815). *Sir Guy Carleton* (1724–1808), Baron Dorchester, K.B.

P. 443. *Quantum mutatus.* "How changed from that glorious Hector!"

P. 446. *Not long before his decease.* Wraxall adds, "I believe in 1797."

P. 447. *Darlington.* Henry Vane, second Earl (? 1726–1792). *Pelham.* Thomas, first Earl of Chichester (1728–1805). *Essex.* William Anne Hollis (1732–1799). *Denbigh.* Basil Fielding

sixth Earl (? 1719–1800). *Geneva.* At Lausanne in 1783, completing his *Decline and Fall.* *Selwyn* had been Paymaster of the Works, a post abolished in 1782. *Townshend.* Charles, second Viscount (1674–1738).

P. 448. *The Beggar's Opera.* In 1728.

P. 448. *Chesterfield.* The author of the *Letters.* *Rochfort.* In 1757.

P. 449. *Duchess of Portsmouth.* Mlle Keroualle. *Pride.* Thomas Pride (d. 1658) signed the death-warrant, and Colonel George *Joyce* was active in promoting the trial. *Brandon.* Gregory's son, Richard, executed Charles I.

P. 450. *Dr. Younger.* John Younger became Dean, 1705; died 1728.

P. 451. *Damien,* for Damiens. The execution was in 1757. See *ante,* note to p. 15.

P. 452. *Grimm.* Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm (1723–1807). *Selwyn* became Surveyor-General of Works, 1783. *Wilkes.* "The memorable Resolutions" incapacitated him from sitting as a member, February 17, 1769.

P. 453. *Duke of Clarence,* became William IV. (1765–1837). *Devonshire.* The fifth Duke, Georgiana's husband.

P. 454. *Ashburnham.* John, second Earl (1724–1812).

P. 455. *Legge* (1708–1764), Chancellor of Exchequer, 1754–5, 1756–7, 1757–61. *Hillsborough* was Secretary for the *Northern* Department, 1779–82. *Weymouth* became Marquis of Bath.

P. 456. *Rumbold.* Sir Thomas (1736–1791), whose name was erased as M.P. for Shaftesbury in 1781; but he became member for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight. *Impey.* Sir Elijah Impey (1732–1809), recalled 1783, and impeached. *Hastings.* Governor-General of Bengal in 1773; left India, 1785. *Hornby.* William Hornsby (? 1732–1803).

P. 457. *Demerara and Essequibo,* in British Guiana. *Howe and Keppel* were made Viscounts in April.

P. 459. *Controul of the Carnatic.* Wraxall himself acted as agent for the Nabob of Arcot. See Introduction.

Pp. 461–2. *Cape St. Vincent,* 1796. *Camperdown,* 1797. *Aboukir* Bay, or "the Nile," 1798. *Trafalgar,* 1805.

P. 462. *Cranston.* James, eighth Baron (1755–1796).

P. 464. *Bougainville.* Louis Antoine Bougainville (1729–1814). Louis Philippe, Marquis de *Vaudreuil* (1724–1802).

P. 465. *Mr. Stephens.* Sir Philip Stephens, Bart. (1723–1818), sixty-one years in the public service.

P. 467. *De Grasse,* guillotined, 1794.

P. 468. *Pigot.* Hugh Pigot (1721–1792). *Marlborough* was recalled in 1712, and James, second Duke of Ormond (1665–1745), was directed to remain unaggressive in Flanders.

P. 469. *Sir Edward Hughes* (?1720–1794). *Sir John Moore* (1718–1779), admiral.

P. 470. *Jervis* became Earl of St. Vincent in 1797. Samuel *Hood* (1724–1816), Viscount Hood, 1796, and his brother Alexander (1727–1814), Viscount *Bridport*.

P. 470. *Saunders*. Admiral Sir Charles Saunders (?1713–1775). *Pocock*. Admiral Sir George Pocock (1706–1792) took Havanna in 1762.

P. 472. *Influenza*. Supposed in Italy to be due to the influence of the stars.

P. 473. *The Belle Ferroniere*. The mistress of Francis, whose name has been erroneously given to Leonardo's portrait in the Louvre, died about 1540. Tradition says that her husband, Jean Ferron, infected his wife with a poison which the King took from her. The account of Anne, Countess of Southesk, Pepys's "Lady Kerneguy" (died about 1670), is in Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, i. 227–8. Rockingham was supposed to have been poisoned by the "succession powder" administered in cake chocolate.

P. 474. *Fitzwilliam*. William, second Earl (1748–1833).

P. 477. *Grantham*. Thomas Robinson (1738–1786). *Althorpe* became Earl Spencer in 1783, and First Lord of the Admiralty in 1794. *Montagu* (1733–1800) was made a Privy Councillor in 1790. *Eliot*. Married 1785, was Remembrancer of the Exchequer. *Baron Eliot* (1727–1804). *James Grenville* (1742–1825) became Baron Glastonbury in 1797.

P. 478. *Orde*. Afterwards Thomas Orde-Powlett (1746–1805), M.P. for Aylesbury. Made first Baron Bolton in 1797. His wife was Jean Powlett.

P. 478. *Temple*, afterwards Marquis of Buckingham.

P. 482. *Shelburne's duel*. Fought March 22, 1780, with Lieutenant-Colonel William Fullarton (1754–1808).

P. 483. *Lee*. John Lee (1733–1793), Attorney-General in 1783. M.P. for Higham Ferrers.

P. 484. *William Egerton*. J. W. Egerton, member for Brackley Borough.

P. 484. *Sir Francis Molineux*, last Baronet, died 1812.

P. 485. *Colonel Blood*. Thomas Blood (?1618–1680) tried to steal the crown, 1671.

P. 492. *Shovel*. Sir Clowdisley Shovell (1650–1707). Admiral Sir John *Balchen* (1670–1744). *The "Queen Charlotte,"* Lord Keith's flagship, accidentally burnt. Commodore George *Anson* (1697–1762). Captain John N. *Inglefield* (1748–1828). The "*Centaur*," "Ramillies," "Ville de Paris," "Glorieux," and "Hector" foundered in the hurricanes of September 1782; only the "Caton" and "Canada" escaped.

P. 495. *Farnese.* Duke of Parma (1546–1592) besieged Antwerp for Spain, 1584–5; and Ambrogio Marchese di *Spinola* (1569–1630) took Ostend, 1604, in the same service.

P. 496. *General Elliot.* George Augustus Eliott, Lord Heathfield (1717–1790), commander of Gibraltar, 1775–83.

P. 497. *Piquet.* Toussaint Guillaume de la Motte-Piquet (1720–1791).

P. 498. *Franklyn.* Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), Ambassador to France, 1776, was now seventy-six years old. His father was a tallow-chandler.

P. 501. *Sir George Howard* (? 1720–1796), M.P. for Stamford. *Mr. Fitzherbert.* Alleyn Fitzherbert (1753–1839) negotiated the preliminaries of the peace; he became Baron St. Helens in 1791. Charles Gravier, Comte *de Vergennes* (1717–1787), Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1774–87. Pedro Conde *d'Aranda* (1718–1799), Spanish Ambassador at Paris.

P. 507. *George Augustus North* (1757–1802) became third Earl of Guilford in 1792. He was then (1783) North's under-secretary. *Fitzpatrick* was M.P. for Tavistock, and Secretary at War in 1783.

P. 508. *Fox . . . at Brookes's.* Walpole writes of Fox's "days," "And the evening and the morning and the next day were the first day" (viii. 245). *Brookes's.* No. 60 St. James's Street. Founded as a gaming-club in Pall Mall, 1764; transferred to St. James's Street, 1778. Fox, Selwyn, and Sheridan appear to have been the chief gamblers.

P. 509. *Townshend* became Baron Sydney in 1783. The minority was of 17.

P. 513. *Macpherson.* Sir John Macpherson (1745–1821), Governor-General of India, 1785–6. *Mharatta*, for Mahratta. *Peshwah.* The Brahman minister of the Mahratta king, and virtual sovereign. Poona was his capital.

P. 514. *The Sultan of Mysore, i.e.* Hyder Ali.

P. 515. *On the 10th of July, 1782.* Cp. Horace Walpole, January 27, 1781: "We shall be but a little browbeaten island, and that is not the England in which I was born."

P. 516. *1779.* The first meeting was held in a private room in December. A committee of sixty-one was appointed for correspondence, and to prepare for a National Association for Economical Reform; twenty-five counties and eleven large towns joined the movement.

Pp. 517–8. *De Retz* led the Fronde, 1649–52. Honoré Gabriel, Comte de *Mirabeau* (1749–1791), President of the National Assembly. Sir Francis *Burdett* (1770–1844). John *Horne Tooke* (1736–1812), tried for high treason, 1794.

P. 519. *The year 1792*, when the Revolution Society sent shoes to the French army.

P. 519. *Tippoo Sultan.* Tippoo Sahib, successor of Hyder Ali as Sultan of Mysore, 1782–1799; killed at Seringapatam.

P. 520. *Robespierre and Bonaparte.* The former fell in 1794, the latter became First Consul, 1799.

P. 520. *Oxford.* Robert Harley, first Earl (1661–1724). The Peace of Utrecht (1711) figured in his impeachment, 1717.

P. 523. *That evening.* He was ill during the sitting.

P. 524. *At Munda.* The last of Julius Cæsar's battles; he defeated Pompey's troops.

P. 526. *Rumours, which sunk deep.* But were afterwards discredited.

P. 528. *A British Marquis.* Marquis of Lansdowne, 1784. The *Edinburgh Review* says it was at the Duke of Rutland's (not Pitt's) request.

P. 531. *Mr. Coke.* Thomas William Coke of Holkham (1752–1842), first Earl of Leicester, "King of Norfolk."

Pp. 531–2. *Cornwallis* (1713–1783) became Archbishop, 1768. Jonathan *Shipley* (1714–1788), "the bloody bishop." John *Hinchcliffe* (1731–1794). Richard *Hurd* (1720–1808). Robert *Louth* or Lowth (1710–1787).

P. 533. *Dr. John Moore* (1730–1805). *Duchess of Marlborough.* Elizabeth, widow of Charles, third Duke, and daughter of Thomas, Baron Trevor, died 1761.

P. 536. *Jenkinson.* Leader of the King's friends after Bute's retirement.

P. 542. *Courtney.* John Courtenay (1741–1816), M.P. for Tamworth.

P. 542. *Præstes* for Præstes.

Pp. 542–3. *The Viceroys* from 1772 to 1784. Lord *Townshend*, 1767–72; Simon, first Earl *Harcourt* (? 1712–1777), 1772–7; *Buckinghamshire* (1723–1793), 1777–80; *Carlisle* (1748–1825), 1780–2; *Portland*, 1782; *Temple*, 1782–3 and 1787–9; *Northington*, 1783–4; *Rutland*, 1784–7.

P. 543. *Charles Townshend* (1728–1810), M.P. for Yarmouth.

P. 544. *The gallant and distinguished Earl.* Henry, Earl of Surrey (by courtesy) (? 1517–1547), the poet.

P. 545. *Manchester.* George, fourth Duke (1737–1788). Wedderburn became Baron Loughborough in 1780.

P. 546. *An ex-first Minister.* Henry Addington (1757–1854), Viscount Sidmouth, was Prime Minister, 1801–4, and Home Secretary, 1812–21.

P. 550. *Powell and Bembridge.* John Powell was the cashier, and Charles Bembridge the accountant, to the Paymaster of the Forces. Bembridge was fined £2500, and given six months in the King's Bench, being discharged May 1784.

P. 552. *Estwick.* Samuel Estwick, died 1795.

P. 553. *Irwin.* He was made K.B. in 1779, and had been a *protégé* of Lionel, Duke of Dorset.

P. 555. *Barry* (1696–1776). Lady Irwin died 1805. In later editions Wraxall omits "more obscure" in his description of the third marriage.

P. 556. *Hotham.* General Sir Charles Hotham, Bart., K.B.

P. 557. *Falstaff.* "Rob me the Exchequer, the first thing thou dost" (Falstaff to Prince Henry, *I Henry IV.* iii. 3).

P. 559. *Fitzwilliam* was to have been the head of Fox's India Board.

P. 561. *From the Ministry of Walpole, . . . i.e.* 1742–82. *Horne.* Rev. John Horne, afterwards Horne Took; quarrelled with Wilkes in 1771. *Weymouth* gained the King's favour by vigorous suppression of the riots of 1768. He left the government in 1770.

P. 563. *As the great Earl of Chatham, . . . i.e.* in 1757–61 and in 1766–8.

P. 565. *Joseph II.* (1741–1790), whose Catholic reforms caused a Belgian revolt.

P. 566. *Hoc fonte derivata Clades.* "From this fount the calamity is sprung" (Horace, *Odes*, iii. 6. 19).

P. 568. *Rose* (? 1744–1818), joint Paymaster-General and Treasurer of the Navy. Pitt does not appear to have visited Antwerp.

P. 570. *David Hartley*, the younger (1732–1813), the philosopher's son.

P. 572. *Extraordinary Gazette*, a special official notice.

P. 573. *Staunton.* Sir George Leonard Staunton, Bart., M.D. (1737–1801). *Bussy.* Charles, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau (1718–1785).

P. 574. *Nadir Shaw*, or Kuli Khan, Shah of Persia (1688–1747). *Aurung Zebe*, Mussulman Emperor of Hindustan (1619–1707).

P. 576. *Lady Mary Mordaunt*, wife of Henry, seventh Duke of Norfolk, divorced in 1700; married to Sir John Germain (1650–1718) in 1701. Germain afterwards married Lady Betty Berkeley—the Lady Betty Germain of Lord Sackville.

P. 578. *My mother.* Elizabeth (1687–1768), daughter of Lieutenant-General Walter Philip Colyear.

P. 580. *Buckhurst.* Thomas, first Earl of Dorset, became Lord Treasurer in 1599. *Carr.* Robert Carr (or Ker), Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, died in 1645; in 1614 he was displaced as favourite by Villiers. *Herbert of Cherbury.* Edward, first Baron (1583–1648). *Charles, Earl of Dorset*, the poet. *The Countess of Falmouth.* Elizabeth (*née* Bagot), in the *Mémoires*, "the only one who was possessed of virtue and beauty among the maids of honour."

P. 582. *Roche.* He married Anne Roche in 1704, and died in 1706.

P. 583. *The Dowager Countess of Northampton, his grandmother.* His mother was Mary, daughter of the Earl of Northampton.

P. 584. *Ten Jacobusses.* Gold pieces of James I., worth 25s.

P. 585. *Marlborough* had a paralytic stroke in 1716, but recovered enough to attend Parliament. He died in 1722. The *Quarterly* denied the "tears of dotage."

P. 586. *The Duchess his wife.* She became Groom of the Stole to Caroline.

P. 588. *Mr. Adam.* William Adam (1751–1839), M.P.; Sir Walter Scott's friend.

P. 590. *Macalister.* Colonel Archibald Macalister, of the Thirty-fifth Foot.

P. 591. *William Burke,* M.P. for Great Bedwin, 1766–74; bankrupt, 1769; in India, 1777–1792. Lived with Edmund Burke at Beaconsfield, 1792–8.

P. 599. *The Bill in question.* There is no reason to doubt that the India Bill was introduced with disinterested motives.

P. 600. *Lewisham.* George, third Earl of Dartmouth (1755–1810), M.P. for Staffordshire. *Sir Gilbert Elliot,* first Earl of Minto (1751–1814), M.P. for Morpeth. *Fletcher* (1727–1807), M.P. for Cumberland. *Gregory,* M.P. for Rochester.

P. 602. *Sir William James,* Bart. (1721–1783), M.P. for West Looe. He was chairman of the East India Company's directors. He captured Angria's stronghold, Severndroog, in 1755, and Fort Gheriah in 1757. *Boothby Parkyns* (1755–1800) became Lord Rancliffe, 1795. Married Elizabeth Anne James

P. 604. *Mr. Scott.* John, Earl Eldon (1751–1838), M.P. for Weobley, June 16, 1783; hence his plea on p. 609. Lord Chancellor, 1801; Earl, 1821.

P. 605. *Arden.* Richard Pepper Arden (1745–1804), "*Poivre Ardent*"; Solicitor-General, 1782–3; Attorney-General, 1784; Baron Alvanley, 1801.

P. 606. *Wilberforce.* William Wilberforce (1759–1833), the philanthropist. *Martin.* James Martin, M.P. for Tewkesbury, 1776–1806. *Sir Richard Hill* (1732–1808), brother of Rowland Hill, the preacher. *Sir Cecil Wray* (1734–1805) unsuccessfully contested Westminster against Fox and Hood in 1784.

P. 607. *Mr. Erskine.* Thomas, first Baron Erskine (1750–1823), became Lord Chancellor in 1806. *Robinhood Society.* A debating club in Essex Street (c. 1754), largely composed of lower middle-class secularists. Burke was at one time a member. *East India Company.* The first charter is dated 1600.

P. 610. *Lord Temple* carried a note in which the King declared "that he should deem those that should vote for the Bill, not

only not his friends, but his enemies." The Bill was thrown out by 95 to 76.

P. 611. *Lord Rivers.* George Pitt, first Baron Rivers (? 1722–1803). *Egremont.* Sir George O'Brien Wyndham, third Earl of Egremont (1751–1837), patron of Turner and Constable.

P. 612. *Abingdon.* Willoughby, fourth Earl (1740–1799), a friend of Wilkes, and also of the Revolution.

P. 613. *The Speaker.* Mansfield was Speaker of the Lords, February to December 1783.

P. 615. *The Rescript of Tiberius.* An ambiguous letter sent to the Senate in 31 from Capri, saying he wished to be protected against Ælius Sejanus, who was promptly executed.

P. 615 (l. 20). *Dominated* for denominated.

P. 616. *Fraser and Nepean.* William Fraser and Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. The latter became Governor of Bombay, 1812.

P. 616. *Lord Bolingbroke.* Pitt was in his twenty-fifth year, Petty in his twenty-sixth, and St. John was twenty-six. *Lord Henry Petty.* Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, third Marquis of Lansdowne (1780–1863).

P. 617. *Lord Temple* was a Secretary of State, and would have led in the House of Lords.

P. 618. *Sir George Howard* (? 1720–1796), made field-marshal, 1793.

P. 619. *Dorset.* John Frederick, third Duke (1745–1799), was ambassador, 1783–9. *His ancestor, Charles,* the poet. *The Earl of Stair.* John, second Earl (1673–1747), at Paris, 1715–20. *The first Horace Walpole,* the letter-writer's uncle, was at Paris 1723–30.

P. 620. *The Polignacs.* Yolande, Duchesse de Polignac, governess of the royal children (? 1749–1793), and her husband, who was made Duke in 1780, and died in 1817.

P. 621. *Mansfield.* James Mansfield. *Hon. Charles Greville,* whose mistress afterwards became the second Lady Hamilton.

P. 622. *Lord Hinchingbrook.* John Montagu, fifth Earl of Sandwich (? 1743–1814). *Sir George Yonge* (1731–1812) remained Secretary at War till 1794. *Sir William Yonge,* died 1755. John, second *Duke of Argyle* (1678–1743).

P. 622. *Mr. Pitt* was re-elected in January 1784.

P. 623. *Bankes.* Henry Bankes (1757–1834), M.P. for Corfe Castle.

P. 624. *The Eddystone Lighthouse,* completed 1759.

P. 627. *Charles the Twelfth* (1682–1718). He was very frugal, and did not marry.

P. 628. *Mrs. Siddons.* Sarah (*née* Kemble) (1755–1831). Belvidera in *Venice Preserved* was at this time one of her favourite parts.

P. 629. *Threats of the Turnpike Man.* It seems to have been a farmer who fired. The quotation is not accurate; *e.g.*, for "peasant," read "rustic."

P. 630. *Montausier.* Charles, Duc de Montausier (1610–1690).

P. 631. *Hare* was M.P. for Knaresborough (1749–1804). *Lord Grenville* (1759–1834) married Anne, daughter of Thomas, the younger William Pitt's first cousin.

P. 631. "*Angry Boy.*" Mr. Wheatley explains this as "roarer."

P. 632. *Nootka Sound.* Vancouver's Island: Spain destroyed the English settlement there in 1789. The difficulty was arranged in 1790. *Byron.* John Byron (1723–1786), whose *Narrative* was published in 1768.

P. 634. *The Estate of Burton Pynsent.* Worth £40,000. *Sir William Pynsent*, Bart. (*c.* 1680–1765). *The Clerkship of the Pells* was worth £3000 a year. Pitt gave it to Barré.

P. 635. *Quis enim virtutem.* "For who would embrace virtue herself, if thou take recompense away."

P. 635. *Solid admiration and respect.* £40,000 was voted for his debts, estimated in 1801 at £45,064.

P. 636. *Lady Harriet Pitt* (1758–1786). *1792.* Lord North had become Earl of Guilford in 1790.

P. 639. *The Duke of Newcastle.* Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693–1768) succeeded Pelham as Prime Minister in 1754. Henry Pelham (?1695–1754) had two sons and six daughters.

P. 640. *Miss Pulteney.* Henrietta Laura Pulteney (died 1808) married General Sir James Murray (?1751–1811), who took her name. She was made Baroness, 1792, and Countess in her own right, 1803. She is reputed to have been engaged to Fox.

P. 640. *Than Dean Swift*, whose *Tale of a Tub* is a satire on ecclesiastical and theological shams. Bolingbroke was the Old Pretender's secretary, and Wharton embraced the cause of "James III."

P. 642. *Abergavenny.* George, first Earl (1727–1785).

P. 643. *Tallard.* Camille, Duc de Tallart (1652–1728) Glover's *Memoirs*, from 1742 to 1757, were published in 1813

P. 644. *Pelham.* Walpole resigned 1742; was succeeded by the Earl of Wilmington, who gave place to Pelham in 1743. *Roberts.* John Roberts (?1712–1772).

P. 646. *Mackay.* John Ross Mackie, M.P. for Kirkcudbright. *The late Earl of Besborough.* William, second Earl (1704–1793).

P. 649. *The Duke of Dorset.* John Frederick, the third Duke, Ambassador to France, 1783–9. *Lord Milton.* John Damer (1718–1798), became Earl of Dorchester, 1792. He married Caroline, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Dorset.

P. 650. *The Chancellor*, Thurlow. *The Lord President*, Gower. *Salisbury.* James, twentieth Earl (1748–1823); Marquis, 1789.

P. 652. *The Other Print.* A caricature by James Sayer (1748–1823), who began about 1780 working for Pitt against Fox. *Two other individuals.* Henry F. Carteret and Edward Eliot.

P. 654. *Burlington House.* Then the Duke of Portland's.

P. 656. *1743.* Read 1742. *Hill.* A rigid Calvinist with a vulgar wit, nicknamed "Scriptural Killigrew." *Andrew Marvel* (1621–1678), poet and republican. *Dartmouth.* William, the second Earl (1731–1804), held various offices. He was strongly attached to the Methodists. *Ross.* Colonel (afterwards General) Charles Ross, M.P. for Wick (1762–1814). *Galloway.* John, seventh Earl and Baron Stewart (1736–1806). *Stewart.* Admiral the Hon. Keith Stewart, M.P. for Wigtownshire, died 1795.

P. 660. *Grenville and Grey* formed a coalition on the death of Pitt, 1806, which fell next year.

P. 663. *St. Alban's Tavern.* In Pall Mall, celebrated for political and fashionable dinners and meetings. *Thomas Grosvenor*, brother of Earl Grosvenor, died 1795. *Charles Marsham*, Earl of Romney (1744–1811), became Earl in 1801.

P. 665. *Windham.* William Windham (1750–1810).

P. 668. *Beaufoy.* Henry Beaufoy, M.P. for Minehead, died 1795.

P. 673. *The Resolutions moved by Lord Effingham* (1784). The first sought to prevent the control by the Commons of the Revenue; the second declared the King alone had power to appoint the great officers of the executive.

P. 671. *Tempus inane.* "Vacant time I seek, in love with leisure and repose."

P. 675. *Lord Beauchamp.* Francis Ingram-Seymour (1743–1822), known as Viscount Beauchamp till 1794, when he became fifth Marquis of Hertford. He was M.P. for Oxford, 1768–1794.

P. 680. *The Mutiny Bill* dates from 1689. It is an annual Bill to enable the Sovereign to maintain, govern, and pay a certain number of soldiers.

P. 684. *The Chancellor of the Exchequer* was Pitt, who was also Prime Minister.

P. 687. *Like Sylla.* Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138–78 B.C.) resigned the dictatorship in 79. *Like Fairfax.* Thomas, third Baron Fairfax (1612–1671), resigned his office of Commander-in-chief in 1650.

P. 695. *In 1788*, when Fox sought to have the Prince of Wales made Regent, but failed, owing to Pitt's delays and the King's recovery.

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